A

THIRD COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Interesting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly such as relate to the

History *and* Constitution *of these* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuscript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the late Lord *SOMMERS*.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL III.

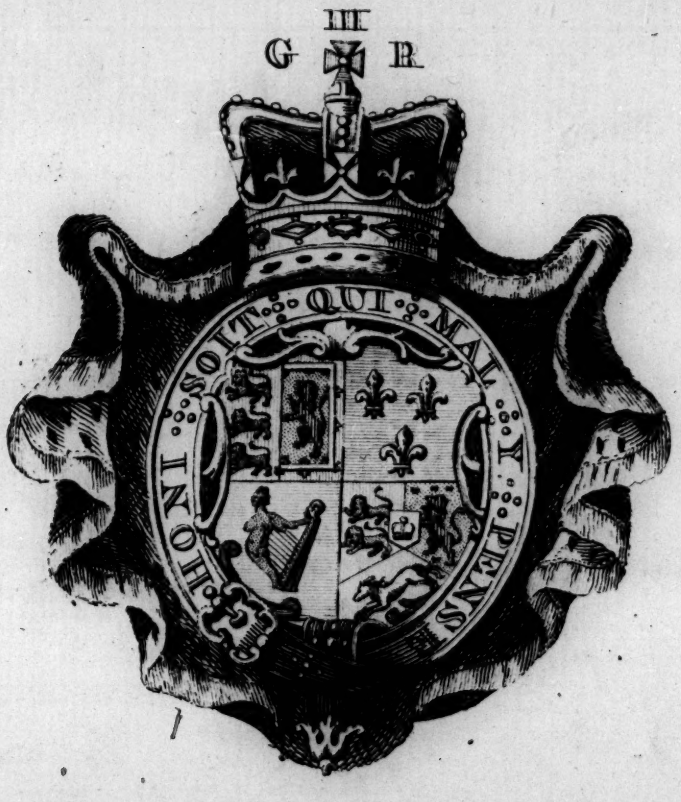
The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known in a free Country by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Register.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum et inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COOK *&* JUST. *Inst.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-Street.*

M.DCC.LI.


GR
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENS

THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

PRoposals tender'd to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, for uniting the Protestant Interest, and preventing Divisions for the future: Together with the Declaration of King *Charles* II. concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs; and some Proposals of Terms of Union between the Church of *England* and Dissenters: Long since published by Dr. *Sherlock*. 1689 Page 1

A Specimen of a Bill for uniting Protestants; being a rough Draught of such Terms as seem equal for the Conformists, to grant, and the Non-conformists to yield to for Peace Sake; provided a good while, and published on Purpose, only for further, better, and more easy Consideration of the Parliament 22

Murder will out; or, a clear and full Discovery that the Earl of *Essex* did not murder himself, but was murdered by others, both by undeniable Circumstances, and positive Proofs. 1689 26

London's Great Jubilee restored, and performed on *Tuesday*, *October* 29, for the Entertainment of their Majesties and the whole Court, being the Lord Mayor's Day of Sir *Thomas Pilkington*. 1689 33

A true and impartial Narrative of the Dissenters new Plot; with a large and exact Relation of all their old ones; with an Account of the chief Conspirators Names and principal Consults, as well as of several Persons of Quality who have abetted and encouraged them. By one deeply concerned. 1690 46

The Price of Abdication 70

A short and sure Method for the Extirpation of Popery in the Space of a few Years; by a Person of Quality. 1690 85

A Second Letter to a Friend concerning the *French* Invasion. By *Sherlock*. 1692 Page 92

The State of the Church of *Rome*, when the Reformation began; as it appears by the Advice given to *Paul* III. and *Julius* III. by Creatures of their own; with a Preface leading to the Matter of the Book 111

The Church of *England*'s Complaint in Vindication of her Loyalty 135

The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled, A New Test of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; with some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intitled, An Instance of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty 143

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament; with Additions and Explications, directed to the House of Commons. By the free-born People of *England* 155

A Supplement to ditto 165

Transactions in the House of Commons and Privy Council, relating to the *East-India* Company; with their new Charter. 1693 178

Propositions for regulating the *East-India* Company, from the Earl of *Nottingham*, his Majesty's Secretary 179

An Answer of the Company's to ditto 181

A Discourse concerning the *East-India* Trade; wherein is shewed (by Arguments taken from a Treatise written by Sir *Josiah Child*) that the said Trade may be carried on by a regulated Company, to much greater Advantage of the Publick, than by a Company with a Joint-Stock. 1693 200

Remarks

Remarks on the *London Gazette*, relating to the *Streights* Fleet, and the Battle of *Landen* in *Flanders*. 1693 Page 217

The dear Bargain; or, A true Representation of the State of the *English* Nation under the *Dutch*. In a Letter to a Friend, 1692 228

A short and true Relation of the Intrigues transacted both at Home and Abroad, to restore the late King *James*. 1694 263

A Letter out of *Suffolk* to a Friend in *London*, giving some Account of the last Sickness and Death of Dr. *William Sancroft*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*. By the Reverend *Thomas Wagstaff*. 1694 278

Two Essays sent in a Letter from *Oxford*, to a Nobleman in *London*. By *L. P. M. Anno*. 1695 291

Collection of Advertisements, Advices, and Directions relating to the Royal Fishery within the *British* Seas. 1695 309

A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of that Body 363

An Account of Queen *Mary*'s Methods for introducing Popery, and procuring a Parliament to confirm it: Seasonable to be published in this Time of imminent Danger; and dedicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. 390

Some short Remarks upon Mr. *Locke*'s Book, in Answer to Mr. *Lounds*, and several other Books and Pamphlets concerning Coin. 1696 395

An Instance of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty. 1687 398

The Church of *England*'s Complaint, in Vindication of her Loyalty 401

The true Character of a Churchman, shewing the false Pretences to that Name. By Dr. *Richard West* 408

High Church Miracles; or, Modern Inconsistencies 413

The Case of the two Absolvers that were tried at the *King's-Bench Bar* at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the second of *July*, 1696, for giving Absolution at the Place of Execution to Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkins* 415

Whether the preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive unto, or the End that was designed in the late Revolution. Page 417

A true Account of the present State of *Ireland*; giving a full Relation of the new Establishment made by the late King *James*, as it was presented to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council: With an Account of what Sums of Money, Arms, and Number of Officers arrived there from *France*: Together with the State of *Derry* and *Enniskilling*, and several other Affairs relating to that Kingdom, particularly the Proceedings of their Parliament there. 1689 451

The State of Papists and Protestants Properties in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in 1641, when the Rebellion began, and how disposed in 1653, when the War and Rebellion was declared at an End, and how disposed in 1662, upon the Acts of Settlement, and how the Properties stand this present Year. 1689 463

An Answer to a Paper importing a Petition of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and six other Bishops, to his Majesty, touching their not distributing and publishing the late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience 485

A true Account of the Preservation of the Regalia of *Scotland*, *viz.* Crown, Sword and Scepter, from falling into the Hands of the *English* Usurpers. By Sir *George Ogilvie*, of *Barras*, Bart. with the Blazon of that Family. 1701 501

A Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of *Scotland*, in 1320, yet extant under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope *John*; wherein they declare their firm Resolutions to adhere to the King *Robert Bruce*, as the Restorer of the Safety and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession; but withal, they notwithstanding declare, that if the King should offer to subvert their Civil Liberties, they will disown as an Enemy, and chuse another to be King, for their own Defence. 1703 515

A THIRD COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

Propoſals tender'd to the Conſideration of both Houſes of Parliament, for uniting the Proteſtant Intereſt for the preſent, and preventing Diviſions for the future. Together with the Declaration of King Charles II. *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and ſome Propoſals of Terms of Union between the Church of* England *and Diſſenters. Long ſince publiſhed by the Reverend Dean of* St. Paul's. 1689.

I DOUBT not but every pious and ſober Proteſtant of this Nation cannot but be heartily troubled to obſerve thoſe paſſionate Differences and unchriſtian Diſſentions which daily increaſe among Brethren, who are united in one and the ſame Doctrine of their Religion, and reformed from the Errors and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*: Upon the due Conſideration of which, every one, who wiſheth Peace and Proſperity to the Kingdom he lives in, ought to conſider what ſhould be the Occaſion of thoſe unhappy and ruinous Diviſions we have ſo long ſuffered under, and to offer probable Means for compoſing them.

As to their firſt Riſe, I doubt not but they owe their Original to the (a) *different Manner of the Reformation, and the eſtabliſhing of the Orders which each Church did think fit and convenient for itſelf*, (as the Reverend and Pious Mr. *Hooker* acquaints us) *which were ſo peremptorily eſtabliſhed under that high commanding Form, which rendered them to the People as Things everlaſtingly required*

(a) *Hooker*'s Preface to his Eccleſiaſtical Polity, printed *Anno* 1676, *p.* 44, 45.

by the Law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe Statutes there is no Exception to be taken; by which Means it came to paſs, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemn another of Diſobedience to the Will of Chriſt, in thoſe Things where manifeſt Difference was between them: *Whereas the ſelf-ſame Orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in a more wary and ſuſpence Manner, as being to ſtand in Force till God ſhould give the Opportunity of ſome* General Conference *what might be beſt for them afterwards to do. This, I ſay, had both prevented all Occaſion of juſt Diſlike which others might take, and reſerved a greater Liberty unto the Authors themſelves of entering into farther Conſultation afterwards; which, though never ſo neceſſary, they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome Fear of Derogation from their Credit:* And *therefore, that which once they had done, they became for ever after reſolute to maintain.*

Now, if we conſider the Shortneſs of that Time wherein our firſt Reformation continued under *Edward* the Sixth, and the Perſecution in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, which forced many pious and learned Clergymen of the Church of *England* to flee into foreign Countries (as *Zuric*, *Embden*, *Baſil*, *Strasburg*, *Franckfort*, *Geneva*, &c.) for the Preſervation of their Religion and Lives, where they frequently converſed with thoſe eminent Divines, who were the great Reformers there; 'tis no Wonder, that ſome of them ſhould return better pleaſed with their Diſcipline than their own; eſpecially conſidering, that ſeveral of them had intimate Acquaintance and Converſation with one of the Reformers, whom the Reverend Mr. *Hooker* thought *(b) incomparably the wiſeſt Man that ever the* French *Church did enjoy ſince the Hour it enjoyed him.* In Queen *Elizabeth*'s, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt's Reigns, 'tis well known how our Differences increaſed, until that unhappy War broke out, by which the Non-conforming Intereſt prevailed; ſo that the Preſbyterian Diſcipline was endeavoured to be fixed as the eſtabliſhed Form of Government in this Nation; our Univerſities, Preachers, Writings, Education, *&c.* were generally modelled thereto; by which Means, the greateſt Number of the trading Part of the Kingdom, ſeveral of the Gentry, and ſome few of the Nobility (obſerving the Precepts and Practices, Lifes and Deaths of many of that Clergy to be pious and exemplary) joined with them of this or the like Perſwaſion.

Since which Time, it pleaſing God to reſtore King *Charles* II. the Parliament thought it convenient to eſtabliſh the ſame Diſcipline which our firſt Reformers judged prudential, and that (as the Diſſenters do complain) upon ſtricter Subſcriptions than formerly, not abating or laying aſide any of thoſe Ceremonies, which have been Matters of Diſpute and Contention betwixt them and the Church of *England* ever ſince our bleſſed Reformation from Popery and Superſtition: Upon which Account, many of the Non-conforming Divines laid down their Livings, and the old Controverſies began afreſh to be revived; and ſo are like to be continued, until we be either ruined by Popery, or healed by Moderation, which is the only Salve to cure the Church's

(b) *Hooker*'s Preface to his Eccleſiaſtical Polity, *p.* 44.

Wounds.

Wounds. And that admirable Remedy formerly propoſed to the Wiſdom of Superiors by the Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet*, who having highly commended the (c) *Prudence and Temper of the* French *Churches, in compoſing their publick Forms of Prayer, that they were ſo far from inſerting any Thing controverſial into them, that Papiſts themſelves would uſe them. And*, ſaith he, *the ſame Temper was uſed by our Reformers in the compoſing our Liturgy in Reference to the Papiſts, to whom they had an eſpecial Eye, as being the only Party then appearing, whom they deſired to draw into their Communion, by coming as near them as they well and ſafely could. And certainly thoſe holy Men, who did ſeek by any Means to draw in others at ſuch a Diſtance from their Principles as the Papiſts were, did never intend, by what they did for that End, to exclude any truly tender Conſciences from their Communion. That which they laid as a Bait for them, was never intended by them as a Hook for thoſe of their own Profeſſion. But the ſame, or greater Reaſon, which made them at that Time yield ſo far to them, would now have perſwaded them to alter and lay aſide thoſe Things which yield Matter of Offence to any of the ſame Profeſſion with themſelves now; for ſurely none will be ſo uncharitable toward thoſe of his own Profeſſion, as not to think there is as much Reaſon to yield in Compliance with them, as with the Papiſts. And it cannot but be looked upon as a Token of God's ſevere Diſpleaſure againſt us, if any, though unreaſonable Propoſals of Peace between us and the Papiſts, ſhould meet with ſuch Entertainment among many, and yet any fair Offers of Union and Accommodation among ourſelves be ſo coldly embraced and entertained.* Thus far our Reverend and Learned Dean of *Paul*'s delivered his Opinion as to theſe Matters of Diſpute near thirty Years ago, before the Laws were eſtabliſhed againſt Diſſenters. And in his Book, intitled, *The Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, (wrote twenty years after the former) he hath given the World ſuch a Teſtimony of his real Kindneſs to Diſſenters, (notwithſtanding his hard Uſage from them) and of his ſincere and hearty Deſire to heal our unhappy Breaches, and unite our unchriſtian Diviſions, as will for ever conſecrate his Memory to Poſterity. Upon theſe, and ſome other like Conſiderations, I ſhould humbly propoſe to the Wiſdom of this preſent Parliament, ſome probable Means to put an End to our preſent Differences, and to unite us for the future; that ſo we may become a flouriſhing Nation, free from the Factions and Diviſions of former Ages.

Propoſals for our preſent uniting.

1. I Humbly propoſe, that the Ceremonies, at preſent enjoined by Law, might be left to the Liberty of the Clergy to uſe or lay aſide; and that, becauſe the Diſſenters on the one Hand are perſwaded that their Conformity to them would be ſinful, and the Church of *England* on the other Hand hath declared at ſeveral Times, that they are Things indifferent, and may be

(c) Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s *Irenicum, p.* 122, 123.

changed. Upon our firſt Reformation, in the Account ſhe has given of Ceremonies, why ſome be aboliſhed, and ſome retained, ſhe ſaith thus: That *as thoſe Ceremonies were taken away which were moſt abuſed, and did burthen Mens Conſciences without any Cauſe; ſo the other that remain are retained for Diſcipline and Order, which* (upon juſt Cauſes, may be altered *and* changed. Again, ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration, in her Preface to the Common-Prayer, are theſe Words: (*d*) *That the particular Forms of divine Worſhip, and the* Rites *and* Ceremonies *appointed to be uſed, being Things in their own Nature* indifferent and alterable, *and ſo acknowledged; it is but reaſonable, that upon weighty and important Conſiderations, according to the various Exigency of Times and Occaſions, ſuch Changes ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in Place of Authority, ſhould from Time to Time ſeem either neceſſary or expedient. Accordingly we find, that in the Reigns of ſeveral Princes of bleſſed Memory ſince the Reformation, the Church, upon juſt and weighty Conſiderations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make ſuch Alterations in ſome Particulars, as in their reſpective Times were thought convenient.* Thus far the Church of *England.* And of late I find, that a very eminent Member thereof, the Reverend Dean of *Canterbury*, hath acquainted us, in a publick Sermon preached by him at the *Yorkſhire* Feaſt, (*e*) *That tho' it was not for private Perſons to undertake in Matters of publick Concernment, yet he thought he had no Cauſe to doubt but the Governors of our Church (notwithſtanding all the Advantages of Authority and Reaſon too, as they thought, on their Side) were Perſons of that Piety and Prudence, that for Peace-Sake, and in order to a firm Union amongſt Proteſtants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to inſiſt upon little Things, but to yield them up, whether to the Infirmity or Importunity, or, perhaps, in ſome very few Things, to the plauſible Exceptions of thoſe who differed from them.*

The Reverend Dr. *Sherlock*, in a Sermon lately preached before the Lord Mayor, hath likewiſe moſt charitably and piouſly declared his Thoughts about theſe Matters of Difference in the following Words.

(*f*) *We have Reaſon to hope, that the Church of* England, *which, at the Beginning of the Reformation, took ſuch prudent Care not to offend the Papiſts by going farther from them than was neceſſary, will, whenever it is likely to do Good, condeſcend a great deal farther than it is neceſſary to reform, to meet the Diſſenter; for while the external Decency, Gravity, and Solemnity of Worſhip is ſecured, no wiſe and good Man will think much to change a changeable Ceremony, when it will heal the Breaches and Diviſions of the Church. And let us all heartily pray to God, that there may be this good and peaceable Diſpoſition of Mind in all* Conformiſts, *and* Non-Conformiſts, *towards a happy Re-union; and all conſidering Men will think it Time to lay aſide ſuch little Diſputes, when*

(*d*) Preface to the Common-Prayer.
(*e*) Dr. *Tillotſon*'s Sermon, preached at the *Yorkſhire* Feaſt, *Anno* 1679, *p.* 28.
(*f*) Dr. *Sherlock*'s Sermon, preached before the Lord Mayor, *Nov.* 1688.

it

it is not merely the Church of England, *nor any particular Sect of Proteſtants, whoſe Ruin is aimed at, but the whole Proteſtant Faith.*

And as a farther Confirmation of the Readineſs, not only of our Divines, but of the Fathers of our Church, to incourage ſo glorious a Work, his Grace of *Canterbury*, and the reſt of the petitioning Biſhops, did, in their famous Petition (for which they were ſent Priſoners to the Tower) aſſure his Majeſty, that they did not refuſe to diſtribute and publiſh his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, *from any Want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters; in Relation to whom, they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhould be thought fit, when that Matter ſhould be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation.*

And not long after, another Company of Biſhops, who were ſent for by the late King *James*, to give him their Advice, (in ſeveral important Affairs of the Nation) among other Things, propoſed, *That a free Parliament ſhould eſtabliſh a due Liberty of Conſcience.*

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſo earneſt to promote this ſo Chriſtian Deſign, that among thoſe admirable Articles recommended by his Grace to all the Biſhops within his Province, (which were to be more fully inſiſted upon in their Addreſſes to the Clergy and People of their reſpective Dioceſſes) this was one:

That they alſo walk in Wiſdom towards thoſe that are not of our Communion: And if there be in their Pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekneſs, ſeeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and win them over to our Communion: More eſpecially, that they have a very tender Regard to our Brethren *the* Proteſtant Diſſenters; *that upon Occaſion offered, they viſit them at their Houſes, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; perſuading them (if it may be) to a full Compliance with our* Church, *or at leaſt,* that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the ſame Rule, and mind the ſame Thing.

And in order hereunto, that they take all Opportunities of aſſuring and convincing them, that the Biſhops of this Church *are really and ſincerely irreconcileable to the Errors, Superſtitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of* Rome.

And that they warmly and moſt affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an univerſal, bleſſed Union of all the Reformed Churches both at Home and Abroad, againſt our common Enemies; and that all they, who do confeſs the holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the Truth of his holy Word, may alſo meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect Unity and Godly Love.

Now, ſeeing the Church of *England* hath once and again declared her excellent Temper and Moderation for the Preſervation of Peace and Unity (the great End and Deſign of all Church-Government) we have little Reaſon to queſtion her Readineſs (at ſuch a Time as this is) to comply with ſo modeſt a Propoſal, as a Liberty of uſing or refuſing thoſe Ceremonies, which ſhe ſaith,

In

In their own Nature are indifferent and alterable, and upon weighty and important Conſiderations may be changed, &c. or to grant her Conſent to ſuch a Subſcription, in relation to thoſe Articles which concern the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, as are propoſed by the learned Dean of *St. Paul's*, in the *Appendix*; eſpecially conſidering, that by this Condeſcenſion of hers, ſhe will certainly bring into her Communion a great Number of pious, moderate, and more conſiderative Non-conformiſts: Which will not only add Strength to herſelf, but give a great Joy and Content to all thoſe who have wiſh'd well to the Peace, Unity, and Proſperity of this our Church and Nation: To which End it would not be amiſs, that a ſtrict Injunction ſhould be laid on the Clergy and People to forbear all harſh and unchriſtian Language one towards another, and to obſerve the Apoſtle's Rule, *of not judging one another*.

2. I would likewiſe humbly propoſe, That the reſt of the Proteſtant Diſſenters might be indulged by Act of Parliament, provided they neither preached, wrote, nor diſcourſed againſt the Doctrine or Government of the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed; and that, becauſe Charity, which is kind, and thinks no Evil, would oblige a ſober and indifferent Perſon to believe, that the Reaſon of their Separation from our Church did chiefly proceed from a Tenderneſs of Conſcience (impreſſed upon them by the Force of their Education, Study, Converſation, *&c.* leſt in complying with the preſent eſtabliſhed Form of Worſhip, they ſhould ſin againſt God, and wound the Peace of their own Souls: For otherwiſe, their own preſent Quiet and Intereſt muſt neceſſarily have obliged them to a Compliance, they having been under a continual Danger and Hazard of the Execution of the Laws eſtabliſhed againſt them; whereby they have been not only deprived of that Maintenance, which, by the Countenance of Authority, they might otherwiſe have expected, and publickly enjoyed, but expoſed to many Wants, Difficulties, and Sufferings.

Propoſals for preventing future Diviſions.

I Humbly propoſe to the Wiſdom of this preſent Parliament, That an *ACT* might be paſſed, whereby every Perſon (after a limited Term of Years) intending to take Holy Orders, ſhould be incapacitated for any Church-Preferment, or for a Licence to preach in private Congregations, who could not give a ſatisfactory Account to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs where he intended to ſettle, of his Proficiency and Ability in Church-Hiſtory and primitive Learning, whereby he might be able to give a clear and plain Account of what Diſcipline and Order were uſed in the Church of God neareſt our Saviour's and the Apoſtles Days; when Differences and Errors in Doctrine or Church-Government began firſt to ariſe, with the Authors, Occaſion, and Effects thereof. The Advantages, which muſt neceſſarily attend the making of ſuch a Law, would be very great both to our Intereſt in Church and State; amongſt which I beg Leave to name the following.

1. We

1. We might hereby (for the future) more aſſuredly hope for, and expect Peace and Union amongſt our Church-Men, who, having been all well acquainted with primitive Learning and Practice, with the Riſe and Growth of all Hereſies, Schiſms, and Diviſions in the Church, and with the fatal Conſequences which have attended them, would not more rationally than unanimouſly make Choice of one and the ſame Form of Worſhip and Diſcipline, but moſt heartily unite in their Affections to one another, endeavouring with all their Strength and Power to maintain the Church in Peace and Unity.

2. By this Means we might be aſſured to enjoy the moſt learned Clergy that ever this Nation brought forth, who would not only prove a great Bulwark againſt Popery on the one Hand, but Schiſm and Faction on the other; and being ſo well accompliſhed for the miniſterial Function (before they enter into it) might much more aſſuredly engage the Affection and Hearts of their People, by ſpending (in private) the greateſt Part of the Week in inſtructing them in the Principles, and encouraging them in the Practice of the Chriſtian Religion; a Duty, alas, too much neglected in our Days!

3. We may then hope for Preferments to anſwer every Man's Merit: One of the principal Reaſons why we have more Clergymen than Livings, ſeeming to be this, That a great Number of ordinary Tradeſmen and Farmers do ſend their Children to the Univerſities (being ambitious to make them Gentlemen) though they are unable to maintain them there above three or four Years; in which Time ſuch Accompliſhments are not to be attained as are required by this Propoſal. If thereof ſuch a Law (as this) were once eſtabliſhed, they would be willing to bring them up to honeſt Profeſſions and Trades, much more ſuitable for them, and Perſons of better Eſtates and Quality would be encouraged to bring up their Children in the Univerſities, and continue them there until they arrived to that Pitch of Learning, which would not only render them the Honour of their own, but the Envy of foreign Nations, and alſo capacitate them for the Enjoyment of a Preferment ſuitable to their Parents Charge, and their own Pains and Induſtry; eſpecially if the King would appropriate the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths of all the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, or the Parliament ſhould think fit to raiſe a Sum of Money for the purchaſing Impropriations, and endowing Livings with ſuch a Competency, as might enable the Incumbents to provide comfortably for themſelves and Families, and to keep up decent Hoſpitality in their Neighbourhood; and would annex thoſe Impropriations (when purchaſed) to the Biſhops and Chapters of each Dioceſs, who are to be preſumed to be the moſt competent Judges of the Abilities of all Perſons to be entruſted with the Care of Souls: And for the more effectual Succeſs of this important Affair, let the Biſhops be obliged every Year to call upon the Univerſities for the Names of the moſt pious, learned, and induſtrious Perſons in their ſeveral Colleges.

In ſhort, I heartily wiſh, that we might often and ſeriouſly remember our Bleſſed Saviour's Prediction, that *a Kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; and likewiſe conſider that Fate, which attended the Faction and Diviſion.

ſion of the *Jews*, which grew to that Height, that they could not forbear deſtroying each other, even when their declared Enemies the *Romans* were coming to beſiege their City: *From which, good Lord deliver us.*

APPENDIX.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all His loving Subjects of His Kingdom of England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

CHARLES R.

HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church, and how difficult a Thing it is to preſerve Order and Government in Civil, whilſt their is no Order or Government in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, is evident to the World; and this little Part of the World, Our own Dominions, hath had ſo late Experience of it, that We may very well acquieſce in the Concluſion, without enlarging Ourſelf in Diſcourſe upon it, it being a Subject We have had frequent Occaſion to contemplate upon, and to lament Abroad as well as at Home.

In Our Letter to the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons from *Breda*, We declared how much We deſired the Advancement and Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion; that neither the Unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from thoſe of a contrary Profeſſion (of both which We have had abundant Evidence) could in the leaſt Degree ſtartle Us, or make Us ſwerve from it, and that nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily conſent; and We ſaid then, that We did hope in due Time, Ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our Care and Our Study, and have enough obſerved what is moſt like to bring Diſadvantage to it. And the Truth is, We do think Ourſelf the more competent to propoſe, and with God's Aſſiſtance, to determine many Things now in Difference, from the Time We have ſpent, and the Experience We have had, in moſt of the Reformed Churches Abroad, in *France*, in the *Low-Countries*, and in *Germany*, where We have had frequent Conferences with the moſt learned Men, who have unanimouſly lamented the great Reproach the Proteſtant Religion undergoes from the Diſtempers, and too notorious Schiſms in Matters of Religion in *England*: And as the moſt learned among them have always, with great Submiſſion and Reverence, acknowledged and magnified the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*, and the great Countenance and Shelter the Proteſtant Religion received from it before theſe unhappy Times; ſo many of them have, with great Ingenuity and Sorrow, confeſſed, that they

they were too eaſily miſled by Miſinformation and Prejudice into ſome Diſeſteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of *Rome*; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the beſt Fence God hath yet raiſed againſt Popery in the World; and we are perſuaded they do with great Zeal wiſh it reſtored to its old Dignity and Veneration.

When We were in *Holland*, We were attended by many grave and learned Miniſters from hence, who were looked upon as the moſt able and principal Aſſertors of the Preſbyterian Opinions, with whom We had as much Conference as the Multitude of Affairs which were then upon Us would permit Us to have; and to Our great Satisfaction and Comfort found them Perſons full of Affection to Us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have been giving out to be) to Epiſcopacy or Liturgy, but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations in either, as without ſhaking Foundations, might beſt allay the preſent Diſtempers, which the Indiſpoſition of the Time, and the Tenderneſs of ſome Men's Conſciences, had contracted; for the better doing whereof, We did intend, upon Our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all thoſe Differences and Diſſatisfactions which had, or ſhould ariſe in Matters of Religion; and in the mean Time, We publiſhed, in Our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhould be diſquieted or called in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matter of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

Whilſt We continued in this Temper of Mind and Reſolution, and have ſo far complied with the Perſuaſion of particular Perſons, and the Diſtemper of the Time, as to be contented with the Exerciſe of our Religion in Our own Chapel, according to the conſtant Practice and Laws eſtabliſhed, without enjoining that Practice, and the Obſervation of thoſe Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom; in which We have undergone the Cenſure of many, as if We were without that Zeal for the Church which We ought to have, and which, by God's Grace, We ſhall always retain; We have found Ourſelf not ſo candidly dealt with as We have deſerved, and that there are unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, who, without abating any of their own Diſtemper, in Recompence of the Moderation they find in Us, continue their Bitterneſs againſt the Church, and endeavour to raiſe Jealouſies of Us, and to leſſen Our Reputation by their Reproaches, as if We were not true to the Profeſſions We have made: And in order thereunto, they have very unſeaſonably cauſed to be printed, publiſhed, and diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, a Declaration, heretofore printed in Our Name during the Time of our being in *Scotland*, of which We ſhall ſay no more, than that the Circumſtances by which We were enforced to ſign that Declaration, are enough known to the World; and that the worthieſt and greateſt Part of that Nation did even then deteſt and abhor the ill Uſage of Us in that Particular,

when the ſame Tyranny was exerciſed there by the Power of a few ill Men, which at that Time had ſpread itſelf over this Kingdom, and therefore We had no Reaſon to expect, that We ſhould at this Seaſon, when We are doing all We can to wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiſs by other Men, and, We thank God, have wiped it out of Our own Remembrance, have been Ourſelf aſſaulted with thoſe Reproaches, which We will likewiſe forget.

Since the printing this Declaration, ſeveral ſeditious Pamphlets and *Queries* have been publiſhed and ſcattered Abroad, to infuſe Diſlike and Jealouſies into the Hearts of the People, and of the Army; and ſome who ought rather to have repented the former Miſchief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the Hardneſs to publiſh, that the Doctrine of the Church, againſt which no Man, with whom We have conferred, hath excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Diſcipline.

This over-paſſionate and turbulent Way of proceeding, and the Impatience We find in many for ſome ſpeedy Determination in theſe Matters, whereby the Minds of Men may be compoſed, and the Peace of the Church eſtabliſhed, hath prevailed with Us to invert the Method We had propoſed to Ourſelf, and even in order to the better calling and compoſing of a Synod (which the preſent Jealouſies will hardly agree upon) by the Aſſiſtance of God's bleſſed Spirit, which We daily invoke and ſupplicate, to give ſome Determination Ourſelf to the Matters in Difference, until ſuch a Synod may be called, as may, without Paſſion or Prejudice, give Us ſuch farther Aſſiſtance towards a perfect Union of Affections, as well as Submiſſion to Authority, as is neceſſary: And We are the rather induced to take this upon Us, by finding, upon the full Conference We have had with the learned Men of ſeveral Perſuaſions, that the Miſchiefs, under which both the Church and State do at preſent ſuffer, do not reſult from any form'd Doctrine or Concluſion which either Party maintains or avows, but from the Paſſion and Appetite, and Intereſt of particular Perſons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other, from thoſe Affections, than would naturally riſe from their Opinions; and thoſe Diſtempers muſt be in ſome Degree allayed, before the meeting in a Synod can be attended with better Succeſs, than their meeting in other Places, and their Diſcourſes in Pulpits have hitherto been; and till all Thoughts of Victory are laid aſide, the humble and neceſſary Thoughts for the Vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

We muſt, for the Honour of all thoſe of either Perſuaſion with whom We have conferred, declare, That the Profeſſions and Deſires of all for the Advancement of Piety and true Godlineſs, are the ſame; their Profeſſions of Zeal for the Peace of the Church, the ſame; of Affection and Duty to Us, the ſame: They all approve Epiſcopacy; they all approve a ſet Form of Liturgy; and they all diſapprove and diſlike the Sin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church: And if upon theſe excellent Foundations, in Submiſſion to which there is ſuch a Harmony of Affections, any Superſtructures ſhould be raiſed, to the ſhaking thoſe Foundations, and

to

to the contracting and leſſening the bleſſed Gift of Charity, which is a vital Part of Chriſtian Religion, We ſhall think Ourſelf very unfortunate, and even ſuſpect, that We are defective in that Adminiſtration of Government, with which God hath entruſted Us.

We need not profeſs the high Affection and Eſteem We have for the Church of *England*, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law; the Reverence to which hath ſupported Us, with God's Bleſſing, againſt many Temptations; nor do We think that Reverence in the leaſt Degree diminiſhed by Our Condeſcentions, not peremptorily to inſiſt on ſome Particulars of Ceremony, which, however introduced by the Piety and Devotion, and Order of former Times, may not be ſo agreeable to the preſent, but may even leſſen that Piety and Devotion, for the Improvement whereof they might happily be firſt introduced, and conſequently may well be diſpenſed with; and We hope this charitable Compliance of Ours will diſpoſe the Minds of all Men to a chearful Submiſſion to that Authority, the Preſervation whereof is ſo neceſſary for the Unity and Peace of the Church; and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Epiſcopal Authority, to be the beſt Support of Religion, by being the beſt Means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government: And they who would reſtrain the Exerciſe of that holy Function within the Rules which were obſerved in the primitive Times, muſt remember and conſider, that the Eccleſiaſtical Power being in thoſe bleſſed Times always ſubordinate and ſubject to the Civil; it was likewiſe proportioned to ſuch an Extent of Juriſdiction as was moſt agreeable to that: And as the Sanctity and Simplicity, and Reſignation of that Age, did then refer many Things to the Biſhops, which the Policy of ſucceeding Ages would not admit, at leaſt did otherwiſe provide for; ſo it can be no Reproach to primitive Epiſcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the Civil Government, from what was then, there have been likewiſe ſome Difference and Alteration in the Eccleſiaſtical, the Eſſence and Foundation being ſtill preſerved. And upon this Ground, without taking upon Us to cenſure the Government of the Church in other Countries, where the Government of the State is different from what it is here, or enlarging Ourſelf upon the Reaſons why, while there was an Imagination of erecting a Democratical Government here in the State, they ſhould be willing to continue an Ariſtocratical Government in the Church: It ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that ſince, by the wonderful Bleſſing of God, the Hearts of this whole Nation are returned to an Obedience to Monarchick Government in the State, it muſt be very reaſonable to ſupport that Government in the Church which is eſtabliſhed by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flouriſhed through ſo many Ages, and which is in Truth as ancient in this Iſland as the Chriſtian Monarchy thereof; and which hath always, in ſome Reſpects or Degrees, been enlarged or reſtrained, as hath been thought moſt conducing to the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom; and therefore We have not the leaſt Doubt, but that the preſent Biſhops will think the preſent Conceſſions now made by Us, to allay the preſent Diſtempers, very

juſt and reaſonable, and will very chearfully conform themſelves thereunto.

1. We do, in the firſt Place, declare Our Purpoſe and Reſolution is, and ſhall be, to promote the Power of Godlineſs, to encourage the Exerciſes of Religion, both publick and private, and to take Care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy Exerciſes, without unneceſſary Divertiſements; and that inſufficient, negligent, and ſcandalous Miniſters be not permitted in the Church: And that as the preſent Biſhops are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifeſted in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings during theſe late Diſtempers, and of great and known Sufficiency in Learning; ſo We ſhall take ſpecial Care, by the Aſſiſtance of God, to prefer no Men to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Virtue, and Piety, who may be themſelves the beſt Examples to thoſe who are to be governed by them; and We ſhall expect, and provide the beſt We can, that the Biſhops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often preach themſelves in ſome Church of their Dioceſs, except they be hindered by Sickneſs, or other bodily Infirmities, or ſome other juſtifiable Occaſion, which ſhall not be thought juſtifiable if it be frequent.

2. Becauſe the Dioceſſes, eſpecially ſome of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, We will appoint ſuch a Number of ſuffragan Biſhops in every Dioceſs, as ſhall be ſufficient for the due Performance of their Work.

3. No Biſhop ſhall ordain, or exerciſe any Part of Juriſdiction which appertains to the Cenſures of the Church, without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Preſbyters: And no Chancellors, Commiſſaries, or Officials, as ſuch, ſhall exerciſe any Act of Spiritual Juriſdiction in theſe Caſes, *viz.* Excommunication, Abſolution, or wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned, with Reference to their paſtoral Charge. However, Our Intent and Meaning is, to uphold and maintain the Profeſſion of the Civil Law ſo far, and in ſuch Matters, as it hath been of Uſe and Practice within Our Kingdoms and Dominions: Albeit, as to Excommunication, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that no Chancellor, Commiſſary, or Official, ſhall decree any Sentence of Excommunication, or Abſolution, or be Judges in thoſe Things wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned, as is aforeſaid. Nor ſhall the Archdeacon exerciſe any Juriſdiction, without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of ſix Miniſters of his Archdeaconry, whereof three to be nominated by the Biſhop, and three by the Election of the major Part of the Preſbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. To the End that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counſel and Aſſiſtance to the Biſhops, both in Ordination, and the other Offices mentioned before, We will take Care that thoſe Preferments be given to the moſt learned and pious Preſbyters of the Dioceſs; and moreover, that an equal Number (to thoſe of the Chapter) of the moſt learned, pious, and diſcreet Preſbyters of the ſame Dioceſs, annually choſen by the major Vote of all the Preſbyters of that Dioceſs preſent at ſuch Elections, ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting, together with thoſe of the Chapter,

in

in all Ordinations, and in every Part of Juriſdiction which appertains to the Cenſures of the Church, and at all other ſolemn and important Actions in the Exerciſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, wherein any of the Miniſtry are concerned; provided, that at all ſuch Meetings, the Number of the Miniſters ſo elected, and thoſe preſent of the Chapter, ſhall be equal, and not exceed one the other, and that to make the Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding Number be withdrawn, that the moſt ancient may take Place: Nor ſhall any ſuffragan Biſhop ordain, or exerciſe the before-mentioned Offices and Acts of Spiritual Juriſdiction, but with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a ſufficient Number of the moſt judicious and pious Preſbyters annually choſen as aforeſaid within his Precincts: And our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be conſtantly and ſolemnly performed by the Biſhop and his aforeſaid Preſbytery, at the four ſet Times and Seaſons appointed by the Church for that Purpoſe.

5. We will take Care, that Confirmation be rightly and ſolemnly performed, by the Information, and with the Conſent of the Miniſter of the Place, who ſhall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profeſſion of their Faith, and promiſed Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expreſſed in the Conſiderations of the Rubrick before the Catechiſm; and that all poſſible Diligence be uſed for the Inſtruction and Reformation of ſcandalous Offenders, whom the Miniſter ſhall not ſuffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themſelves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly expreſs'd in the *Rubrick*, and more fully in the *Canons*, provided there be Place for due Appeal to ſuperior Powers. But beſides the Suffragans and their Preſbytery, every rural Dean (thoſe Deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs) together with three or four Miniſters of that Deanry, choſen by the major Part of all the Miniſters within the ſame, ſhall meet once in every Month, to receive ſuch Complaints as ſhall be preſented to them by the Miniſters or Church-Wardens of the reſpective Pariſhes; and alſo to compoſe all ſuch Differences betwixt Party and Party, as ſhall be referred unto them by Way of Arbitration, and to convince Offenders, and reform all ſuch Things as they find amiſs by their paſtoral Reproofs and Admonitions, if they may be ſo reformed: And ſuch Matters as they cannot, by this paſtoral and perſuaſive Way, compoſe and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and preſented to the Biſhop; at which Meeting any other Miniſters of that Deanry may, if they pleaſe, be preſent and aſſiſt. Moreover, the rural Dean and his Aſſiſtants are, in their reſpective Diviſions, to ſee, that the Children and younger Sort be carefully inſtructed, by the reſpective Miniſters of every Pariſh, in the Grounds of Chriſtian Religion, and be able to give a good Account of their Faith and Knowledge, and alſo of their Chriſtian Converſation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Biſhop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

6. No

6. No Biſhop ſhall exerciſe any arbitrary Power, or do or impoſe any Thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Law of the Land.

7. We are very glad to find, that all, with whom We have conferred, do in their Judgments approve a Liturgy, or ſet Form of publick Worſhip, to be lawful; which, in Our Judgment, for the Preſervation of Unity and Uniformity, We conceive to be very neceſſary: And though We do eſteem the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and by Law eſtabliſhed, to be the beſt We have ſeen (and We believe that We have ſeen all that are Extant, and uſed in this Part of the World, and well know what Reverence moſt of the Reformed Churches, or at leaſt the moſt learned Men in thoſe Churches have for it) yet, ſince We find ſome Exceptions made againſt ſeveral Things therein, We will appoint an equal Number of learned Divines of both Perſuaſions to review the ſame, and to make ſuch Alterations as ſhall be thought moſt neceſſary; and ſome additional Forms in the Scripture-Phraſe (as near as may be) ſuited unto the Nature of the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip; and that it be left to the Miniſters Choice to uſe one or other at his Diſcretion. In the mean Time, and till this be done, although We do heartily wiſh and deſire, that the Miniſters in their ſeveral Churches, becauſe they diſlike ſome Clauſes and Expreſſions, would not totally lay aſide the Uſe of the Book of Common-Prayer, but read thoſe Parts againſt which there can be no Exception; which would be the beſt Inſtance of declining thoſe Marks of Diſtinction, which We ſo much labour and deſire to remove: Yet in Compaſſion to divers of Our good Subjects, who ſcruple the Uſe of it, as now it is, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that none be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it, until it be reviewed, and effectually reformed, as aforeſaid.

8. Laſtly, Concerning Ceremonies, which have adminiſtred ſo much Matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wiſdom and Authority of the Church, for Edification, and the Improvement of Piety: We ſhall ſay no more, but that We have the more Eſteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, by having been preſent in many of thoſe Churches where they are moſt aboliſhed, or diſcountenanced; and it cannot be doubted, but that, as the univerſal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worſhip of God, that is contrary to God's Word expreſſed in the Scripture; ſo every national Church, with the Approbation and Conſent of the Sovereign Power, may, and hath always introduced ſuch particular Ceremonies, as in that Conjuncture of Time are thought moſt proper for Edification, and the neceſſary Improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People, though the neceſſary Practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture; and that which before was, and in itſelf is indifferent, ceaſes to be indifferent, after it is once eſtabliſhed by Law: And therefore Our preſent Conſideration and Work is, to gratify the private Conſciences of thoſe who are grieved with the Uſe of ſome Ceremonies, by indulging to, and diſpenſing with, their omitting thoſe Ceremonies; not utterly to aboliſh any which

which are eſtabliſhed by Law (if any are practiſed contrary to Law, the ſame ſhall ceaſe) which would be unjuſt, and of ill Example; and to impoſe upon the Conſcience of ſome, for the Satisfaction of the Conſcience of others, which is otherwiſe provided for. As it could not be reaſonable that Men ſhould expect, that We ſhould Ourſelf decline, or enjoin others to do ſo, to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament upon our Knees, which in Our Conſcience is the moſt humble, moſt devout, and moſt agreeable Poſture for that holy Duty, becauſe ſome other Men, upon Reaſons beſt, if not only known to themſelves, chuſe rather to do it ſitting or ſtanding: We ſhall leave all Deciſions and Determinations of that Kind, if they ſhall be thought neceſſary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a national Synod, which ſhall be duly called, after a little Time, and a mutual Converſation between Perſons of different Perſuaſions, hath mollified thoſe Diſtempers, abated thoſe Sharpneſſes, and extinguiſhed thoſe Jealouſies, which make Men unfit for thoſe Conſultations; and upon ſuch Advice, We ſhall uſe Our beſt Endeavour, that ſuch Laws may be eſtabliſhed, as may beſt provide for the Peace of the Church and State, provided that none ſhall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though they do not uſe the Geſture of kneeling in the Act of receiving.

In the mean Time, out of Compaſſion and Compliance towards thoſe who would forbear the Croſs in Baptiſm, We are content, that no Man ſhall be compelled to uſe the ſame, or ſuffer for not doing it; but if any Parent deſire to have his Child chriſtened according to the Form uſed, and the Miniſter will not uſe the Sign, it ſhall be lawful for that Parent to procure another Miniſter to do it: And if the proper Miniſter ſhall refuſe to omit that Ceremony of the Croſs, it ſhall be lawful for the Parent, who would not have his Child ſo baptized, to procure another Miniſter to do it, who will do it according to his Deſire.

No Man ſhall be compelled to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*, or ſuffer in any Degree for not doing it, without reproaching thoſe, who out of their Devotion continue that ancient Ceremony of the Church.

For the Uſe of the Surplice, We are contented, that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they ſhall think fit, without ſuffering in the leaſt Degree for wearing, or not wearing it, provided, that this Liberty do not extend to Our own Chapel, Cathedral, or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of Our Univerſities; but that the ſeveral Statutes and Cuſtoms for the Uſe thereof in the ſaid Places, be there obſerved as formerly.

And becauſe ſome Men, otherwiſe pious and learned, ſay, they cannot conform unto the Subſcription required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of canonical Obedience; We are content, and it is Our Will and Pleaſure, (ſo they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they ſhall receive Ordination, Inſtitution, and Induction, and ſhall be permitted to exerciſe their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without the ſaid Subſcription, or Oath of canonical Obedience. And moreover, that no Perſons in the Univerſities ſhall, for the Want of ſuch Subſcription, be hindered in the

taking

taking of their Degrees. Laſtly, That none be judged to forfeit his Preſentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it, upon the Satute of the thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chapter the twelfth, ſo he read and declare his Aſſent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments compriſed in the Book of Articles in the ſaid Statute mentioned.

In a Word, We do again renew what We have formerly ſaid in our Declaration from *Breda*, for the Liberty of tender Conſciences, that no Man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in Queſtion, for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and if any have been diſturbed in that Kind ſince Our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of Ours.

To conclude, and in this Place to explain what We mentioned before, and ſaid in Our Letter to the Houſe of Commons from *Breda*, that We hoped in due Time Ourſelf to propoſe ſomewhat for the Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, that will ſatisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our Care and Our Study, and have enough obſerved what is moſt like to bring Diſadvantage to it; We do conjure all Our loving Subjects to acquieſce in, and ſubmit to this Declaration, concerning thoſe Differences which have ſo much diſquieted the Nation at Home, and given ſuch Offence to the Proteſtant Churches Abroad, and brought ſuch Reproach upon the Proteſtant Religion in general; as if, upon obſcure Notions of Faith and Fancy, it did admit the the Practice of Chriſtian Duties and Obedience to be diſcountenanced and ſuſpended, and introduced a Licence in Opinions and Manners, to the Prejudice of the Chriſtian Faith. And let us all endeavour, and emulate each other in thoſe Endeavours, to countenance and advance the Proteſtant Religion Abroad; which will be beſt done by ſupporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the beſt reformed Proteſtant Church at Home; and which, being once freed from the Calumnies and Reproaches it hath undergone from theſe late ill Times, will be the beſt Shelter for thoſe Abroad; which will, by that Countenance, both be the better protected againſt their Enemies, and be the more eaſily induced to compoſe the Differences amongſt themſelves, which give their Enemies more Advantage againſt them. And we hope and expect, that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any ſuch Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in ſuch Manner upon the Affections of the People, as may diſpoſe them to an ill Opinion of Us and the Government, and to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom: Which if all Men will, in their ſeveral Vocations, endeavour to preſerve with the ſame Affection and Zeal as We Ourſelf will do, all Our good Subjects will, by God's Bleſſing upon Us, enjoy as great a Meaſure of Felicity as this Nation hath ever done; and which we ſhall conſtantly labour to procure for them, as the greateſt Bleſſing God can beſtow upon us in this World.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, *this Twenty-fifth Day of* October, 1660.

The

The Reverend Dean of Paul's *Propoſals, or Terms of Union, betwixt the Church of* England *and the* Diſſenters: *Taken out of his Preface to the Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, Pag. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

IS there nothing to be done for diſſenting Proteſtants, who agree with us in all doctrinal Articles of our Church, and only ſcruple the Uſe of a few Ceremonies, and ſome late Impoſitions? Shall theſe Differences ſtill be continued, when they may be ſo eaſily removed, and ſo many uſeful Men be encouraged, and taken into the Conſtitution? Do we value a few indifferent Ceremonies, and ſome late Declarations, and doubtful Expreſſions, beyond the Satisfaction of Mens Conſciences, and the Peace and Stability of this Church?

As to this material Quſtion, I ſhall crave Leave to deliver my Opinion freely and impartially; and that,

I. *With Reſpect to the Caſe of the People, the Terms of whoſe* Union *with us is acknowledged by our Brethren to be ſo much eaſier than their own. But theſe are of two Sorts:*

1. Some allow the Uſe of the Liturgy, but ſay, they cannot join in Communion with us, becauſe the Participation of the Sacraments hath ſuch Rites and Ceremonies annexed to it, which they think unlawful; and therefore, till theſe be removed, or left indifferent, they dare not join with us in Baptiſm, or the Lord's Supper; becauſe in the one the Croſs is uſed, and in the other kneeling is required. As to theſe I anſwer,

(1.) *Upon the moſt diligent Search I could make into theſe Things, I find no good Ground for any Scruple of Conſcience as to the Uſe of theſe Ceremonies, and as little as any as to the Sign of the* Croſs, *as it is uſed in our* Church, *notwithſtanding all the Noiſe that hath been made about its being a* new Sacrament, *and I know not what; but of this at large in the following Treatiſe.*

(2.) *I ſee no Ground for the People's Separation from other Acts of Communion, on the Account of ſome Rites they ſuſpect to be unlawful, and eſpecially when the Uſe of ſuch Rites is none of their own Act, as the* Croſs *in* Baptiſm *is not; and when ſuch an Explication is annexed concerning the Intention of* kneeling at the Lord's Supper, *as in the* Rubrick *after the* Communion.

(3.) *Notwithſtanding, becauſe the Uſe of* Sacraments *in a* Chriſtian Church *ought to be the moſt free from all Exceptions, and they ought to be ſo adminiſtered, as rather to invite than diſcourage ſcrupulous Perſons from joining in them; I do think it would be a Part of Chriſtian Wiſdom and Condeſcenſion in the Governors of our* Church, *to remove thoſe Bars from a Freedom in joining in*

full Communion with us; which may be done, either by wholly taking away the Sign of the Croſs, *or if that may give Offence to others, by confining the Uſe of it to the publick Adminiſtration of* Baptiſm, *or by leaving it indifferent, as the Parents deſire it. As to* kneeling at the Lord's Supper, *ſince ſome Poſture is neceſſary, and many devout People ſcruple any other, and the* Primitive Church *did in antient Times receive it in the Poſture of Adoration, there is no Reaſon to take this away, even in* Parochial Churches, *provided that thoſe who ſcruple* kneeling, *do receive it with the leaſt Offence to others, and rather* ſtanding *than* ſitting; *becauſe the former is moſt agreeable to the Practice of Antiquity, and of our Neighbour-reformed Churches. As to the* Surplice *in* Parochial Churches, *it is not of that Conſequence as to bear a Diſpute one Way or other; and as to* Cathedral Churches, *there is no Neceſſity of Alteration. But there is another Thing which ſeems to be of late much ſcrupled in* Baptiſm, *viz.* The Uſe of Godfathers and Godmothers, excluding the Parents. *Although I do not queſtion but the Practice of our Church may be juſtified (as I have done it towards the End of the following Treatiſe) yet I ſee no Neceſſity of adhering ſo ſtrictly to the* Canon *herein, but that a little Alteration may prevent theſe Scruples, either by permitting the Parents to join with the Sponſors, or by the Parents publickly deſiring the Sponſors to repreſent them in offering the Child to* Baptiſm; *or which ſeems moſt agreeable to Reaſon, that the Parents offer the Child to Baptiſm, and then the Sponſors perform the covenanting Part, repreſenting the Child, and the Charge after Baptiſm be given in common to the Parents and Sponſors.*

Theſe Things being allowed, I ſee no Obſtruction remaining, as to a full Union *of the Body of ſuch Diſſenters with us, in all Acts of Divine Worſhip, and* Chriſtian Communion, *as do not reject all* Communion *with us as unlawful.*

2. *But becauſe there are many of thoſe, who are become zealous Proteſtants,* and plead much their Communion with us in Faith and Doctrine, although they cannot join with us in Worſhip, becauſe they deny the Lawfulneſs of Liturgies, and the right Conſtitution of our Churches; *their Caſe deſerves ſome Conſideration, whether, and how far, they are capable of being made ſerviceable to the common Intereſt, and to the Support of the Proteſtant Religion among us.*

To their Caſe *I anſwer,*

Firſt, *That a general* unlimited Toleration *to* Diſſenting Proteſtants, *will ſoon bring* Confuſion *among us, and in the End* Popery, *as I have ſhewed already; and a Suſpenſion of all the penal Laws that relate to Diſſenters is the ſame Thing with a* boundleſs Toleration.

Secondly, *If any preſent Favours be granted to ſuch, in Conſideration of our Circumſtances, and to prevent their Conjunction with the* Papiſts, *for a* general Toleration *(for if ever the* Papiſts *obtain it, it muſt be under their Name:) If, I ſay, ſuch Favour be thought fit to be ſhewed them, it ought to be with ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as may prevent the Miſchief which may eaſily follow upon it; for all ſuch Meetings are a perpetual Reproach to our Churches, by their declaring,* That our Churches are no true Churches; that our Manner

of Worſhip is unlawful; and that our Church-Government is Antichriſtian; and that on theſe Accounts they ſeparate from us, and worſhip God by themſelves. *But if ſuch an* Indulgence *be thought fit to be granted, I humbly offer theſe Things to Conſideration.*

1. *That none be permitted to enjoy the Privilege of it, who do not declare,* That they do hold Communion with our Churches to be unlawful: *For it ſeems unreaſonable to allow it to others, and will give Countenance to endleſs and cauſeleſs Separations.*

2. *That all who enjoy it, beſides taking the* Teſt *againſt* Popery, *do ſubſcribe the* Thirty-ſix Articles *of our Faith, becauſe the Pretence of this Liberty, is joining with us in* Points *of* Faith; *and this may more probably prevent* Papiſts *getting in amongſt them.*

3. *That all ſuch as enjoy it, muſt declare the particular Congregations they are of, and enter their Names before ſuch* Commiſſioners *as ſhall be authorized for that Purpoſe, that ſo this may be no Pretence for idle, looſe, and profane Perſons, never going to any Church at all.*

4. *That both Preachers and Congregations be liable to ſevere Penalties, if they uſe any bitter or reproachful Words, either in Sermons or Writings, againſt the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of our Churches, becauſe they deſire only the Freedom of their own Conſciences; and the uſing this Liberty, will diſcover it is not Conſcience, but a turbulent, factious Humour, which makes them ſeparate from our Communion.*

5. *That all indulged Perſons be particularly obliged to pay all legal Duties to the* Parochial Churches *(leſt mere Covetouſneſs tempt Men to run among them) and no Perſons ſo indulged be capable of any publick Office; it not being reaſonable that ſuch ſhould be truſted with Government, who look upon the Worſhip eſtabliſhed by Law as unlawful.*

6. *That no other Penalty be laid on ſuch indulged Perſons, but that of* Twelve-pence *a* Sunday *for their Abſence from their* Parochial Churches, *which ought to be duly collected for the Uſe of the Poor, and cannot be complained of as any heavy Burthen, conſidering the Liberty they do enjoy by it.*

7. *That the* Biſhops, *as* Viſitors *appointed by Law, have an exact Account given to them of the Rule of their* Worſhip *and* Diſcipline, *and of all the Perſons belonging to the indulged Congregations, with their Qualities and Places of Abode; and that none be admitted a Member of any ſuch Congregation without acquainting their* Viſitor *with it, that ſo Means may be uſed to prevent their leaving our* Communion, *by giving Satisfaction to their Scruples. This* Power *of the* Biſhops *cannot be ſcrupled by them, ſince herein they are conſidered as* Commiſſioners *appointed by Law.*

8. *That no indulged Perſons preſume, under ſevere Penalties, to breed up* Scholars, *or to teach Gentlemens Sons* Univerſity-Learning; *becauſe this may be juſtly looked on as a Deſign to propagate* Schiſm *to* Poſterity, *and to lay a* Foundation *for the Diſturbance of* future Generations.

II. *As to the* Caſe *of the* ejected Miniſters, *I have theſe Things to offer:*

1. *That bare* Subſcription *of the* thirty-ſix Articles *concerning* Doctrinal Points, *be not allowed as ſufficient to qualify any Man for a* Living, *or any* Church-Preferment, *for theſe Reaſons:*

Firſt, *Any* Layman *upon theſe Terms may not only be capable of a* Living, *but may take upon him to* adminiſter the Sacraments, *which was never allowed in any well-conſtituted* Church *in the* Chriſtian World. *And ſuch an Allowance among us, inſtead of ſettling and uniting us, will immediately bring Things into great* Confuſion, *and give mighty Advantage to the* Papiſts *againſt our* Church. *And we have Reaſon to fear a Deſign of this Nature, under a Pretence of* Union of Proteſtants, *tends to the Subverſion of this* Church, *and throwing all Things into* Confuſion, *which at laſt will end in* Popery.

Secondly, *This will bring a* Faction *into the* Church, *which will more endanger it than external Oppoſition; for ſuch Men will come in triumphantly, having beaten down* three *of the* thirty-nine Articles; *and being in legal Poſſeſſion of their Places, will be ready to defy and contemn thoſe who ſubmitted to the reſt, and to glory in their Conqueſts, and draw Followers after them, as the victorious Confeſſors againſt* Prelacy *and* Ceremonies. *And can they imagine thoſe of the* Church *of* England *will ſee the Reputation of the* Church, *or their* own, *to ſuffer ſo much, and not appear in their own* Vindication? *Things are not come to that Paſs, nor will they ſuddenly be, that the* Friends *of the* Church *of* England *will be either afraid or aſhamed to own her Cauſe. We do heartily and ſincerely deſire* Union *with our Brethren, if it may be had on juſt and reaſonable Terms; but they muſt not think that we will give up the* Cauſe of the Church *for it, ſo as to condemn its* Conſtitution, *or make the* Ceremonies unlawful *which have been hitherto obſerved and practiſed in it. If any Expedient can be found out for the Eaſe of other Mens Conſciences, without reflecting on our own; if they can be taken in, without Reproach or Diſhonour to the* Reformation *of the Church; I hope no true Son of the* Church *of* England *will oppoſe it. But if the Deſign be to bring them in as a* Faction, *to bridle and controul the* Epiſcopal Power, *by ſetting up* forty Biſhops *in a Dioceſs againſt* one; *if it be for them to trample upon the* Church *of* England, *and not to ſubmit to its* Order *and* Government *upon fair and moderate Terms; let them not call this a Deſign of* Union, *but the giving Law to a* Party *to oppoſe the* Church *of* England. *And what the Succeſs of this will be, let wiſe Men judge.*

Thirdly, *If a* Subſcription *to* thirty-ſix Articles *were ſufficient by the Statute* 13 Eliz. c. 12, *I do not underſtand how, by Virtue of that Statute, a Man is bound publickly to read the* thirty-nine Articles in the Church, and the Teſtimonial of his Subſcription, on Pain of being deprived, *ipſo facto*, if he do not. *For the Lord Chief Juſtice* Coke *ſaith, (g)* That Subſcription to the thirty-nine Articles is required by Force of the Act of Parliament, 13 *Eliz.* c. 12. *And he adds*, That the Delinquent is diſabled and deprived, *ipſo facto*, and that a conditional Subſcription to them was not ſufficient, was reſolved by

(g) *Coke's Inſt.* 4. Part 323, 324.

all

all the Judges in *England*. *But how a Man ſhould be deprived*, ipſo facto, *for not ſubſcribing, and reading the* thirty-nine Articles, *as appears by the Caſes mentioned in* Coke, *and yet be required only to ſubſcribe to* thirty-ſix, *by the ſame* Statute, *is a Thing too hard for me to conceive.*

2. *But notwithſtanding this, if any Temper can be found out, as to the* Manner *of* Subſcription, *that may give Eaſe to the* Scruples *of our Brethren, and ſecure the* Peace *of the* Church, *the deſired* Union *may be attained without that apparent Danger of increaſing the Factions among us.*

And this I ſuppoſe may be done, by an abſolute Subſcription to all thoſe Articles *which concern* the Doctrine of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Uſe of the Sacraments, *and a* ſolemn Promiſe under their Hand, or Subſcription of peaceable Submiſſion, *as to the reſt, ſo as not to oppoſe or contradict them, either in* preaching *or* writing, *upon the ſame Penalty as if they had not ſubſcribed to the* thirty-ſix; *which may be a more probable Means to keep the* Church *in Quiet, than forcing a more rigorous* Subſcription *upon them, or leaving them at their full Liberty.*

3. *As to the other* Subſcription *required*, 1 Jac. *to the* three Articles: *The firſt is provided for by* the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; *the third is the ſame with the* Subſcription *to the* thirty-nine Articles; *and as to the ſecond*, about the Book of Common-Prayer, &c. *it ought to be conſidered*,

(1.) *Whether, for the Satisfaction of the Scrupulous, ſome more doubtful and obſcure Paſſages may not yet be explained or amended? Whether the* new Tranſlation *of the* Pſalms *were not fitter to be uſed, at leaſt in* Parochial Churches? *Whether* Portions *of* Canonical Scripture *were not better put inſtead of* Apocryphal Leſſons? *Whether the* Rubrick *about* Salvation of Infants, *might not be reſtored to its former Place, in the* Office of Confirmation, *and ſo the preſent Exceptions againſt it be removed? Whether thoſe Expreſſions, which ſuppoſe the ſtrict Exerciſe of* Diſcipline, *in* burying the Dead, *were not better left at Liberty in our preſent Caſe? Such a* Review *made by* wiſe *and* peaceable Men, *not given to* Wrath *and* Diſputing, *may be ſo far from being a Diſhonour to this Church, that it may add to the Glory of it.*

(2.) *Upon ſuch a* Review, *whether it be not great* Reaſon, *that all Perſons who officiate in the Church, be not only tied to a conſtant* Uſe *of it in* all publick Offices *(as often as they adminiſter them) which they ought in Perſon frequently to do, but to declare, at their firſt Entrance upon a* Parochial Charge, *their* Approbation *of the* Uſe *of it, after their own* reading *of it, that ſo the* People *may not ſuſpect them to carry on a factious Deſign, under an outward Pretence of* Conformity *to the* Rules *of the* Church *they live in.*

(3.) *Whether ſuch a ſolemn* Uſing *the* Liturgy, *and* Approbation *and* Promiſe *of the* Uſe *of it, may not be ſufficient, inſtead of the late* Form *of declaring* their Aſſent and Conſent, *which hath been ſo much* ſcrupled *by our Brethren?*

Theſe are all the Things which appear to me reaſonable to be allowed in order to an Union, *and which, I ſuppoſe, may be granted without Detriment or Diſhonour to our* Church. *There are other Things very deſirable towards the* Happineſs *and* Flouriſhing *of this* Church; *as the Exerciſe of* Diſcipline *in* Parochial

chial Churches, *in a due Subordination* to the Biſhop; *the* reforming *the* Eccleſiaſtical Courts *as to* Excommunication, *without Prejudice to the excellent* Profeſſion *of the* Civil Law; *the building of more* Churches *in great* Pariſhes, *eſpecially about the* City *of* London; *the retrenching* Pluralities; *the Strictneſs and Solemnity of* Ordinations; *the making a* Book *of* Canons *ſuitable to this Age, for the better regulating the* Converſations *of the* Clergy. *Such Things as theſe might facilitate our* Union, *and make our Church, in Spight of all its Enemies, become* a Praiſe in the whole Earth.

A Specimen of a Bill for uniting Proteſtants; being a rough Draught of ſuch Terms, as ſeem equal for the Conformiſt *to grant, and the* Non-conformiſt *to yield to, for Peace Sake: Provided a good while, and publiſhed on Purpoſe only for the further, better, and more eaſy Conſideration of the* Parliament.

WHEREAS, there are many Jealouſies riſen about *Popery*, which makes it even neceſſary to the Peace of the Nation, that the *Proteſtant* Intereſt be united and ſtrengthened by all good and lawful Means; and to this End, there being this one proper Expedient, *to wit*, The removing the Occaſion of Diviſions, which ſeveral Perſons do find to themſelves in thoſe late Injunctions, which yet were intended to the ſame Purpoſe of Concord in the Nation: Be it enacted ——— That an Explanation of theſe Impoſitions, and ſuch Alleviations, be allowed to the tenderly conſiderate, and peaceably ſcrupulous, as follow:

In the *Act of Uniformity*, By the *Declaration of Aſſent and Conſent to all Things, and every Thing contained in, and preſcribed by the two Books of Common-Prayer, and of ordering Prieſts and Deacons*, we underſtand not, that theſe Books are in every minute Particular, infallible, or free from that Defect, which is incident to all human Compoſure; but that they are, in the main Contents, to be ſincerely approved and uſed. And we do therefore allow this Declaration to be ſufficient, if it be made to the Uſe of the Book, in the *Ordinary conſtant Lord's Day's-Service*, notwithſtanding any Exceptions ſome may have againſt ſome Things in the *By-Offices*, and *occaſional Service*, the *Rubrick*, and otherwiſe: And for the Ceremonies which are made, and have been always, and on all Hands, held to be only indifferent Things, we think fit that they be left to the Conſciences and Prudence of Miniſters, and People, every where (excepting the *Cathedrals*) to uſe them, or forbear them, as they judge it moſt meet for their own and others Edification; provided, that if any Perſon will have his Child baptized with the Sign of the *Croſs*,

Croſs, or ſtands upon any Thing elſe hitherto required by the Service-Book, if the Miniſter himſelf ſcruple the Performance, he ſhall permit another to do it.

In the ſame *Act*, by thoſe Words in the *Subſcription*, *That it is not lawful to take Arms againſt the* King, *upon any Pretence whatſoever*; we intend no new or ſtrange Thing, but the rightful Maintenance only of the *King*'s Authority againſt Rebellion, according to the common Determination of learned Writers, in the Caſe of Subjection to Princes. By the Words, *I abhor the Poſition of taking Arms by the Authority of the* King, *againſt any commiſſionated by him*, we never thought of advancing the arbitrary Commiſſions of the *King* above Law; but by thoſe *commiſſionated by him*, we underſtand ſuch as are legally commiſſionated, and in the legal Purſuit of ſuch Commiſſions. By the Clauſe which follows, that requires a Renunciation of all *Endeavour of any Alteration of Government in the Church or State*, we never meant to deny any free-born Subject his Right of chuſing *Parliament-Men*, or acting in his Place for the common Good any Way, according to Law; but that he ſhall renounce all ſuch *Endeavour* as is ſeditious, or not warranted by the Conſtitution of the Nation; and particularly, ſuch an *Endeavour* as was aſſumed in the late Times, without, and againſt the Conſent of the *King*: And for the reſt of the *Subſcription*, which is enjoined but to the Year 1682, be it enacted, that it ceaſe preſently, and be no longer enjoined.

And forafmuch as there is an Oath preſcribed and required of all *Non-conformiſt* Preachers, that reſide in any Corporate Town, by a certain Act of the former *Parliament*, made at *Oxford*, in the 17*th* Year of his now Majeſty's Reign, entitled, *An Act for reſtraining* Non-conformiſts *from inhabiting Corporations*: We do farther declare, that it ſhall ſuffice any Man, for the Enjoyment of his free-born Liberty, of inhabiting where he thinks beſt, and ſerve him alſo inſtead of the before-mentioned *Subſcription*, to take that *Oath* in this Form of Words following: *I A. B. do ſwear, That I hold it unlawful, upon any Pretence, to take Arms againſt the* King, *his Government or Laws; and that I diſclaim that dangerous Poſition, of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or any legally commiſſionated by him, in the legal Purſuit of ſuch Commiſſions; and that I will not endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church or State, in any Way or Manner, not warranted by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, or any otherwiſe than by Act of Parliament*: And as ſoon as any Man has taken the *Oath* thus, he ſhall be diſcharged of all Penalty for his Omiſſion before.

We do declare moreover, that whereas it is required alſo in the *Act of Uniformity*, that every Miniſter, who enjoys any Living or Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, ſhall be ordained by a Biſhop; and there are ſeveral Perſons of late, who, in Caſe of Neceſſity, for Want of Biſhops, took *Preſbyterian Orders*: Our Meaning is not in any wiſe to diſguſt the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, and make it neceſſary for ſuch to be re-ordained to the Office, but that they receive this ſecond Impoſition of Hands to the Exerciſe of their Office in the

the new Charge, unto which they are or ſhall be called; and that the Biſhop ſhall frame his Words accordingly.

And whereas there is a Subſcription alſo in the *Canons*, and the *canonical Oath* of *Obediente*, impoſed on moſt Miniſters by the Biſhops, that have given ſome of the greateſt Occaſion to *Non-conformity* heretofore, which yet never paſſed into Law by any Act of *Parliament*; we do further declare, that nothing more of that Kind ſhall be required of Miniſters henceforward, than was made and held neceſſary by the Act of the 13*th* of *Elizabeth*.

And in Regard there hath been great Offence taken by conſcientious Miniſters, at the Biſhops, or their Courts, commanding them to read the Sentence of Excommunication againſt ſome or other of their Pariſh, for ſuch Faults as they think not at all worthy of ſo great a Cenſure; we declare it but a juſt Thing, that every Miniſter be firſt ſatisfied in the Cauſe, or elſe be exempted from the Execution of that Charge; and that the Biſhop, or his Court, provide ſome other Perſon, that is ſatisfied about it, to do it.

And to the Intent that a free Search after Truth may not be diſcouraged in the Purſuit of Concord, and many other Scruples avoided upon that Account; we declare, that though an *authentick* Interpretation be required, as to the Subſtance of all Laws, yet, in the Articles of the *Church*, (which are *Theſes* for Agreement, and not Laws) and the *Homilies*, a *doctrinal* Interpretation ſhall be held ſufficient for an *Aſſent* or *Subſcription* to them.

And becauſe the very Superintendency of Biſhops, and that Subjection to them which is required by the Conſtitution of the Realm, is, or may be an Hindrance to many ſober Miniſters, and other Proteſtants, of coming into the Church, who are ready to conſent to the Doctrine, but not to the Diſcipline or Government of it; we do declare, that ſo long as any Perſon or Party do acknowledge the *King's Supremacy*, as *Head* of the *Church* in this Nation, and obey their Ordinary, or the Biſhops, *in Licitis & Honeſtis*, upon the Account of his Authority, (committed to them for the Exerciſe of that external Regimen, *Circa Sacra*, which is granted by all our Divines to the higher Powers in every Nation) it is enough for the owning *Epiſcopal Juriſdiction* (ſo far as they do own it in the Declaration of *Aſſent* and *Conſent*, or in any other Part of *Conformity*;) and ſhall ſerve them, to all Intents and Purpoſes in Law, no leſs than a profeſſed Belief and Acknowledgement of the immediate divine Right of it.

Be it therefore enacted, by this preſent *Parliament*, that if any Perſon be willing to conform to the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the *Church of England*, and her Service appointed, according to theſe Explanations, Alleviations, Declarations, Lenitives, or Cautions, he ſhall be admitted to any Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, and enjoy the Uſe of his Miniſtry without any Moleſtation; all Statutes, Canons, or Laws to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And for the making this Act of better Signification to the Concerned, and the Prevention of that Scandal which is raiſed on the Clergy, through the Covetouſneſs of ſome, in heaping up to themſelves all the Preferments they can get, when others have ſcarce Subſiſtance for their Families, and the Souls

of

of many People are thereby neglected; be it farther enacted, that no Clergymen, for the three next Years enſuing, be ſuffered to enjoy any more than one Living, or Cure of Souls, and one Dignity, or other Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, at one Time; and that every Man, without Exception, that hath more than one of either, ſhall immediately give up the reſt, to be diſtributed among thoſe who ſhall be brought off from their *Non-conformity*, upon the Terms of this *Act*, into the eſtabliſhed Order; which, that they may alſo be obtained, and poſſeſſed with a clean Conſcience, and that grievous Corruption of *Simony* may be extirpated out of the Land; be it enacted moreover, that every Patron that ſhall henceforward preſent his Clerk to any Living, ſhall have the Oath called *The Simonical Oath* impoſed on him, no leſs than on the Incumbent; and if he refuſes to take it, that then the Biſhop ſhall have immediate Power (taking only the ſame Oath) of Preſentation in his Room.

And foraſmuch as there are ſome Perſons of a good Life, that cannot (according to their Judgments) allow of our Parochial Churches, nor a Book of *Liturgy*, but do chuſe to worſhip God and *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Way of their gathered or ſeparate Congregations, and crave the Protection and Clemency of the King, upon their Allegiance, as other Subjects; be it finally enacted, for the Happineſs and Quiet of the Realm, and the Reduction of theſe Men by other Means than thoſe which have hitherto proved unſucceſsful, that every Chriſtian Subject throughout the Land, that profeſs the reformed Religion, and be not convicted of *Popery*, be pardoned all Faults and Penalties, incurred upon the Account of any fore-paſſed *Non-conformity*; and that they ſhall not, during theſe ſeven Years next enſuing, be proſecuted upon any penal Law, for their Conſciences, in the Matter of Religion; they carrying themſelves innocently and peaceably, with Submiſſion to the Civil, and without Diſturbance to the Eccleſiaſtical Government, now ſettled in the Nation; all Statutes to the contrary notwithſtanding.

In ſhort, A Repeal of our Laws about *Conformity* unto the *13th* of *Elizabeth*; or, a new *Act of Uniformity*; or, the *King*'s Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, at his firſt coming in, turned into a Law, were *Compreheſion*.

His latter Declaration to all his loving Subjects (ſome few Things in both, yet a little conſidered) made ſo, were *Indulgence*.

A Bill of *Compreheſion*, with *Indulgence*, both together, will do our Buſineſs; an Addition, or Clauſe in it, againſt *Pluralities*, will do it with Supererogation.

Deo Gloria.

MURDER *will out; or, a clear and full Diſcovery that the* EARL *of* ESSEX *did not* MURDER *himſelf, but was* MURDERED *by others; both by undeniable Circumſtances, and poſitive Proofs.* 1689.

I. *THAT he did not murder himſelf you have evinced;*
1. *From the Improbabilities that he ſhould do it.*
2. *From the Impoſſibilities that he could ſo do it.*

II. *That he was murdered by others you have made good;*
1. *By undeniable Circumſtances.*
2. *By poſitive Proofs offered.*

I. That the Earl of *Eſſex* did not murder himſelf, as the Inqueſt declares, appears;

(1.) *From the Improbabilities that he ſhould ſo do.*

1. Becauſe of that excellent, ſedate, and well-compoſed natural Temper he was well known to be of, and free from ſuch melancholy and frenſical Fits, which might incline and expoſe him to ſuch a Miſchief, whatever maliciouſly and falſely had been ſaid to the contrary.

2. Becauſe of that Grace and Fear of God he was ſo eminently endowed with, which would ſecure him from ſuch Impiety.

3. Becauſe of that Abhorrency by Principle, which he was well known to have, of ſuch unnatural Practices (whereof he could not ſpeak without great Emotion of Spirit) whatever, the better to colour the Murder, and fix it upon him, had been moſt villainouſly reported, and ſpread Abroad to the contrary.

4. Becauſe of the careful Proviſion he made for his own Preſervation after he came into the *Tower*, fearing the worſt.

(1.) By ſending for his own Silver Veſſel to dreſs his Meat in by his own People.

(2.) By that Store of all Sorts of Wine he had ordered to be laid in for his own drinking.

(3.) By the Direction he had given to his Servant to take Notes of my Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial, that very Day, for his own Uſe; all ample Indications he deſigned Self-Preſervation, not Self-Deſtruction.

5. Becauſe, as his Conſcience was clear from any treaſonable Guilt, (whatever to the contrary has been moſt wickedly ſuggeſted) ſo was he free from either legal Witneſſes or Conviction; there being no Bill of Indictment found againſt him, as againſt others the Day before, which might ſufficiently ſecure him

him from needleſs Fears, or any ſuch deſperate Courſe; though, had his Zeal and Affection to his King, Country, and Religion, (whom he might apprehend to have been in Danger) tranſported him to any Irregularity, his Father's, as well as his own extraordinary Merits from the Crown, might well be ſuppoſed (from ſo grateful and compaſſionate a Prince) would plead his Pardon, and free him from ſuch Deſperation.

6. Becauſe of that entire Love and Friendſhip he bore to his moſt dear Friend, the Lord *Ruſſel*, which, both in Honour and Conſcience, would forbid and deter from ſuch an Action, which muſt ſo neceſſarily tend to the certain Ruin and Deſtruction of his beſt Friend; and which fell out accordingly, from the ſiniſter Conſtruction they made thereof.

7. Becauſe of the previous Notice given thereof in divers Places, which to be ſure he would never have done, had he deſigned any ſuch Thing.

(2.) *From the Impoſſibilities that he could ſo do as the Inqueſt declares.*

1. Becauſe it was impoſſible that he at one Cut (as the Verdict ſaith) could cut four Inches in Depth, and eight in Length, becauſe none can manage his Hand to guide a Razor ſo to do at once, *viz.* from the left Side of the Neck-bone to the right.

2. Becauſe it is impoſſible, that with that *French* Razor, which was but four Inches and an Half long, and without a Tongue (neceſſitating to take two Inches and an Half at leaſt in his Hand) that he could, with two Inches of ſuch an Inſtrument, cut four or five Inches in Depth, and eight or nine in Length.

3. Becauſe it is impoſſible in Nature, that when he had cut the left Jugular and Wind-pipe to the Neck-bone, which let out ſo much of the Blood and Vitals, that he could have neither Life or Strength to proceed to cut the other alſo, as all ſkilful Surgeons and Anatomiſts can demonſtrate.

4. Becauſe it was utterly impoſſible, that after he had locked himſelf into the Cloſet, he could ſo cut his Throat as it was, and then open the Cloſet-door, and fling the bloody Razor out of the Chamber-window, at ſuch a Diſtance from the Cloſet, and then get the Razor up again, and keep it in his Hand (as ſome) or fling it by him (as others) and all this after he was dead, for he inſtantly died ſaith the Inqueſt, and none but himſelf in the Room ſay their Witneſſes, therefore it was impoſſible he could with that Razor ſo murder himſelf. And that the bloody Razor was flung out of the Chamber-window, is made good by no leſs than ten Witneſſes.

Thus have you ſome Grounds and Reaſons (from the Improbability and Impoſſibility of the Thing) to clear his Innocency from the horrid Fact ſo impudently charged upon him, and conſequently the Guilt of others, and which may be ſufficient to all wiſe Men to detect the Murder, and inforce a Review, if no other Evidence could be produced: Tenfold leſs has done it in other Caſes, it being ſo difficult many Times to get Light, and trace ſuch ſecret, hidden Works of Darkneſs, as Sir *Fran. Bacon* elegantly, in Sir *Tho. O*——'s Caſe, tells us, *That wiſe Men muſt take upon them in theſe ſecret Caſes* Solomon's *Spirit, that when there could be no Witneſſes, collected*

the Act by the Effection, viz. when he uſed the Stratagem about dividing the Child; but this you will find is not our Caſe, Providence having given us a larger Proviſion, as you will further hear.

II. *That he was barbarouſly murdered by others, as appears;*

1. *By the undeniable Circumſtances ariſing;*

1. *From the previous Reports.*

2. *From the corrupt and partial Proceedings of the Coroner and his Inqueſt.*

3. *From the Conſpirators villainous Ends.* And,

4. *From the wicked Methods uſed to ſtifle it.*

1. *By the undeniable Circumſtances ariſing;*

1. *From the many previous Reports which they had ſpread of his Self-murder* (a Method the Papiſts have heretofore taken, but the Policy thereof never yet underſtood, *viz.* when they ſtabbed *Henry* IV. of *France*, burnt *London*, aſſaſſinated Sir *E. B. G.* and murdered *H.* the Warder) of which divers undeniable Proofs have been, and are ready to be produced of ſuch Reports, not only in *London*, but 50, 60, 80, 90, and 100 Miles off; in ſome Places a Day, in ſome two, in others (at a great Diſtance) the very Day he was murdered; and as moſt remarkable (as God would have it) all agreeing in the very Manner thereof, *viz.* cutting his Throat in the *Tower*. At *Andover*, 60 Miles off, they had the Report of his cutting his Throat in the *Tower* the 11*th* of *July*, which was the firſt Day of his Impriſonment there, which ſufficiently diſcovers what they deſigned before-hand; for if this Report came from *London*, it muſt be before he was a Priſoner, at leaſt in the *Tower*, and two Days before the Thing was done.

(2.) *From the irregular, corrupt, partial, and unjuſt Proceedings of the Coroner and his Inqueſt.*

1. That one *F*——, ſaid to be a Deputy Coroner, which the Law knows nothing of; and to be ſure a legal Coroner he was not, Sir *T*—— *S*——, the Steward of the *Tower*, being the proper Officer, and accountable for that great Truſt; but this is the Tool who muſt be brought forth to do the Job.

2. That none of the Relations were ſummoned to attend the Inqueſt, which by known Uſage ought to have been.

3. That contrary to the known Cuſtom and Uſage, not only of our own, but other Nations, as well as the King's ſpecial and expreſs Command, the Body was removed from the Place and Poſture it was ſaid firſt to be found in, ſtripped, and Cloaths taken away, the Body and Rooms waſhed from the Blood, to prevent the Notoriety of the Fact upon View, and as ſaid, by the new Coroner's Contrivance or Conſent (which makes it the more heinous and ſuſpicious;) for had it remained in the Place and Poſture it was ſaid firſt to be found in, the Print of the bloody Foot upon the Stockings, the Cravat or Neck-cloth being cut into four Pieces in the Middle; and the contrary Witneſſes, who ſpeak both as to Place and Poſture, would have clearly diſcovered the Murder, the notched Razor and cut Hand being moſt pregnant Circumſtances, yet little regarded.

4. That

4. That the Jury excepted againſt the removing of the Body from the Poſture and Place, and demanded a View of the Cloaths, which *William Fiſher* did by Name, yet was denied the ſame by the Coroner, after he had been in the next Room with ſome of the Conſpirators, who had called him out upon that *Demand*, and who, upon his Return to the Jury again, did declare to them (as ignorantly as wickedly) that they were to ſit upon the Body, and not the Cloaths.

5. The partial Examination of Witneſſes, that though there were ſeveral in and about the Houſe when the Fact was done, yet only *B*——— and *R*———, who they might juſtly ſuſpect to be privy to it, muſt be the principal Witneſſes they will examine in the Caſe, taking little Notice of *P*——, *M*——, *Ll*———, Captain *H*—— himſelf, or the two Women.

6. The little Regard had to the notorious Contradictions in the Witneſſes they did or might examine; *B*——— telling them the Razor was given him (wherewith he cut his Throat) the 12*th* of *July*, and *R*—— the 13*th*; *B*——, that *R*——— broke open the Door; but *R*———, that he eaſily opened it with the Key on the Outſide; *B*——, that he could only, through the Chink of the Door, ſee ſome Blood, and ſome Part of the Razor; but *R*———, that he could, through the ſame Chink, ſee the whole Body; *B*—— and *R*———, that the whole Body lay in the Cloſet, and none of it to be ſeen in the Chamber; but *P*—— and others, that Part of it lay in the Chamber; *B*—— and *R*———, that they were abſent but a Quarter of an Hour from my Lord; but to others, *B*—— owns he was abſent from him two or three Hours, inſomuch, as he was cold and ſtiff before he ſaw him; ſome, that he was found lying; others, kneeling.

7. That they unduly ſuffered themſelves to be hurried into a Verdict, by the Meſſage brought them by Capt. *H*——, in the King's Name, to haſten the ſame; as though the Death of ſo great a Man, and in that Place too, deſerved not a ſerious and due Search, eſpecially when they ſaw ſuch foul Play offered them, by removing Body and Cloaths, and denying a View of the Cloaths, and when none of the Relations preſent, and ſo few of the Witneſſes examined, and thoſe in ſo much Contradiction too.

8. By the unheard of drawing their Verdict, which was done not by the Coroner, nor by the Jury among themſelves, as it ought to have been, but by one of the Conſpirators themſelves in the next Room, who ſent it to them by *B*———, and which they ſigned accordingly.

9. By giving ſo wicked and falſe a Verdict upon their Oaths, which was this, *viz. That the Earl of* Eſſex, *being the* 13th *of* July *alone in his Chamber, did, with a Razor, voluntarily and felonioufly cut his Throat, giving unto himſelf one mortal Wound, cut from one Jugular to the other, and by the* Aſpara Arteria, *and the Wind-pipe, to the* Vertebræs *of the Neck, both the Jugulars being thoroughly divided, of which ſaid Wound the Earl inſtantly died.*

This was the Conſpirators diabolical writing, which they impoſed upon the Jury, and they made their Verdict both Coroner and Inqueſt by ſubſcribing it.

It falſly ſaith he was alone in the Chamber, whereas by the flinging out the bloody Razor, as well as by ſufficient Teſtimony, it will appear, that ſeveral went up and came out at that Time.

It alſo falſly ſaith he did give himſelf with that Razor one mortal Wound of ſuch a Length, and ſuch a Depth, which are utter Impoſſibilities, as before.

(3.) *From the villainous Ends the Conſpirators had to effect and carry on hereby*, viz.

1. To confirm a Proteſtant Plot, a Thing which they had long and often laboured, and as often been diſappointed in, and which was ſo improved by the *Attorney-General*, *as* 1000 *Witneſſes to make it good*; as alſo by the *Lord Chief Juſtice*, *as the Finger of God*, *to convince all the World thereof*, the ſad Conſequence whereof hath ſince been ſo ſeverely felt.

2. Utterly to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot, witneſs the bailing the Popiſh Lords, impeached and committed by Parliament, out of the *Tower*, and the publick Prints to ridicule the ſame ever ſince.

3. To deſtroy the Lord *R*———, and therefore done at the very Inſtant he was to come to his Trial, and ſo improved by the Lawyers to the Jury, which ſome of them have owned did more prevail with them to bring him in guilty, than any other Proof produced againſt him.

4. That they might remove out of the Way ſo great a Champion of the Proteſtant Cauſe and Intereſt, who by his great Employments and Truſts in this and the other Nations, had gained ſo perfect Knowledge of their popiſh, horrid Intrigues, the Way they have taken of old, both in this and other Nations; and whereof divers Inſtances might be given, beſides that of Sir *E. B. Godfrey*, whoſe Wounds bleed afreſh at the mentioning hereof.

5. That hereby they might carry on a helliſh Deſign againſt the King himſelf, as though he had been privy thereto, by not only butchering him in that his royal Priſon and Palace (where by the Law he becomes Pledge for the Safety and forth-coming of the Priſoner) and at a Time when he was there in Perſon, where he had not been for divers Years before, and as tho' he came purpoſely to order the doing thereof, and to intitle the Government to it, which the Lord Chief Juſtice doth ſo often inculcate: If he was indeed then murdered by others from the King's Preſence there [in *Bradon*'s Trial] as alſo by that their horrid Preſumption, in ſending in the King's Name to haſten and hurry the Jury in that corrupt Verdict, and ſo daringly and contemptuouſly to remove the Body, contrary to the King's expreſs Command, by a Perſon of Quality.

(4.) *From the Methods which have been uſed to ſtifle the Diſcovery hereof, and to deter Men from inquiring into the Matter.*

1. By the Lawyers and Judges, who have declared, that whoever went about to prove the Earl of *Eſſex* murdered, did no other than libel the Government, and bring the Guilt of his Blood upon it.

2. By

2. By the ſtrict Command given by the Officers of the Guards in the *Tower*, the Day after the Murder, to all the Soldiers, not to ſpeak one Word thereof at their Perils.

3. By the ſevere Proſecutions and Perſecutions of thoſe who have appeared herein, both as to their Eſtates, Perſons, Lives, and Liberties.

Witneſs the turning out of old *Edwards* from his Place in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, wherein he had been twenty-nine Years, for only bidding his Son, upon his Bleſſing, ſpeak the Truth in the Caſe; and the many Severities to Mr. *Bradon*, for declaring what others had ſaid about it; and the ſevere dealing with Mr. *Hugh Speak* for the ſame; as alſo that late cruel Uſage of that poor Soldier in the *Tower*, becauſe he would not affirm the Earl of *Eſſex* murdered himſelf, who was firſt whipped with Cords till the Skin was fleaed off, after that ſcourged with Rods, and then put upon the Wooden Horſe, with ſix Muſkets at his Heels, his Sword broken, and caſhiered. But eſpecially the Deſtruction of *Robert Meak*, the Centinel, for telling what he heard and ſaw that Day of the bloody Tragedy, whoſe Neck was therefore broke, and flung into the *Tower-Ditch*; who declared before-hand to his Friends, how his Life was threatened for the ſame. As alſo *Hawley* the Warder, who was ſerved in like Manner for blabbing; whoſe murdered Body was, about a Month after it was miſſing, taken up near *Rocheſter*; where a great Popiſh Lord declared, ſeveral Days before he was found, that he had there drowned himſelf.

4. By the Endeavours which have been uſed to prevent the Review, which, by two Letters to two Noblemen, and the Letters to the Lady *Eſſex*, ſent openly by a Meſſenger, to *Cadman* the Bookſeller, which he brought to Juſtice *Henton*, and he to the Secretary; all of them purporting a Diſcovery upon Indemnity and a Review, but all in vain.

(4.) By poſitive Proofs, atteſting the Murder; that if Indemnity may be granted, as was offered in Sir E. B. G——*'s Caſe, and a freſh legal Enquiry, as in Sir* Tho. O———*'s Caſe, and others, there will then be produced poſitive Evidence, which will declare who were the Contrivers and Authors, who the Actors and Abettors, of this barbarous and deteſtable Murder, deſcribe the Inſtrument with which it was done, and which was made on Purpoſe for the ſame; the Rewards and Preferments to the reſpective Actors therein, with all the material Circumſtances about it. Which Enquiry was ſucceſsfully made in Sir* Tho. O———*'s Caſe, after the* Coroner*'s Inqueſt had found it (as ſaid) a natural Death; and by which, after more than two Years ſtifled by a high Hand, the then principal Miniſter of State, and his Aſſociates, with the Lieutenant of the* Tower, *and others, were ſearched into, found guilty, and many of them executed for that horrid Murder, committed upon that innocent Gentleman in the* Tower.

The Concluſion.

NOW may not this diſmal tragical Account (which carries ſo much Demonſtration in it) be well left without a Comment, or any rhetorical Strain of Wit, or Flouriſh of Eloquence, either to convince or ſatisfy the Reader of the Truth hereof, to provoke him to the Diſcharge of that Duty incumbent upon him in his Place or Station, (which ſo barbarous and unheard of a Murder calls for at his Hand) the better to deliver himſelf and the Nation from the crying Sin of Blood-guiltineſs; and which is therefore left to the Conſideration and Conſcience of all that hear thereof in general, and to all the Miniſters of Juſtice, and his Fellow-Peers in ſpecial; whoſe Oaths, Honours, and Intereſts, may oblige them to their Duties herein; and who, in Reaſon, ought to feel the bleeding Smart of this bloody Stab, not knowing which of their own Turns may be next: And to his Relations and Kindred in particular, who are more than others called forth, in a peculiar Manner, to make a further and better Inquiſition after his Blood than hath yet been made, eſpecially after this full Diſcovery is offered to them; as they would vindicate his Innocency, wipe off the Stain of Felony, Murder, and Treaſon from the noble Family; deliver themſelves from the Reproach of being bribed by the forfeited Eſtate to hold their Tongues, and ſuffer others to be ſo ſeverely handled, as officious for appearing therein, under their Silence; and as they would free themſelves from the Guilt of his Blood, and anſwer the Neglect to God and Man. Laſtly, to all thoſe (of which there are many) who, either as Acceſſaries or Actors, have embrued their Hands in this innocent Blood; whether, ſince they are ſecretly known, it will not be their wiſeſt and beſt Courſe (as ſome did in Sir *Tho. O* ——'s Caſe) to come forth and confeſs, and give Glory to God, as they may hope for Mercy here, or hereafter; and not to think to ſhelter themſelves under Gold and Greatneſs, which will be a Covering (in this Caſe) too ſhort for the Greateſt themſelves; becauſe God, who is the Avenger of Blood, and to whom Vengeance belongs, will bring all to the Houſe-top, and recompence them according to their Deeds; there being *no Darkneſs, nor Shadow of Death, where the Workers of Iniquity may hide themſelves.*

LON-

LONDON's *great Jubilee reſtored and performed on* Tueſday, October *the* 29th, 1689, *for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir* Thomas Pilkington, *Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of* LONDON. *Containing, a* Deſcription *of the ſeveral* PAGEANTS *and* SPEECHES, *together with a* Song *for the* Entertainment *of their* MAJESTIES, *who, with their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* DENMARK, *the whole Court, and both Houſes of* Parliament, *honoured his Lordſhip this Year with their Preſence. All ſet forth at the proper Coſt and Charge of the Right Worſhipful Company of* SKINNERS. *By* M. T. 1689.

To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS PILKINGTON, *Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of* LONDON.

THOUGH there be ſeveral remarkable Occurrences contributing to the Solemnity of this Day, (as the Preſence of their Majeſties, the Court, *&c.*) yet the general Joy and Satisfaction of the City is no leſs worthy of Record, which is as univerſal as their Preparations are publick. Nor can it chuſe but add a Rubrick in the Calendar of your Life, that you were the firſt advanced to the Pretorical Chair of this great *Metropolis*, after the Year of Redemption, the happy Day of Deliverance from *Pagan* and *Egyptian* Bondage, by Miracles and Wonders. When Idolatry, like a Deluge, had overſpread the Land, and the Church, like the Ark, lay tottering upon the Billows, then came the *Dove* with the *Olive-branch* of *Joy*; he allay'd the Swelling of the Waters, reſtoring us to our Liberty and Religion. When arbitrary Force and lawleſs Uſurpation had unreaſonably impoſed on us new *Lords* and new *Laws*, contrary to the Practice and known Cuſtoms of this City, then did you, in Defence of our juſt Rights and Liberties, ſtand in the Gap, and bravely oppoſe the Violence of the impetuous Torrent. So great a Champion was you, and ſo zealous an Aſſerter of theſe Rights, that you preferred our Privileges before your Liberty, and glorying in your

Chains, while you were yet a Magiſtrate, became twice a Priſoner. Like *Daniel*, you are taken out of the Lion's Den, to be a Ruler over us: Nor had thoſe ravenous Beaſts any Power over you, although their Malice was ſufficiently exaſperated againſt you; their Jaws were ſtopp'd, till the delivering Monarch ordered your Enlargement, raiſing you higher by your *Fall*, and a greater Object of his Favour by your *Sufferings*. This royal Bounty of the Prince could not but beget in us a grateful Emulation to prefer you in the City, for whoſe Sake you had ſuffered ſuch long and ſevere Perſecution. The Chair being vacant by the Death of Sir *John Chapman*, with one Conſent you are choſen for the remaining Time; and then, with an unanimous Heart and Voice of the elective Aſſembly, to continue for the enſuing Year. My Lord, we mention not this as a Favour done, but as a Debt due to your Sufferings; and at laſt ſhould think all this too little, were it in our Power to do more. This muſt ſtop the Mouth of Envy, that all Tongues muſt confeſs your own Merits have moſt juſtly advanced you. You have aſſerted our Rights, reſtor'd our Cuſtoms and Immunities. Every Thing runs clear in its proper Channel: That it may never again be diſturbed by the Violence of impetuous and arbitrary Men, is the Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

And moſt devoted humble Servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

To the Right Worſhipful the Company of SKINNERS.

Right Worſhipful,

THERE is not a Company in this famous City (though yet more antient) has arrived to the Dignity you have done; you have had the Honour to have ſix Kings Members of your Society, and this Year a King and Queen for your royal Gueſts, in the firſt Year of their Reign, and the firſt of your Deliverance from arbritrary and tyrannical Impoſitions.

There is yet another remarkable Honour worthy to be recorded, the deſerving Patriot of his Country, Sir Thomas Pilkington, *Lord Mayor, whom (ſignaliz'd for his Sufferings) you have moſt deſervedly exalted from a Priſon to the Pretorial Chair. This will be your Applauſe for what is done, that his Lordſhip's own Merits have given him a Title thereunto. Your coſtly Preparations, prudent Contrivance, and bounteous Contribution towards ſo glorious an Entertainment, is not only a Demonſtration of your Reſpect to his Lordſhip, but of*

Zeal

Zeal to their Majeſties. That you have made me an humble Inſtrument to contribute towards the Preparations of this great Day, requires the Acknowledgment of

Your moſt humble Servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

SIR *John Chapman* being deceaſed in the Year of his Mayoralty, the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Pilkington* was choſen for the remaining Term; this being expired, he is again choſen for the enſuing Year. This Time of Election is on *Michaelmas-Day*, there being a Month allowed for the Preparations of the Feſtival, which falls on the 29*th* of *October*, the next Day after *Simon* and *Jude*. During this Time there is a Committee choſen, of the moſt judicious and experienced Citizens, to contrive, conſult, order, and debate of all Matters relating to the Solemnity of this Day; which, for the Antiquity of its Inſtitution, the Grandeur of the Preparations, the Splendor of the Pageants, the Concourſe of Nations, and the Stateline ſs of their Entertainments, may be called the greateſt and moſt coſtly in all the Univerſe. This Year eſpecially claims the Pre-eminence, being honoured with the Preſence of their Moſt Sacred Majeſties, the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark*, with all the principal Officers of the Court, and both Houſes of Parliament; the Biſhop of *London*, and all the chief Prelates of the Church; the Lords Commiſſioners of the Privy-Seal, the Lords Chief Juſtices of both Benches, the Lord Baron, and all the learned Judges in the Law; the four *Dutch*, and all foreign Ambaſſadors, Envoys, and Reſidents; who ſtand more amazed at this Day's Entertainment, than any Feaſt they had either ſeen or heard of in all the World before.

It is neceſſary, before we come to the Deſcription of the Pageants, to make ſome Remarks on the Preparations of the Morning.

Betwixt Seven and Eight o' Clock in the Morning, the whole Company deſigned for the Duty of the Day meet at *Skinners-Hall* at *Dowgate*.

1. The Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants, in Gowns faced with Foins.
2. The Livery, in Gowns faced with Budge, and their Hoods.
3. Divers Foins-Bachelors, in Gowns and Hoods.
4. Thirty Budge-Bachelors, in Gowns and ſcarlet Hoods.
5. Thirty Gentlemen-Uſhers, in Velvet Coats, each of them a Chain of Gold about his Shoulder, and a white Staff in his Hand.
6. Thirty other Gentlemen for bearing Banners and Colours, ſome in Pluſh-Coats, and ſome in Buff, they alſo wearing Scarfs about their Shoulders of the Company's Colours. The Motto in the Banners, *To God only be Glory*.

7. Several Drums and Fifes with red Scarfs, and the Colours of the Company in their Hats, red and yellow.

8. The Serjeant-Trumpet, and thirty-ſix Trumpets more, whereof ſixteen are their Majeſties, the Serjeant-Trumpet wearing two Scarfs, one of the Lord Mayor, another of the Company's.

9. The Drum-Major to the King, wearing a Shoulder-Scarf of the Company's Colours, with other of his Majeſty's Drums and Fifes.

10. The two City-Marſhals, each of them mounted on Horſe-back, with rich Furniture, Houſings, and Crupper-Cloth embroider'd; ſix Servitors likewiſe mounted to attend with Scarfs, and Colours of the Company's.

11. The Foot-Marſhal and ſix Attendants with the like Scarf and Colours.

12. The Maſter of Defence with the ſame Scarf and Colours, having ten Perſons of the ſame Science to attend him.

13. Threeſcore Penſioners accommodated with Gowns and Caps, each of them employ'd in bearing of Standards and Banners.

14. Several other Penſioners in blue Gowns, white Sleeves, and black Caps, each of them carrying a Javelin in one Hand, and a Target in the other, wherein is painted the Coat-Armour of their Founders and Benefactors of the Company.

Thus ordered and accommodated, they are committed to the Management of the Foot-Marſhal, who diſtributes them into ſeven Diviſions, and ranks them out two by two, beginning with the inferior Part of the Standard-Bearers. In the Head of them are placed two Drums, one Fife, and one Gentleman, bearing the Company's Arms.

In the Rear of them, two Gentlemen bearing Banners, being the Arms of deceaſed Benefactors.

After them march the aged Penſioners in Gowns, and in the Center of them fall in two Drums, beating the *Dutch* March, in Token of their Deliverance by the Prince of *Orange*, his preſent Majeſty.

In the Rear of them fall in three Drums, one Fife, and two Gentlemen in Pluſh-Coats, bearing two Banners or Enſigns, one of the King's, the other of the Company's. After them fall in ſix Gentlemen-Uſhers, and likewiſe the Budge-Bachelors.

The next two Gentlemen bearing two other Banners. After them fall in ſix Gentlemen-Uſhers, and after them the Foins-Bachelors.

In the Rear of them fall in two Drums and a Fife, then two Gentlemen, the one bearing my Lord Mayor's, the other the City Banners. After them twelve Gentlemen-Uſhers, and after them the Court of Aſſiſtants, which makes the laſt Diviſion.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, with the principal Aldermen and Sheriffs, while this is doing, take their uſual Repaſts in *Skinners-Hall*, while the Trumpets ſound a Levet, and the Kettle-Drums eccho their harmonious Sounds in the Court. Having Notice of the Company's Motion, his

his Lordſhip mounts his Horſe, with the Aldermen in their Order, two by two, the Sheriffs in the Rear.

In this Equipage of two and two, till taking in his Lordſhip and his Attendants, they march directly from *Skinners-Hall* through *Queen-Street* into *Cheapſide*, there being no Lord Mayor this Year to join him from *Guildhall*.

In this Order they march to the *Three-Crane Wharf*, where they enter into their ſeveral Barges, which are glorioufly adorned with Banners, Flags, and Pendants. His Lordſhip at the Stairs next *Weſtminſter*, for the Priority of Place, as Admiral to this golden Armado, the reſt of the Companies at another Pair of Stairs, yet ſo, as in order and Seniority; for this peaceful Navy moves not like Men of War by Couples, grappling in an Engagement, but, like Princes of the Blood, one by one, that their State may be more diſcernable, and their Grandeur the more remarkable. In the mean Time the Gentlemen-Uſhers, Budge-Bachelors, and Foin-Bachelors, have their Opportunity to repair to their ſeveral Places of Defection.

His Lordſhip being landed at *Weſtminſter-Stairs*, and having performed the accuſtomed Ceremony of taking the Oaths, comes at laſt to the *Exchequer-Bar*, where the Lord Chief Baron makes an elegant but ſhort Speech; which being ended, the Lord Mayor, with his Retinue marching down *Weſtminſter-Hall*, repair to their reſpective Barges, which return in the ſame Form and State they went. Nothing but Gold and Sapphire repreſent themſelves unto your View: The Pendants flying, Drums beating, Trumpets ſounding, Muſick playing, which is eccho'd from the ſeveral Pleaſure-Boats, and others that are playing from each Side with Pattararo's, and other ſmall Pieces, to compliment them as they paſs; inſomuch, that the *Thames* is nothing but a continual flowing Harmony, which never ebbs till his Lordſhip is landed.

After this glorious Object upon the Water had afforded all that could be delightful to the Eye or Ear, his Lordſhip haſtens to *Black-Fryars-Stairs*, where the Bachelors are ready ſet in Order by the Foot-Marſhal, as in the Morning, to attend him, and both Bodies joined, march up *Ludgate-Hill*, and ſo into *Cheapſide*, till about the *Half-Moon* Tavern, where his Lordſhip is entertained with the firſt Pageant, which is thus adorned.

The Firſt Pageant

IS a triumphant Chariot, adorned with oriental Pearl, Topaz, and Carbuncle. This ſtately Structure is carried by a *Panther* and *Sable*, which are the Supporters of the Right Worſhipful the Company of *Skinners*. Their Enſign, or Bearing, is no leſs honourable than peculiar, being Ermin in a Field Argent, three Crowns on a Chief, and Gules with Caps of the firſt; the Creſt a Panther Couchant, with a Wreath and Laurels about his Neck, as hath the Supporters; the Motto, *To God only be Glory*. They were formed a Society in the firſt of King *Edward* III. who was the firſt Founder of this antient Society. Since this Time, in ſo high a Value was this Company with the Court, that from the firſt Founder no leſs than ſix Kings have been

Founders

Founders and Members of this Corporation, *Edward* III. *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. *Henry* V. *Henry* VI. and *Edward* IV. Beſides nine Dukes, two Earls, and one Lord. The Creſt and Supporters of the ſaid Arms were obtained and granted by *William Harvey*, Clarencieux, who was free of the ſame Company, *Anno Dom.* 1561. Theſe Arms, with the Supporters and Creſt as blazon'd, are painted on an Imperial Arch of the *Dorick* Order in the Frontiſpiece of the Chariot. *Honour*, placed in a Diſtance below, beats the Kettle-Drum, which is an Emblem to the Martial Bands and Artillery of the City, to be ready for their Arms in Caſe of Defence.

On a Diſtance above, under an Imperial Canopy of Golden Fringe, ſits *Auguſta*, repreſenting the famous City of *London*. At her Foot ſit *Peace* and *Concord* before, behind *Mercy* and *Innocency*, as her Attendants, which we will deſcribe hereafter.

On the *Panther* is mounted a Figure, repreſenting *Wiſdom*; for, beſides its Uſefulneſs, it exceeds the *Lion* in Cunning, being that of Subtilty, that he will decoy the *Lion* from his Den, who, in Hopes to make him his Prey, is catched himſelf in the Snare; for this ſubtil Creature, being of a ſlenderer Shape, digs its Den to his own Dimenſion, wherein leaping to defend himſelf from the Violence of the enraged *Lion*, who leaps after, and ſticks by the Middle, becomes his Prey.

On the *Sable* is placed *Government*, becauſe the *Sable* is the Diſtinction of *Honour* by their Ermin, and thoſe Perſons of Honour ſo diſtinguiſhed, (not by their Merits only) are the People to whom the *Government* is generally committed.

Honour, in a purple Robe wrought with Gold, a Mantle of white Silk fringed with Crimſon, bearing in her Left-hand a Shield of the Company's, in her Right a Banner of my Lord Mayor's. On a Coronet of Stars, *Or*, this Motto, *Honor ſolius Dei eſt.*

Wiſdom, in a Silver Robe and blue Mantle ſeeded with Stars, and fringed with Silver. In the one Hand bearing a Banner with this Inſcription, *Sapientia docet*; in the other, a Banner of the City's.

Government, in Armour of Silver and an Helmet; in the Right-hand, a Gold Truncheon; in the Left, a Banner of the King's.

Peace, in a Robe of White ſcattered with Stars; in the Left-hand, a Branch of Palms; in the other, a white Flag.

Concord, in a Crimſon-colour'd Robe, a Sky-colour'd Scarf, fringed with Silver, and fair, bright Hair; about her Head a Garland of red and yellow Flowers, repreſenting the happy Concord of King and People, Court and City, in the Honour this Day conferred upon them, in their Majeſties Preſence; in her Left-hand, a Shield charged with a Grove of Myrtles; in her Right-hand, a Banner of the Company's.

Mercy, in a Robe of Crimſon, and Silver Mantle; holding in one Hand a Spear; in the other, a Banner of the City's.

Innocence, with an harmleſs, mild Countenance.

Auguſta,

Auguſta, or *London*, glorioufly attired in a Robe of Crimſon, and a Mantle, *Or*, a Cap of Maintenance, repreſenting the Colours of the King and Company, ſalutes his Lordſhip in theſe Words:

The Firſt *SPEECH.*

SINCE firſt Auguſta *was my antient Name,*
London *has more than once been in a Flame.*
Our fierce Elections, our domeſtick Wars,
Our hot Contentions, and our civil Jars,
In a few Years have prejudic'd us more,
Than all the Jeſuits *Powder did before.*
But Thanks (my Lord) *the Cloud is now diſpers'd,*
And we are of our former Rights *poſſeſs'd.*
The Sun, with you, reſumes its Courſe this Year,
And ſhines again within our Hemiſphere.
All we enjoy we muſt acknowledge due
To England's *great Preſerver, and to you.*
You did aſſert our Privileges. He
Timely redeem'd from pointed Tyranny.
You, for our Freedom, ſacrific'd your own,
What more cou'd Pompey *for his* Rome *have done?*
In ſome Degree, to make you Recompence,
Behold Peace, Concord, Mercy, Innocence!
Theſe are the beſt Supporters of a State,
My Handmaids here aſſign'd on you to wait.

The Second Pageant.

AN Imperial Throne, glorioufly adorned with all Manner of Jewels, Pearls, and Topaz, mounted on a royal Pedeſtal of the *Compoſitive*, *Corinthian*, and *Roman* Order. On the Top of this Pedeſtal ſits a maſculine, warlike Perſon, ſtiled *Monarchy*, dreſſed in the Habit of a *Cæſar*, with a Scepter in his Hand, and a Laurel about his Head, holding a Globe in his Hand, with this Inſcription, *Britannia.* It ſeems to ſlip out of his Hands, which he, timely recovering, kiſſes, and hugs it in his Arms.

At a Diſtance below, on the *Torus* of the *Baſe*, are placed the four Cardinal Virtues, *Prudence*, *Juſtice*, *Fortitude*, and *Temperance*, as the beſt Support and Foundation of *Monarchy*; all theſe Virtues being naturally inherent to our preſent Monarch. On the lower Square of the Cornice are placed four Figures, repreſenting the four Kingdoms, quartered in the royal Arms, *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, which are habited as follow:

Prudence, in a ſcarlet Robe, and Silver Mantle fringed with Gold, a Chaplet of Flowers, a Shield Vert, charged with a Dove Argent, bearing a Banner of the City.

Juſtice

Juſtice, in a crimſon Robe, and a purple Mantle fringed with Gold and Silver; in the Right-hand bearing a Shield, with a Balance; in the Left, a Banner of the Company's.

Fortitude, in a blue Robe, a Silver Mantle, a Golden Corſlet about her Neck, a Garland of Orange-leaves, bearing a Tower Argent, and a Banner of the King's.

Temperance, in a white Robe, green Mantle, and a Chaplet of Lillies and Roſes; in one Hand bearing a Shield, with a Golden Cup; in the other a Banner of the City's.

England, or *Britannia*, in a Scarlet-coloured Robe, with a Mantle of Gold, and a Crown Imperial; a Trident in her Left-hand, and in her Right a Standard of *England*.

Scotland, in a blue Robe, a Silver Mantle, and a Scarf of Gold; a Chaplet of Thiſtles, with their Leaves about her Head: In her Left-hand a Shield, bearing St. *Andrew*'s Croſs; in her Right a Banner of the King's.

France, in an Azure-coloured Robe, ſpangled with Gold Flower-de-luces; a Crown Imperial dropping, which he ſupports in one Hand, bearing in the other a Banner of my Lord Mayor's Arms.

Ireland, in a Robe of white Linen, a Mantle of Frize, fring'd with Silver, and an Helmet of Gold, with a Laurel of Shamrogs, or green Leaves, round it; in the one Hand a Target, bearing the *Iriſh* Harp; in the other a Banner, with the Company's Arms.

His Lordſhip having viewed the Variety of theſe Figures, pleaſed with the Ornament of the Pedeſtal, and the Glorioufneſs of the Workmanſhip, makes an Halt; when *Monarchy*, riſing in State, with a Golden Scepter in his Hand, deſcending three Steps, addreſſes him in theſe Words:

The Second *SPEECH.*

FROM foreign Regions, and the Toils of War,
I come to guard you to a peaceful Chair:
When nought but Chains proclaim'd the Freeman's Doom,
London *almoſt a Tributer to* Rome,
'Gainſt the Intrigues of the Moſt Chriſtian Turk,
Then great Naſſau *was ſent to do our Work;*
Sent by indulgent Heav'n, to ſet us free
From arbitrary Force *and* Slavery.
We now are happier than we were before;
The Halcyons *build their Neſts upon our Shore.*
Hearingthe Royal Pair *had grac'd your Feaſt,*
I come with Virtue *to intrude a Gueſt;*
Such Virtues *as few other Monarchs have,*
Prudent, juſt, ſober, reſolute, *and* brave:
Theſe Virtues *ſhall ſubdue the Nations under,*
And make their Terror what is now their Wonder.

England

England *appears in Triumph; all her Tears*
Are vaniſh'd with our Jealouſies and Fears;
Scotland's *united to the* Britiſh *Crown,*
Ireland *ſubdu'd, proud* France *ſhall be our own;*
The wither'd Flower-de-luce's *Head ſhall droop,*
His lofty Neck ſhall to the Orange *ſtoop.*
Theſe ſhould be Trophies of my Victory,
The Hieroglyphick of true Monarchy;
But ſince (*my* Lord) *like* Cæſar, *you improve*
A Government divided with great Jove,
My Laurel at your Footſtool I ſubmit,
And lay my Sceptre at his Royal Feet.

The Third Pageant.

The Ship Perſeus *and* Andromeda, *from the* Levant, *Inward-bound.*

AS a further Mark of their Bounty, the Company have this Year added the Ship *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, Inward-bound, from the *Levant*, laden with Spices, Silks, Furs, Sables, Panthers, and all Manner of Beaſts Skins, hanging in the Shrouds and Rigging. This Ship is peculiarly attributed to the Lord Mayor, as a proper Emblem and Characteriſtick of his Way of Traffick and Adventure, being a *Turky* Merchant. Nor is the Name of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda* leſs properly applied, having Analogy and Reſpect as well to his Lordſhip as the Company: *Perſeus* was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*; *Mercury* gave him Wings, that is, Sails, with which he mounts his *Pegaſus*, that is, his Ship, wherein he ſlew the *Gorgons*, *Meduſa*, *Sthenio*, and *Euryole*. He cut off *Meduſa*'s Head, whoſe Hair were Serpents, the Emblem of Envy, and placed it in his Shield. This is peculiarly adopted to his Lordſhip, who has overcome his malicious Enemies, and this Day rides in Triumph over them. *Minerva* gives him a Golden Shield, covered with a Goat's Skin, called *Ægis*, which is an Hieroglyphick of the Company's. He reſcues *Andromeda* from the Sea-monſter: The Moral is, the Church, from the Deluge that was ready to overflow it. How applicable this is to the preſent Revolutions of this Year, will need no Comment to explain.

This Ship has on Board it a jolly brave Captain, Mates, Gunner and his Mate, Boatſwain, Pilot, beſides the Ship's Crew, continually toping, bouſing, and carouſing; who, for Joy of coming into *England*, having the Pot or Quarter-Can continually at their Noſes, get merry with drinking their Majeſty's and his Lordſhip's Health, diſcharging a Canon at every Round: The Boatſwain giving the Signal with his Whiſtle, three great Huzza's are given, and the Health is renewed with a Canon, as before, and a Bowl of Punch.

Boatſwain, Sixty Fathoms and an Half; ho; helm-a-lee; Starboard; hard a Port; thus, keep her thus; there, there, fall not off, brave Boy;

well ſteer'd, Pilot, and better con'd; helm-a-lee; this Son of a Whore, he will overſet us; loof, loof, you Dog; no near: What a Way this lubberly Land-Crab has made us; ſteady, ſteady; larboard; there ſhe ſcuds away.

The MARINERS SONG.

Captain. NOW, Boys, our Voyage is out,
And we are richly fraught,
While Fools do ſtay
At Home, and play,
We trace the World about.
Pilot. Wou'd I were in cloſe Harbour,
From Noiſe of Port and Larbor.
Boatſwain. Thoud'ſt run a-head
With *Jenny* in Bed,
And anchor in her Harbour.
Pilot. But if ſhe ſhou'd not come to it;
If ſhe ſhou'd not come to it;
Boatſwain. If ſhe has a Rudder,
As well as her Mother,
I'll warrant thee, Boy, ſhe will do it.
Boatſwain. Sixteen Fathom and a Quarter, Maſter, Port.

Captain. Haul in your main Braces, down with your Anchor, and lower your Topſail to the Royal Sovereign of *London*.

The CAPTAIN's SPEECH.

THRO' Storms and Tempeſts I am here arriv'd,
Fierce as your Foes againſt your Life contriv'd.
The Seas, the Winds our Ruin did conſpire;
Their Tumults, Torrents, their hot Brains a-fire.
A Thirſt of ruling over Judge and Bench,
Which nothing but an Holland *Draught could quench.*
To trade to Turky *we in vain had ſail'd,*
If Mahomet *in* England *had prevail'd;*
Or the Moſt Chriſtian Sultan, *nearer Home,*
By ſly Intrigue had made her Slave to Rome.
But, Thanks to Providence, the Storm is o'er,
And we once more arriv'd on native Shore:
We boaſt not of the Riches brought from far;
Virtue, not Riches, muſt ſupport the Chair;
Juſtice and Peace your Pilots be, to ſteer
A ſteady Courſe thro' the enſuing Year.

The Fourth Pageant.

THIS is a Scene of Mirth and Jollity, and called the Company's Pageant; in which are various ſtrange Figures and Shapes, lively repreſenting their Myſtery and Occupation. It is a ſpacious Wilderneſs, in which are planted all Sorts of Trees, Buſhes, Shrubs, Brambles, Thickets, and Groves. In the former Part the Orange-Tree, with its Fruit flouriſhing in their Prime. This Wilderneſs is haunted and inhabited with all Manner of wild Beaſts and Birds, of various Shapes and Colours, even to Beaſts of Prey, as Wolves, Bears, Panthers, Leopards, Sables, and Beavers, even to Dogs, Cats, Foxes, and Rabbets; which toſſed up now and then into a Balcony, fall oft upon the Company's Heads; and by them toſſed again into the Crowd, affords great Diverſion. With theſe, ſeveral Oranges of the Trees which are planted at every Corner of the Wilderneſs, which is no leſs divertive.

In the Rear of this Wilderneſs is erected a ſpacious triumphal Arch, the Baniſters richly gilded, all the Columns adorned with Enſigns of their Majeſties, the City, his Lordſhip, and the Company. About the Column, under the Lord Mayor's Coat, is painted this Inſcription, in Capital Letters,

DEPRESSUS SURGO.

In the Front of this triumphal Arch, which is of the firſt and *Tuſcan* Order, ſits *Amphion*, playing upon an Hautboy, with two *Dryades*, or Wood-Nymphs, one on each Hand; theſe Wood-Nymphs ſeeming to be charm'd with his Muſick, whoſe melodious Harmony likewiſe allays the Fury of the wild Beaſts, who are continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling to the Muſick, whilſt the Birds are chanting their wild Notes amongſt the Trees in every Grove and Thicket.

Theſe *Dryades* are habited alike, of a brown and tawny Complection, Hair thick and long, hanging looſe over their Shoulders, and their Attire of a dark Green.

Amphion, a young Man of a ruddy Complection, in a Robe of Crimſon Velvet; on his Head a Coronet of red and white Flowers, with his Hautboy in his Hand, making his Obeiſance, expreſſes the Charms of his melodious Harmony in this ſhort Speech:

AMPHION's SPEECH.

IN this wild, haunted Wilderneſs you ſee
The powerful Effects of Harmony;
This Harmony (my Lord) *doth repreſent*
Union, *which is the Soul of Government:*
London's *a Den where ſavage Beaſts do lurk;*
Keep them in Concord, *and you do your Work.*

This being the laſt Pageant, placed at the End of *King-Street*, his Lordſhip moves to *Guild-Hall*, where he is ready to receive their Majeſties, who come attended with the City's Royal Regiment of Horſe, the Trumpeters Coats of Crimſon Velvet, laced down with Silver and Gold Lace; the Trumpets made with Silver, and ſeveral Damaſk Standards and Banners, very richly embroidered, with Kettle-Drums. While their Majeſties are at Dinner, they are entertained with the following Song.

A SONG *to their Majeſties in* Guild-Hall.

I.

HOW great are the Bleſſings of Government made
By the excellent Rule of our Prince,
Who, while Troubles and Cares do his Pleaſures invade,
To his People all Joys does diſpenſe;
And while he for us is ſtill caring and thinking,
We have nothing to mind but our Shops and our Trade,
And then to divert us with drinking,
And then to divert us with feaſting and drinking.

CHORUS.

From him we derive all our Pleaſures, our Pleaſures, and Wealth;
Then fill me a Glaſs, nay, fill it up, fill it up higher;
My Soul is athirſt for their Majeſties Health,
And an Ocean of Drink cannot quench my Deſire:
Since all we enjoy to his Bounty we owe,
'Tis fit all our Bumpers like that ſhould o'erflow,
'Tis fit all our Bumpers, 'tis fit all our Bumpers
Like that ſhould o'er——flow.

II.

Then whilſt in a Concert the Minſtrels do play,
Let a Health to great *Cæſar* go round.
He who crowns with his Preſence the State of the Day,
Whom all-conquering Laurels have crown'd.
And whilſt we enjoy the ineſtimate Bleſſing,
The Extent of our Freedom, each Man his own Way,
Let's ſhew it in thankful Careſſing,
Let's ſhew it in thankful, in thankful Careſſing.

CHORUS.

From him we derive all our Pleaſures, our Pleaſures, and Wealth,
Then fill me a Glaſs —— *&c.*

A SONG

A SONG *to the Lord Mayor and Company.*

I.

COME, Boys, drink an Health to the *Chiefs* of the City,
The loyal Lord Mayor, and the legal Committee.
The imperial City this Year that with *you*
Hath reſtor'd us our *Lives*, and our *Liberties* too.

II.

With *Juſtice*, and *Peace*, may it ever be *floating*,
May the *Heads* that ſupport it agree in their *Voting*;
May a ſtrong *Tide* of *Union* ſtill flow in your *Hall*,
And no *Sea* of *Faction* e'er beat down your *Wall*.

III.

A Health to the *Dons* of the *Company*'s Table,
Crown every Bumper with *Ermin* and *Sable*.
If *Ermin*'s the *Emblem* of *Honour*, then *you*,
As well as their *Lordſhips*, are dignify'd too.

IV.

From *Heats* and *Contentions* for ever be *free*,
Let City and Court make one *Harmony*.
May never more *Diſcord* amongſt *you* be found,
But one loyal Bumper for ever go round.

About the Middle of Dinner their Majeſties Health is begun, all the Hall ecchoing with Huzza's, and loud Acclamations. His Majeſty, in Requital, begins his Lordſhip's Health, which is anſwered with as loud Acclamations as before; the Kettle-Drums and Trumpets, after the other Muſick, beating and ſounding in their Turns.

The Songs done, and Dinner over, their Majeſties return back to *White-hall* in the ſame State and Order they came, having an intire Regiment of Foot-Guards before the Coach, led by the Right Honourable the Lord *Sidney*, the Guards of Horſe behind, with a Lane of the Train-Bands of the City on each Side to *Temple-Bar*, from thence by the Liberties of *Weſtminſter* to *Charing-Croſs*, a Lane on each Side the Streets. The Lord Mayor returns to *Skinners-Hall*, where all the Silk-works, Banners, and Flags of the Company are lodged; the reſt of the Companies to their reſpective Habitations.

Alſo the famous Artillery Company, that this Day attended on his Lordſhip, marched off in Order at the ſame Time.

The

The Painters and Managers of the *Pageants*, with the Speakers and Children, having perform'd their Parts with Satisfaction and Applauſe, repair to refreſh themſelves, having ſat all Day in their appointed Poſtures and Attire.

I will conclude with the Motto of the Right Worſhipful Company, who have ſo generouſly contributed, and unanimouſly gone through the Coſt and Trouble of this Day.

Soli Deo Gloria.

A true and impartial Narrative *of the* Diſſenters new Plot; *with a large and exact* Relation *of all their old ones. Together with an* Account *of the chief* Conſpirators Names *and principal* Conſults, *as well as of ſeveral* Perſons *of* Quality *who have abetted and encouraged them. Declared, and ready to be depoſed before any of his* Majeſty's Juſtices *of* Peace. *By one who was deeply concerned therein. Publiſhed for the diſcharging his own Conſcience, undeceiving the World, and Promotion of Peace and Unity.* 1690.

The INDEX.

1. *THE Introduction to two Sorts of Perſons whom this Diſcovery will* diſoblige.

2. *The* Scheme *of the whole Deſign here diſcovered, traced up to its Original in the Year* 1541, *whence it has been continued to this preſent Year,* 1690.

3. *An Account of the rebellious* Principles *of that Ring-leader of Hereſy and Sedition,* Jack Calvin *of* Geneva, *with the chief Principle on which he built his own and all ſucceeding Rebellions.*

4. *Of the Propagation of theſe his Principles among the* French, Dutch, *and* Germans, *with the Tumults and Miſchiefs thereupon ariſing.*

5. *The Affairs of* England *at the Beginning of the Reformation;* Calvin's *pragmatical intermeddling in it, and his Repulſe. His Letters to young* Edward, *and* what an Happineſs it was to the Church of *England,* that that Child died ſo ſoon.

6. *The Progreſs of the* Plot *during the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.——*The moderate Men who favoured it; the propagating Calviniſtical Notions, contrary to Power and Order, both in* Church and State, *and how they were received and imbibed by* Queen, Lords and Commons.
7. *What happened under King* James, *and vindicating the innocent Catholicks from the Guilt of the Powder-Treaſon.*
8. *How this Deſign was carried on during the Reign of King* Charles *the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, and the bloody Effects it had in his barbarous Murder, clearing the innocent Papiſts of it; wherein of the true Character of the* Latitudinarians *of that Age,* Uſher, Downham, Wilkins, *&c. with the Miſchiefs they did by their Moderation, and the briſk Oppoſition they met with from thoſe good Men, and learned Divines,* Sibthorp, Manwairing, Heylin, *&c. and all others who were firm and right in thoſe Reigns.*
9. *What happened after the Reſtoration, and the great Expectations the Faction and their Friends then had of* confounding *all Things again, with their Enragement at the Diſappointment at the* Savoy, *and how it came about; with the Scheme of their* new Plot, *ever ſince carried on, and the Methods they took for their Revenge thereof; the*

(1.) *To perſuade the World, that the King and his Brother were reconciled to the Church of* Rome *before they came over.*
(2.) *That the Nation grew debauched on their Return.*
(3.) *That the Papiſts burnt the City.*
(4.) *That there was a real popiſh Plot.*
(5.) *Their Oppoſition againſt King* James's *Succeſſion, in the Bill of Excluſion.*
(6.) *Their actual Conſpiracy at the* Rye-Houſe.
(7.) *Their cloſing with the Toleration and Addreſſing.*
(8.) Their preſent Plot, *and Deſign to overthrow the Church by the following Methods.*

Firſt, *Infecting the People of all Ranks and Degrees with their fulminated Notions of Government and Allegiance.*
Secondly, *Declaring againſt the ill Practices of ſuch as do not pleaſe them; whereas they ought to take them all upon themſelves.*
Thirdly, *Prevailing with many of Note, both in Church and State, to be earneſt for the Removal of ſeveral* eſſential Pins and Nails *in the Eccleſiaſtical Model; wherein is a ſhort Digreſſion, containing ſundry unanſwerable Reaſons againſt any Alteration or Moderation.*

1. *Becauſe it would diſoblige the Papiſts.*
2. *Becauſe the Parties grieved will never be ſatisfied, and ſo they ſay all.*
3. *Becauſe there are ſeveral* good Men *that cannot be at the doing it, and therefore it would not be legal.*
4. *Becauſe by reaſonable Eaſe is meant none at all.*
5. *Becauſe it cannot, and ſhall not be mended. And,*
6. *Becauſe* the King ſhall enjoy his own again.

Fourthly, *Their laſt Method, and* higheſt Step *of* their Plot, *wherein are expoſed all the weak Pretences for any Moderation.*

The

The INTRODUCTION.

NO Perſon, that has not lived altogether out of the World, can be ignorant, at the very firſt View of theſe Papers, that they muſt needs diſoblige ſuch as are concerned therein; ſince, the more criminal any Man is, the more unwilling he will be to have himſelf dilated, and his Faults expoſed to publick View, and the more animated againſt thoſe who do it: But alas! that is not all the ill Treatment their Author expects; for he is too well aſſured there are a Sort of Men, even on the other Side, whom he pretends to ſerve by this Deſign, by diſcovering the Intrigues of their Enemies againſt them, who, whatever Reaſon and Gratitude dictate, may yet look unkindly and a-ſquint upon him after all his Labour, and urge, that either through Weakneſs he has loſt, or through Falſehood betrayed, the Cauſe he undertakes to defend. All that he is careful to ſay in his Excuſe, either againſt one Side or the other, is, that he hath two Friends nearer than either, to wit, *Truth* and *Juſtice*, whom he will make it his principal Care not to offend in this Relation; and, in the mean Time, ſhall not be much concerned what is thought or cenſured of him. Nor will he trouble the Reader with any other Prelude, but (endeavouring as much as poſſible to avoid Prolixity, as contrary both to his own Genius, and the Palate of all underſtanding Judges) fall immediately on the Matter of Fact.

HAVING been but too long acquainted with the Intrigues, and very *Cabala* of that Party whoſe *dark Deeds* I am now decyphering, finding the late great Revolution, and even a King of their own, had wrought but little Mutation in their Tempers, but all the *Catholick* World were now plenarily ſatisfied, that nothing would pleaſe them but the *old Root and Branch-Work*, and beginning myſelf cordially to deteſt ſuch Principles and Actions, where they indeed are juſtly chargeable, I opined I was bound, under the ſtricteſt Obligation to my Country, no longer clandeſtinely to ſtifle what I myſelf knew in the Matter; what I have been an *Auritus & Oculatus Teſtis*; that is to ſay, an Eye and Ear-witneſs unto; in fine, to diſcover all their perpetrated Villainies, both of them, and the (as they are nominated) *Moderate Party*, who join with them; and that not only in this our own *Britannick* World, but the abutting Kingdoms and Countries; and that in former Ages as well as this current, to give the clearer Scheme of that *funeſt Conſpiracy* which has been ſo long labouring; which will be a *neceſſary Induction* to that whereof I myſelf have come to the proper Knowledge.

And in order hereunto, it will be needful, *Firſt*, To give ſome general *Scheme* of the whole Deſign of theſe pernicious Men, which will indifferently

ſerve

ſerve for paſt, preſent, and, I fear me, alſo future Ages; the unprejudiced View, and clear Proof whereof, I perſuade myſelf, will convince the deluded World, they are indeed *a far different People from what they have been vulgarly accounted.*

The Deſign, which, you will ſay, is a terrible one, and therefore had need be well proved, as it ſhall be beyond all Poſſibility of Anſwer, was this, in ſhort, *To go as far as poſſible from their* Catholick Mother, *whom they moſt rudely called the* Old Whore *of* Rome, *and never to have any Correſpondence or ſymbolizing with her, nor give her any Hopes of future Accommodation; by Conſequence, to entertain nothing in God's Service which had been notoriouſly abuſed by her to Superſtition; inſomuch, that the* Uſe, *in ſuch Caſes, they thought hardly ſeparable from the* Abuſe: *Heartily to deſire all Churches might be ſettled by this Rule, according to God's Word, and right Reaſon; but if their Lot was caſt in any, in their Judgment yet wanting ſomewhat of what they deſired,* modeſtly, *as* Beza *calls it, to declare their Diſſatisfaction thereat, but yet not make an open Schiſm and Rupture, nor deſiſt from their reſpective Duties, unleſs required to ſubmit to ſuch Uſages as they eſteemed, not only leſs convenient, but even* ſinful; *or to teſtify and ſubſcribe their Approbation of ſuch Things as their Conſciences, after the calmeſt and ſtricteſt Examination, could not approve. For Default of which Compliances, if forced out, yet uſing all* Candour towards ſuch as remained within the Pale, *interpreting all Things fairly, not widening the Breach, but heartily deſiring its Cloſure.* In State,— *Albeit they would be thought far from encouraging the Licentiouſneſs of the Rabble, or private Perſons, who have nothing to do in the Government, yet they muſt own they cannot, nor ever could, rack themſelves up to thoſe high-flown Principles, whereto ſome have only reſtringed Loyalty and Obedience; nor can believe, that God and Nature made all the World for no other End, than to be Slaves to the Luſts of ſome few great Robbers; but that the Good and Happineſs of Mankind is the topmoſt Law, and ſureſt Rule, whereunto all* Obedience *is to be ſquared; and that this* Obedience *has* Protection *for its Correlate ſo eminently, that there can be no more one without the other, than a King without Subjects. On which Account, they alſo think, there is neither Treaſon nor Hereſy in thoſe Words of* Calvin, *ſo often exclaimed againſt as contrary to all Government,* Si qui nunc ſint, *&c.* If there be, *&c.* (*hereafter largely recounted*) *being of the Opinion, that the* Eſtates of a Realm *may, and ought, to enquire into Abuſes of that Nature, when notorious, intolerable, and remedileſs; and that in ſuch Caſes, Arms are lawful, albeit for the ill Conſequents, never to be taken without the greateſt Extremity.*

Here is (*as they ſay*) *all their* Plot *and Deſign, if you will credit Truth and them; and herein have been induced to embark, one Way or other, all thoſe of other reformed Communions, who have not been ſo zealous as others for the Continuance of thoſe long Make-baits* (*as they call them*) *amongſt us; or who, in Civil Matters, have not primitive Zeal enough to hold up their Throats by Legions, till the Swords of Tyrants were blunted, and their Arms weary with teaching them the Exerciſe of Paſſive Obedience; the Inſtances of which in*

both Kinds, and their many foul Plots *to attain their Ends, ſhall be tracked in that, and likewiſe ſubſequent Ages, down to this preſent Year,* 1690.

For which Account, I need not be aſhamed to acquaint the Reader, I am chiefly obliged to Dr. *Heylin*'s uſeful Hiſtories, (of whom more hereafter) an Author of that undoubted Credit, Unbiaſſedneſs, Coolneſs, Exactneſs, and Faithfulneſs, that the very *Catholicks*, in our late Controverſies with them, have been at the commendable Pains to epitomize, and print his *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, not refuſing to have their Cauſe ſtand and fall, in the Judgment of the World, by that Account he there gives. For which Reaſon, ſome have thought it were to be wiſhed, that *Fox's lying Legend, and old wooden Martyrs*, were thrown out of our Churches, and this Doctor's precious Works there chained in their Room.

It was (as he informs us, *p.* 6. *Hiſtory of Preſbytery)* in the Year 1641, that *Jack Calvin* himſelf, that *predeſtinary and ſacramentary Peſtilence*, (as he tells us he is called) came to *Geneva*, that Neſt of Miſchief and all Wickedneſs, *the very Name of which is Half a Plot*; and which, had it been long ſince ſunk in its own Lake, *what had the World loſt?* Here the Faction, with *Calvin*'s Inſtigation, tumultuouſly and rebelliouſly plotted againſt, expell'd and *abdicated* their lawful Lord and Biſhop.—*Thus*, adds the ſame Author, *was the* Genevian *Diſcipline begotten in Rebellion, born in Sedition*, and *nurs'd up in Faction.* What needs more Argument, after ſuch ſtrong Authority? Yet, take *Hooker*'s, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, (though Care is to be taken to ſtop your Noſe at ſome Paſſages in him, leſt you ſnuff up ſome dangerous *Commonwealth Maxims*) who, in Confirmation of the *Catholicks* and Doctor's Aſſertion againſt *Calvin*, and that conſiderable Branch of the Reformed Churches diſtinguiſhed by his Name, aſſures us, *p.* 3. "That before *Calvin* "came to *Geneva*, the Biſhop was gone, and the Government popular." And, *p.* 7. from his own Works, "That *Calvin* proteſted he neither had "learned, nor taught, to reſiſt thoſe in Authority; therefore was going to "leave *Geneva*."

Furthermore, Since many would think it but a Piece of Juſtice, to make him the Author of all Sin, who makes God ſo, (although *that* alſo he, and his Followers, have Face enough to deny) do but mark, good honeſt Reader, how this very Man laid a Plot, with a Brood of little ones in the Belly of it, which have ſince crawled about over all Places, and in all Ages. The Deſign takes but a little Room, but, being of the Nature of Gunpowder, does the more Miſchief, being couched in a few Lines of his *Inſtitutions*; which yet, as the Doctor, *p.* 22. have proved the ſole Ground of ſuch Rebellions, Treaſons, and Aſſaſſinations, as have ſince disfigured the Church of *Chriſt*, (at that Rate not excepting the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, and laſt *Popiſh* Plot:) "If "there be now, *ſaith he*, any popular Magiſtrates ordered to moderate the "Licentiouſneſs of Kings, as of old the *Ephori*, *Tribunes*, &c. and with which "Power, perhaps, the three Eſtates are ſeized in each Kingdom, where "they are ſolemnly aſſembled; ſo far am I from hindering them to put Re-"ſtraints on the exorbitant Power of Kings, as in Duty bound, that I conceive

"them

" them rather guilty of perfidious and wicked Diſſimulation, if they connive " at them, when they turn Tyrants, or inſult their People, or betray their " Liberties, of which God has appointed them the Guardians."

You have heard the Indictment, nor can he deny it; nor will all his, or his Partizans *If's* and *Perhaps's* ſave him from being a notorious *Williamite*, and Enemy to the late (and preſent too) good King *J*——; for clearly hence have flowed, not only all paſt Stirs made by the ſtubborn Hereticks, as that good Man juſt quoted, in his Time obſerved, but even the preſent monſtrous Revolution. For were it not thoſe peſtilent *Ordines Regni*, the *Eſtates of the Realm* here, which pretended to diſpoſe of the Imperial Crown to whom they pleaſe, for thoſe very Reaſons before-alledged, nothing but the pious Endeavour to introduce *Catholick Religion*, &c. as if any one had any Thing to do to call Kings to Account, although they cauſed to be cut all their ſheepiſh Subjects Throats, beſides God in the other World, and his Vicar in this?

After *Jack Calvin*, and his Aſſociates at *Geneva*, had hammered out firſt their Diſcipline, and likewiſe this Doctrine aforeſaid, to make Room for the ſame, they uſed all Diligence to cauſe them to be embraced and promoted both together, in all Parts of the Catholick Church; whereby, as the ſo often cited Author declares, infinite Damage was done thereunto; Catholick Biſhops depoſed, the Beauty of Churches defaced, Order ruined, Images broken, the Catholick Religion every where went to wreck, and all Things in Diſturbance and Confuſion. But eſpecially the Princes felt the mortal Effects of thoſe poiſonous Proteſtant Doctrines, where-ever they got uppermoſt, whether in *Germany*, *France*, or the *Netherlands*.

In *Germany*, the Electors dared to ſet up the *Proteſtant Religion*, without the Emperor's Leave, in their own Territories; and when profeſſed, dared, by Arms, to defend that and their Subjects Lives, as well as aſſiſt their Brother Hereticks of *France*; in which, how wickedly they acted, and how God blaſted and curſed their Enterprizes, ſee *p.* 94. *Book* 3. and try if the Relation thereof will not cauſe ye to abominate ſuch Practices; if not, the Doctor hath pawned his Credit and Honour to no Purpoſe.

As concerning the *Netherlands*, to ſome of which (as *p.* 90.) ſome *well-meaning*, but *weak* Prince, had granted ſeveral Indemnities and Privileges; when ſucceeding Princes, more puiſſant and wiſe, who were ſatisfied in that uſeful Maxim, *that they were not Slaves to their Oaths*, had been pleaſed to revoke them, and bring their Subjects into that *State of Slavery*, which ſo many great Men have aſſured us is the very *Primitive State of Nature*. Thoſe wicked Countries, I ſay, dared to defend their Liberties; and albeit there may be ſomewhat of Truth in it, that many Catholicks, as well as Hereticks, embarked in the Affair, yet we may ſafely ſay, they were *mere rotten Hereticks at Heart*, or they would never have therein acted. But the open ones were undoubtedly the moſt active in that Rebellion, under their Head, *William*, Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Family was looked upon by them as the main Support of their ſinking Cauſe in all thoſe Parts of *Europe*; and who, ſlily pretending to be a good Catholick, was all the while a *ſecret Lutheran Heretick*;

which Hereſy was even bred in his Bone, having ſucked it with his Mother's Milk. But yet, for this very Reaſon he left them, and turned *Calviniſt*, (becauſe he found the *Calviniſts* Men of another Metal, more quick and ſtirring, and eaſily exaſperated againſt their Governors, from the by-named Principles, and conſequently more fit to advance his Purpoſes.) But an ordinary Character for one, whom his Flatterers called the Saviour of the Proteſtants, and one of the braveſt Princes in *Chriſtendom*; but yet the beſt this (you may judge how) unprejudiced Author thought his Due, *p.* 99. But ſee how Vengeance overtook this their Ring-leader, in the Height of all his Glory; for being at *Delph*, on the 10*th* of *June*, 1584. a briſk young Fellow did excellent Service for the Catholick Cauſe, by preſenting him with three poiſoned Bullets, whereof he immediately died. From whom lineally deſcends one, who is now as great a Plague to the holy Church of *Rome*, and as much a Darling of that contrary Party; and has yet been flattered by Fortune with as much Glory as this his Anceſtor. But notwithſtanding the cutting off this Head, as has been ſaid, more ſprung up; thoſe in this Country turned out their Sovereign, *Philip* II. and have ever ſince pretended to be *free States*, and *High and Mighty Lords*; not without the Aſſiſtance, as will be hereafter accounted, of the heretical Queen, and Parliament of *England*.

This in the *Netherlands*. Neither were their Plots in *France* leſs numerous: Foraſmuch as the *Genevian* Schiſm daily getting Ground in that Kingdom, ſeveral Princes of the Blood were, at ſeveral Times, corrupted thereby both in their Faith and Allegiance, and highly guilty of Leſe-majeſty againſt their Sovereign. For Example, that notorious *Coligny*, who, with his Party, ſo often appeared in Rebellion againſt his Sovereigns the *Guiſes*, who, *under* the King, ruled all *France*, or rather *over* him: And that the Actions of him and his Party were encouraged by *Calvin*, and Miniſters ſent from *Geneva*, on Purpoſe to preach the People into Rebellion, *p.* 53. is as clearly proved in the ſame Page, from two infallible Arguments; becauſe the Pope was ſo perſuaded, and becauſe *Calvin*, writing to *Bullinger* of thoſe Actions, extreamly diſapproves and condemns them. It is as certain, that *Beza* himſelf, and the Admiral, promiſed *Poltrot*, the Aſſaſſin, all the Reward this and the other World could afford, to murther the brave Duke of *Guiſe*, the irreconcileable Enemy of the Hereticks: And this the Confeſſion of the Murderer, (who could have no other Ends in it than to ſpeak his Conſcience, *p.* 68.) having no Force put upon him to oblige him to a Lie, being only *diverted* upon the Rack, in the moſt exquiſite Torments a Man could endure, ſufficiently ſatisfied moſt Men of the Truth of it: For, on the other Side, *Beza*, and the Admiral, had not Impudence ſo much as to vindicate themſelves from this Accuſation any other Way, than by the moſt publick and ſolemn Manifeſto's, Declarations, and Proteſtations of their Innocence, to their Dying Day. *But they were known to be* Calviniſts *both, and therefore no great Heed to be given to what they ſay.*

About the ſame Time, to conſummate their Treaſons, they called in foreign Aid, for no other Pretence but to ſecure their *Liberties* and *Religion*, *p.* 69.

(namely,

(namely, the *Engliſh* Hereticks, and by thus giving up their Country as a Prey to the Luſt of thoſe Strangers, the antient Enemies of that Crown, who pretended ſtill to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, were guilty of an Action of ſuch a diſloyal, impolitick Nature, as no Pretence of Zeal could either qualify or excuſe;) which Wickedneſs on the *Engliſh* Side, in aſſiſting thoſe Rebels, was puniſhed, as *Heylin* tells the World in the by gone Lines, with croſs Winds, ill Succeſs, and infectious Diſeaſes. See the Difference between the *Good Man's modeſt Judgment*, and that of a puritanical Queen and Parliament; who being, as well as the *Hugonots*, poſſeſſed with the Principles of their Mother City, dared, for want of more Grace, to call *this War juſt* and *neceſſary*, and even *religious*, in their *Acts* for a *Subſidy* to carry it on: But more of this in the Affairs of *England*. Let us now look back to the Event of all their Rebellion and Conſpiracies in *France*. The Churches Vengeance lighted upon them unexpectedly, and deſtroyed above thirty Thouſand, with their Ring-leader the Admiral, on Black *Bartholomew-day*, 1572, without giving them Time to ſay their heretical Prayers before they went into the other World: Which Action, in a Time of profoundeſt Peace, under the faireſt Pretences, againſt the moſt ſolemn Oaths, upon no Provocation, plotted and accompliſhed againſt ſo many Innocents (as their Friends call them, ſuppoſing it poſſible that a *Calviniſt* can be ſo) is by thoſe who favour them exclaimed againſt, as one of the moſt brutiſh, barbarous, and bloody Villanies ſince *Herod*, and before the *Iriſh* Maſſacre.

And accordingly, obſerve with what Warmth, Zeal, and juſt Deteſtation the Doctor gives an Account concerning it, in *p.* 75.——[The celebrating of the Wedding in the Death of the Admiral on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, and the Slaughter of thirty thouſand Men within a few Days after.]——And further he ſaith not.

It is Time now to come to the Affairs in *England*, wherein we are more immediately touched, and of *Calvin*'s intermeddling here with what he had nothing to do with, nor received any Thanks for; that is to ſay, the *Reformation of our Church*:—— But indeed planting his too fruitful Seeds of Schiſms and Seditions amongſt us.

But *Cranmer* and *Ridley* knew ſo well the Temper of the Man, and how *pragmatical* he had been where-ever he got in (*p.* 236, 237.) and how deſtructive his Notions were to the ſacred Hierarchy, that they would have nothing to do with him or his Aſſiſtance. On this, he wrote to the young King himſelf, thinking to ſeduce him; and had at laſt, as well as the heretick Biſhops about him, in Effect inſtilled into him ſo much Piety, Temper, and Moderation; that, as the ſame Author remarkably has it in ſuch memorable Words as deſerved to have been engraven and eternized on his own Statue of Braſs, *It was none of the Infelicities of the Church of* England *that this Prince died ſo early*.

But what yet deeper Deſigns he managed at this Time againſt the Church, and how he plotted the forming of it after his own Model, we may more than conjecture from the Letters of a vigilant Catholick, found in Queen *Mary*'s

Mary's Cloſet, of *ſanguine Memory*, and communicated to Queen *Elizabeth* ſome Years after her coming to the Crown, by a Miniſter of State; wherein the politick Prieſt acquaints his Correſpondent, that it was the Reſult of the moſt refined Thoughts in their Communion, by all Means to heighten Animoſities among Hereticks, their uniting having been feared, and terribly alarmed the *Romiſh* See, inaſmuch, as *Calvin* himſelf had made Propoſals to young *Edward*, on ſome Terms, to admit of Epiſcopacy among the foreign Proteſtants, to join all in the ſame Confeſſion of Faith, and acknowledge that King their Protector and Head, which would have been of fatal Conſequence to the Catholick Cauſe; on which Account, they bent their utmoſt Endeavours to have his Proffers rejected, and accordingly accompliſhed the ſame. When this was ſhown Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe proteſted ſhe had rather than half a Year's Revenue her Brother had ſeen this, and then a Year's, that ſhe herſelf had ſeen it before: But what Matter is it what Queen *Beſs*'s Judgment was in the Caſe? She will have enough to do to anſwer for herſelf, whoſe Reign we are now come to.

In whoſe long (ſhould I add tedious) Reign, all the Church and State began to contract thoſe ill Humours, which afterwards over-run both, and made us a Scorn to On-lookers then, ſince, and now. It was then, that the open profeſſed Puritan fell foul on *ſundry Rites and Ceremonies*, *as the Croſs*, *Surplice*, &c. as ſtinking ſo much of *Romiſh* Superſtition, complaining moreover, the Church wanted farther refining. But what could they have done, had not the moderate Men joined their Cauſe, and promoted it more than they themſelves could have done? For albeit they were ſatisfied in the Rationality of all thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Decrees and Uſages; yet, for the Sake of Peace, and quieting thoſe Complainants, and eaſing their Conſciences, and avoiding the Scandal of Schiſm, in thoſe Particulars they were inclining towards a Relaxation; nay, had great Hopes alſo to have accompliſhed this their notorious Plot and Deſign, had not the ever loyal Catholick Party, in mere Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, *by Law eſtabliſhed*, obſtructed their Intentions, and baffled their Hopes. So ſaith Biſhop *Horn*, in a Letter to that Arch-heretick *Bullinger*, at *Zurich*, about this Time. "We have laboured, *ſaith he*, to get the Act "of *Garments*, &c. to be repealed, and had obtained it the laſt Seſſion of "Parliament, and hope to accompliſh it in this, had not the Papiſts hindered "it." And ſeveral more of them wrote to the ſame Purpoſe, albeit they had before but over-much damaged the Church, by perſuading the Queen to have Images removed therefrom.

See we nextly, how theſe ſubtle Serpents prevailed with that Queen to be in a Plot againſt herſelf, and embarked the Lords and Commons in the ſame Deſign. This they accompliſhed by inducing ſundry Principles deſtructive to Power general, and abſolute Impery, both into her Judgment and her Kingdoms, whether Laity or Clergy; namely, *That Kings might be reſiſted*, *if they endeavoured to deſtroy their Subjects*; which Poſition they contrived a Biſhop, well inclined to their Party, ſhould impudently write, and in barefaced Print dedicate to the Queen; with whom that, and ſuch Advice, had

ſuch

ſuch Succeſs, that ſhe aſſiſted the rebellious Subjects both of *France* and *Holland* againſt their Liege-Lords and Tyrants, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. Whereunto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as being likewiſe ſoured with the ſame Leven, entirely conſented, and granted liberal Supplies therefore, and the Clergy Subſidies; daring moreover, in their very Acts of Parliament, to ſtile theſe juſt, neceſſary, and religious Purpoſes. From which Practice, how is it poſſible but evil-minded Nations will ſubſume, that if Queen, Lords, and Commons, if Clergy and Laity, Perſons of all Eſtates, and all Characters, once and again did own and defend, aſſiſt and promove ſuch an Action, they either were all the grandeſt Hypocrites, or elſe did truly, in their Judgment, think it was in ſome Caſes lawful to defend Religion and Rights by Arms; and by Conſequence, lop off that luxuriant Branch of Power, whereby Princes might, how they pleaſe, uſe their Subjects, and be worſhipped by them as a certain *great Prince* is by the *Indians*, that he may do them no Harm?

Furthermore, May it not be worth Pain to find what Influence *Beza*, and his *Hugonots*, with other *Calviniſts* and *Zuinglians*, had upon ours in this Reign? The *Engliſh* Puritans were almoſt reſolved to leave the Church, and make an open Schiſm: *Beza*, with Deſign to injure us more by their *ſtaying in*, and diſtracting all, writ a Letter to them, perſuading them, for avoiding the Miſchiefs certain on ſuch a Breach, to continue ſtill in the Church, and uſe thoſe Ceremonies required, although not declare they judged them *lawful*, whereas they did not. Some would think this argued much *Temper* and *Chriſtianity*, but they muſt be miſtaken; ſeeing it is as impoſſible for one of *Beza*'s Kidney to do a good Action, as to be a good Man. Howſoever, hereupon they did continue, although it is a Doubt ſoon aſſoiled, *whether or no their Room would not have been better than their Company?*

It is a very melancholy Conſideration, how many great Men among us were leaning to theſe ſame Opinions: *Horn*, before-mentioned, *Grindal* himſelf, with many other Prelates, and, as we are told, a great Part of one *Convocation*. And in the State, *Knollis*, *Leiceſter*, *North*, &c. all judging, that on Account of much Miſchief in that and ſucceeding Ages, felt and foreſeen by ſome Things, called by them *not eſſential* to our Church, they might with much more Profit than Damage ſuffer ſome Retrenchment. But theſe their Wiſhes and Plots ſucceeding as well as *Hacker*'s, *Coppinger*'s, &c. Blaſphemies (which yet we cannot perſuade them to own) all fell to the Ground, without any Fruit to their Content during her Reign: In which even the Defection of the Papiſts from our Communion, which they joined the firſt ten Years, is by the admirable *Heylin* charged on theſe ſame Perſons as a perfect Branch of their Plot, in *p.* 259. notwithſtanding the World is ſo unhappily miſtaken as to think the direct contrary. Conſequently, what more clear, than that all the Attempts made on that Queen by the Papiſts, *Parry*'s Conſpiracy, *Babbington*'s, the Queen of *Scots*, and even eighty-eight itſelf, and the *Spaniſh Invaſion*, are juſtly chargeable on this Party? And therefore, *— Chriſtianos ad Leones!*

The

The ſucceeding Reign of King *James* would afford a very large Field, and tempt to expatiate on their Plots therein: As their *Sham-Plot of the Gunpowder Treaſon*, thrown upon the Catholicks to render them odious, albeit they have ſo frequently, when thereon interrogate, aſſured the World it was a meer Trick of *Cecil*'s (their Religion not permitting them to equivocate or lie) with others truly innumerable. We might furthermore account ſomewhat of their principal Plotters, the ſtrongeſt Fautors of the moderate Party; namely, *Abbot* (and his Followers and Admirers) who refuſed to judge in ſo luſhious a Caſe, as that of the *Lady Eſſex*'s *Virginity*: But this, and the *Plot* at *Hampton-Court*, with that when they brought their Abetters Hands by the *Thouſands*, muſt be briefly paſt over, to make Way for what is of more Concern in the Time of his Succeſſor; for whatever Subterfuge may be taken for other Reign's Tranſactions, thoſe which occurred, during that of King *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, were written with a *Sun-beam*, yea, engraven as deep as thoſe infamous *Stigmes* in the Brows of their great Champions, and ſhall be as clearly proved againſt them in the enſuing Paragraphs.

That Prince was hardly warm in his Throne, but the *Plot* before begun was carried on with more Life than ever, to ſet up the Faction in Church and State, and deſtroy the wholſome Government in both eſtabliſhed. Purſuantly whereunto, they, and the Party which favoured them of our own, cauſed Delate ſundry of the King's Miniſters, queſtioned that ſupreme, imperial, abſolute, unaccountable, illimited Power, ſo oft inſinuated as inſeparably inherent in the Crown of *England*; pretended Things were not well managed, good Men not advanced, Viciouſneſs not reſtrained, but encouraged, the Laws not executed againſt Popiſh Recuſants, but ſuſpended, the Truſt concredited not obſerved, Money illegally exacted, and Property invaded; and finally, no Hope left to have Things fairly remedied, ſubſuming, that Arms were neceſſary and lawful to remove ill Counſellors, and vindicate Liberties, though pretending the King's Name and Authority, until their Plot was ripe, and the moderate Men and they together ruined three of the beſt Kingdoms, and one of the beſt Princes in the World. How great the Opprobry of this Action was, is obvious to be cognoſced by all the World. But ſuffice theſe Arguments ſubſequent to make it plainer, if any Need were, and that this great Cry was entirely without any Reaſon at all, and they who made it, ventured their Lives, and loſt their Blood, only to have *Abner*'s Elegy. Becauſe,

1. Our Liberties had no Invaſion: Some ſmall Things might be, as are in the beſt Governments, but not worth minding nor ſpeaking of; — only ſending all over *England* to demand Money by Prerogative, without Parliament, and force the ſtubborn and rebellious, who refuſed to give to *Cæſar* the Things which were *not Cæſar*'s, to ſuffer Confinement for their Pervicacity. Moreover, our Religion was not in Jeopardy, nor our Laws tranſgreſſed, inaſmuch, as albeit ſome Hundreds of Popiſh Recuſants were liberated from legal Durance, and likewiſe the Pope's Nuncio was here actually reſiant,

and

and Plots discovered, and offered to be deponed, against the King's Person, and Government, and Laws, by the *Romans:* Moreover, albeit that the Queen was a zealous Propugner of their Religion, and likewise mortally averted the Protestants Name and Thing, and was so entirely trusted, as to obtain and dispose blank Commissions, of which Use bad enough was made, yet still we behoved to contradict our own Senses, and in no wise believe, that either our Laws or Religion were indangered.

Furthermore, It ought to be well adverted, what sore Mischief Moderation wrought in the Councils and Actions of that Age, seeing those enstiled moderate Men, the *Trimmers* of that Dispensation, were even more noxious and obnoxious than others openly enlisted, as was observed in the Reigns by-gone, and shall be in that succeeding. They were in the *State*, for capitulating with Sovereignty, preserving Liberty, their great *Diana*; nor thought it damnable to keep their own by any lawful Means, or refuse to part with it, saving in a parliamentary Way. In *Church*, for Accommodation and Moderation, and rather inclining to favour the Dissenter than the Catholick,—— accordingly not over-fond of Additions or Superstructures, or Refinings on the Ceremonies: They believed a Man might be saved by the *Merits* of *Jesus*, without *bowing* at his *Name* within Church, and swearing by it as soon as he came out: That it was not absolutely necessary to Salvation to have the Church-windows rendered devout, by darkening them with Pictures of the Trinity: That it was not a mortal Sin to call the *Altar* a *Table*; nor of the Essence of the Sacrament, to have *that* railed in: Nay worse, they believed a *Calvinist* might be saved, and dared hope as much of *John Calvin* himself (though many others would as soon be of *Origen*'s charitable Opinion, that the Devil might.) Neither did they conclude all those were *Reprobates* who believed *Predestination:* They thought, by Dr. *Heylin*'s Leave, it was lawful, yea, even praise-worthy, to keep the Lord's Day as a Sabbath, and that Time as well full out employed in reading God's Word, and singing Psalms, as in playing at Foot-ball or Morrice-dancing: Nay, to lay open the very Core of those fanatical Pustles and Blains that infected the sick Nation, they would have been condescending to amove, or leave indifferent the Cross and Surplice themselves, to save the Souls of their weak Brethren, and induce Peace and Unity in the Church. What need we name all who promoted these pernicious Designs, and avowed the by-named Principles? Who more noticed that Way than the puritanical *Usher?* —— Of whom need we any worse Character, than that the *Dissenters honoured and loved him?* Who was nothing else, as Dr. *Heylin* so much his Superior equally in Learning, Piety, Gravity, and good Nature, tells the World, *but a walking Bookseller's Shop, with a deal of old Lumber in his Head*, and who was notoriously puritanical in most Points of their before-mentioned Creed. Of the same Batch was the Bishop of *Lincoln*; the Name —— and —— Thing Man, Bishop *Downham*, *Prideux*, Bishop of *Worcester*, Bishop *Wilkins*, who might as soon get to the Moon in one of his own Chariots, as accomplish the less improbable Project of Union with these Dissenters, to whom

he was himſelf too near allied. One fanatical Principle more I had even ſlipt, to which all theſe before-mentioned, and Numbers of the ſame Leven, were almoſt ſworn; namely, That *his Holineſs was Antichriſt*, and his Metropolis, the famous City of *Rome*, meer *Babylon*: Wherein he that cannot *ſmell* a notorious *Plot* againſt the very Root of all Government, has no *Noſe*: For his Holineſs being, it is well known, a great *temporal Prince*, this reflecting upon him in that Capacity, does ſo likewiſe upon *all others*; on which Account no wiſe Prince would ſuffer thoſe in his Dominions, who defend ſuch a dangerous Maxim. Let me add the reviving that unmannerly Poſition in the late Diſputations againſt the Catholicks, after it had been given them ſo frankly by ſo many great Doctors, the aſſerting and vindicating, and *almoſt quoting the Homily for it*, could bode no Good to the Church, but too plainly indigitate that ſome Deſigns were hatching, which have ſince been produced into Maturity.

But to return from this Digreſſion, while I am deſcribing to my unwary Countrymen the *Plots* and Deſigns of bad Men in this Reign, and the brooding Miſchiefs of *fatal Moderation*, let not thoſe excellent Perſons be forgot, who ſtemmed the Tide againſt it, or rather ruſhed down the Stream, and over-bore all Oppoſers; like good Soldiers, very generouſly letting the Ship ſplit all to Shivers, and ſink to the Bottom, rather than *ſuffer any interloping*.

Shall thoſe great Names, *Sibthorp* and *Manwairing*, be ever forgotten, or how bravely and freely, like Kings, they gave to the King? It is true, it was what was none of their own; but there's the Rarity; it is mean and vulgar, only to give what is ſo: But to give Rights of Kingdoms, Power of Parliaments, Liberty of levying what Taxes he pleaſed, without the old dull Formalities of ſaying, *By your Leave* to the Lords and Commons, and of the other Side preaching the People into Damnation, if the ſtingy Wretches ſhould refuſe even to ſend their *Heads in a Bandbox*, if it were their Sovereign's Will and Pleaſure to aſk for them. This, in good Truth, was worth both *giving and taking*, and really deſerved, between Man and Man, as good a Deanry or Biſhoprick, in Conſideration, as any in *England*.

Of the other Side, the making ſo many Compliments, kind Faces and Cringes, to his *Holineſs* at *Rome*; the leaning that Way in a juſt Deteſtation of *fanatical Zeal*, which ſwagged to the other; the preſſing the very higheſt Pinnacles, nay, *Vanes*, of what one meetly enough terms *Seſqui-conformity*; the abominating, and almoſt excommunicating all foreign Churches; the running down Law, *Ignoramus Lawyers* (*Selden*, and ſuch like) and the ſaucy Tribe of *Jack Gentlemen*. Theſe were ſome of the noble Expedients by which thoſe worthy Men oppoſed the Faction, and took ſuch effectual Care to prevent and cure the Schiſm in Church and State, and all deplorable Effects thereafter ariſing.

Among thoſe memorable Perſons, ſignally inſtrumental therein, let us by no Means forget the grave, ingenuous, and good-natured Dr. *Heylin*. How much is really owing to his Pains and Honeſty, we have already occaſionally accounted, though too much can ſcarce be ſaid on ſuch a Subject, of whoſe truly

truly remarkable Works, and thoſe two eſpecially, *his Hiſtory of the Reformation, and the Preſbyterians*, we may, without invidious Reflections or Compariſons, boldly affirm, that hardly ever were two Books written like them, and that they deſerve only to be compared with another one. And while the ſenſible Part of Mankind, and all thoſe who are *firm* and *right*, are but ſatisfied of it, let the *Diſſenters and Trimmers* in *England* bark on at them, and rail at the *Diſcovery* of their frequent *Plots* therein contained, and inſinuate, as they will ſcarce fail, that it is a great Queſtion if he belies, and abuſes the Church of *England* more in one, or themſelves in the other. But notwithſtanding all this Heap of Calumnies, and others of the ſame Kind, in a *late Hiſtory of the Reformation*, enviouſly caſt upon him by a little Scribler, whom the Vicar of *Coſmus-Bene* has ſoundly jerked up for his Pains; I ſay, in Spite of this, and a thouſand Times more, the *Doctor* is by all unprejudiced Perſons acknowledged to be one of that undoubted Veracity, that they no more queſtion one Iota of the Truth of either of thoſe Hiſtories, than they do the ſame Author's famous Account of St. *George*, who killed the Dragon, and the ſeven Champions of Chriſtendom.

But graver and ſadder Matters exact more Serioufneſs. Theſe perillous Perſons, the Subjects of the *preſent Diſcovery*, carried Matters yet much higher, and having firſt ſeduced a vaſt Body of the *Church of England* into their Cauſe, and much the larger Part of both Houſes of Parliament, at that Time to take Arms for the Vindication of thoſe *Liberties*, and that *Religion*, they, you ſee how unjuſtly, pretended in ſo much Danger; nay, having inſinuated *(as they are certainly a very cunning Sort of People)* ſome of their own Principles into the King himſelf, who had formerly aſſiſted the *French* Proteſtants againſt the Oppreſſions and Contraventions of their own King; and ſo fully imbibed him with the Lawfulneſs thereof, that to the *very Day of his Martyrdom*, after the ſevereſt Examination of his cloſeſt Thoughts, and acknowledging ſome Evils, which Reaſon of State had, he thought, puſhed him on formerly; he yet never was known to look on this as any Sin or Error, in Word or Writing, though grantedly ſo pious a Man, and of ſo tender a Conſcience.

After they had, by theſe Methods, and a long War, ruined the *Royal Intereſt* and Family, they conſummated all in the moſt execrable of Villainies; erecting a pretended Court of Juſtice, whereon, by a Proceſs for that End intended before by them, they condemned, and (I had almoſt ſaid) crucified their Lord and Maſter. They will deny this, without Doubt, as confidently as they were innocent; charge the guiltleſs Catholicks as guilty of contriving, effecting, and rejoicing at it; and pretend their Deteſtation of a Fact ſo deviliſhly barbarous and inhuman. For Defence of the poor Catholicks againſt their Calumnies, ſuffice it, they have no ſolid Argument to make good their Aſſertion, only that, during the War, more Papiſts were in the Rebels Army than the Royal Side, as appears by a publick Proclamation under that *Martyr*'s own Hand; that his Death was before conſulted and agreed on, at *Rome* and in the *Sorbonne*; that ſeveral known Prieſts were actually preſent, ſome

diſguiſedly, even in Office, and aſſiſting at that *execrable Villainy*; that there was publick Joy and Triumph thereupon, and a Sword flouriſhed over his Head, by a *Jeſuit*, when it was accompliſhed. But theſe are Arguments muſt be blown away, inſtead of being anſwered.

And under the ſame Claſs may we rank the Excuſe of the Party againſt their having any Hand in this *innocent Blood*. They urge, forſooth, that the Ends of War attained, they were now, and had been, openly for Peace; were ſatisfied with the King's Conceſſions, embraced a Treaty, even agreed on Terms, expected to have made themſelves and him happy; that the Houſe of Lords, Commons, City, and Country, were all of this Mind; that it was only the Uſurper and his Army who acted what was thereafter done; yet not daring to attempt it until the City was diſarmed, the Houſe of Lords diſſolved, the Commons purged and altered; that when the *Uſurper*'s Intent was perceived, ſeventy odd of their Miniſters went in a Body to him, diſſuaded him from it, remonſtrated againſt it; and when the fatal Blow was over, regretted it as deeply, bewailed it as truly as a Mother would have done the untimely Death of her only Child; that there were of their Number, who, after all Entreaties, Careſſes, and Perſuaſions, abſolutely refuſed ever to ſee him more; that for this, and other as pregnant Reaſons, they no more think the Body of them either indiſcriminately or eminently concerned in the Action, than in all the wild and wicked Blaſphemies and Immoralities of the *Ranters*, and other Enthuſiaſts of that Age, which thereafter peſtered and expoſed the Nation, and which, with juſt as much Reaſon, are by their Enemies moſt injuriouſly charged upon them. But all this, as in the Caſe aforeſaid, it is not worth the while to attempt to anſwer.

It is Time now to remind my loving Countrymen of what many of them, as well as I myſelf, if they will take the Pains of Reflection, cannot chuſe but remember, *to wit*, the reſtleſs Endeavours and Intrigues of that Party, who, you ſee, have been *Plotters* from their very Cradles, ſince the happy Period of the Reſtoration; at which Time, the Expectations of the Factions and their Friends could not but be great, and their Hopes extremely ſanguine, to attain their long deſired Ends, of *confounding* the Church by *uniting* unto it; or, as they and theirs would rather phraſe it, happily cloſing the long-bleeding Wounds of theſe Kingdoms.

And how all Things ſeemed that Way diſpoſed, had not Providence, and ſome good Catholick Friends, ordered it otherwiſe, is a melancholy Reflection to any true Lover of his Country and Religion; for the long and fatal Miſchiefs, the Sins and Scandal, and Shame and Opprobry, and yet uncured Wounds given and taken of all Sides, for what was not worth half the Coſt and Pains, had inclined many conſidering Men to deſire an End of them, by taking away the very Root of theſe Diſtempers, *to wit*, our unhappy Diviſions, with which none but were ſufficiently tired. Thereupon fair Advances were made, and ſtrong Inclinations, even in the Heads of Parties, to make an End of what they were ſo much aſhamed of.

Followed next the Conference at the *Savoy*, wherein, ten to one but the Work had been accompliſhed, many deep Heads being laid together on the Deſign; which, had it been done, who can gueſs the Miſchiefs had thereupon ſucceeded inevitably? The poor Catholicks muſt never have hoped to have breathed, or had one Puſh more for *Holy Mother*. Trade had flouriſhed, *England* had been ſtrong, famous, and invincible. (What to do, but to make it proud and factious?) The *Moſt Chriſtian King* had never arrived to that Height of Grandeur and Glory in plundering, burning, maſſacring his own, and all other Nations in *Europe*, and letting in the yet *more Chriſtian Turk* on the other Side of *Germany*, had we been all well at Home, and fit to keep our antient Station, the Balance of *Europe*; all thoſe Heats and Ferments amongſt us had been avoided, and a great deal of brave Blood unſpilt, or made better Uſe of; (but as for that, being ſuch as inclined to this Party, you will ſay no great Matter;) Peace, Quietneſs, and eternal Security had been entailed on theſe Nations to future Ages, inſtead of ſtill remaining Spight, Malice, and ſuch Animoſities, as God knows when we ſhall ſee the End of them. (But what then had become of *Doctors Commons?*) So that, after all plauſible Pretences, you ſee there lie very heavy Inconveniencies of the other Side; beſides ſome yet to be named, to over-balance this Union then *plotted*. How nimble were Biſhop *Wilkins*, and others, pretendedly ours? How concerned and intent on this fruitleſs *Embrio?* And how handſomely were they and the Hopes of the Faction diſappointed by that Means, and for theſe yet further weighty and ſubſequent Reaſons?

Had it come to Maturity, and the People of *England* had Leiſure to be all intent on the common Good, both here and Abroad, in Probability, a certain Favourite could not have grown ſo great and topping as he afterwards did, on the Ruins of his Country's Liberties and Glory.

Moreover, neither had the Royal *Power* been exalted, nor Prerogative extended, to ſignify what the King and his Judges thought *meet*; or thoſe Rights, which coſt our fooliſh Anceſtors ſo much Blood, and ſo many thouſand Lives, generouſly ſacrificed to our Reſentments, had not the Breach been left open, and Opportunity ſtill to play *Party againſt Party*, when thought neceſſary by State-Miniſters.

The prudent Means uſed to hinder what would certainly have obſtructed theſe great Ends, were near one and the ſame on both Parties; that is to ſay, exaſperating former Sufferers, rubbing their old Gauls and Wounds, foretelling future Repetitions of the ſame, encouraging both Sides to ſtand upon higher Terms than of themſelves inclined to, aſſuring them they ſhould be granted, Smiles on thoſe who were moſt averſe to Union, of the ſtiffeſt, ſoureſt, ſtraiteſt-lac'd Conſciences or Humours, Frowns and Slights on the contrary, who might look for their next Preferments in Heaven; by which happy Methods the *Plot* was prevented, the *Schiſms* perpetuated, and all broken in Pieces.

See but what Councils this threw the moderate Men upon ſoon after; how it exaſperated and enraged them; and what Calumnies they invented on the State,

State, in ſucceeding Times, to bring about their Ends; one of the moſt notorious of which was, the two Royal Brothers being reconciled to the See of *Rome* before their Return. It was, Truth is, an unlucky Motto placed on the Pedeſtal of the then Duke of *York*'s Statue, at their triumphant Entrance into *London*, in the Year 1660, out of the Poet, *Magnæ Spes altera Romæ*; The *ſecond* mighty Hope of *Rome*. It is alſo as unhappy a Circumſtance, that we have the *Word* of this *ſecond Hope* (that *Word never yet forfeited*) that the *firſt* made good the *implied* Character, and died, as he had in his Heart lived, in the *Roman Communion*. But yet again, we have his *own Royal Word* ſo often, of his being cordial in the *Proteſtant*, that it muſt ſtill remain a *Moot-caſe* whether of the two we are to believe.

Other as pernicious Inſinuations they had, were, that the Nation grew ſenſibly and notoriouſly debauched, and ſuch as would not be courtly enough to kick their Wives out of Bed and Houſe too, and take a Thing genteeler in their Room, were counted and named *arrant Fanaticks*, and Enemies to the Government; no good Church-men, loyal, nor any Thing elſe that was good, or fit for Preferment; yea, that the Influence and Poiſon of thoſe curſed Practices, to make Men Villains and Atheiſts, that they might be fit for Slaves and Papiſts, prevailed ſo ſtrongly, and was rooted ſo deeply, that it is not yet eradicated; and is like to find Work for one Age more, as it then produced a Fire and Plague, both too weak to conquer it.

The laſt of which, the *Fire*, they are ſo impudent to charge on the *Papiſts*; albeit, they have not a Syllable for it, but ſome old Bundles of Depoſitions there anent before the Houſe of Commons; the poſitive Confeſſions of Parties engaged in it, and a diſaffected Inſcription on the *Monument* ſince razed; but on the other Side, two or three whole *Obſervators* contrair thereunto. By the Way, ſee a certain Mark who are in this *Plot* all along diſcovered, namely, whoever believes the *Papiſts* burnt the City, and the Duke had any Hand in it: And all who dare be ſo impudent, deſerves as ſound a Fine as *he that now holds his Head ſo high*.

The next Method they had to blacken the *Government* and innocent *Catholicks* together, was the *pretended popiſh Plot*. As for *Coleman*'s *Letters*, whereof they ſo much flouriſh, how eaſily might they be forged by that Party? Or which is more likely, he himſelf a *Fanatick*; or what is more dangerous a Beaſt, a Trimmer in his Heart, contriving all only to diſgrace his good Maſter, and being hanged for nothing but *the Good of the Cauſe*: And for all the reſt of the *Plot*, *Roger*'s *Writing*, and *Oats* his *Whipping*, has ſunk it ſo deep, that it muſt never expect to riſe more, till King *James* comes back to *Whitehall*.

To let paſs their *Plot* to *exclude their lawful Sovereign*, and when that failed, their infamous Conſpiracy to *blunderbuſs* the *King and all the Royal Coach-Horſes* at the *Rye-houſe*, which they, as well as the *Jeſuits*, had Impudence enough at their Deaths to profeſs themſelves as *innocent of as the Child unborn*. To omit that, and their contumacious Refuſals to deliver up *Charters*, and all the *muſty Liberties* of their Forefathers. Go but into King

James

James the Second's Reign, and if you do not ſee enough of their Practices to ſurfeit you, never believe *Heylin*, *Roger*, or me again.

How eagerly thoſe *Gudgeons* leaped at the *Toleration*, how greedily they ſwallowed it, what *univerſal*, unanimous *Addreſſes* they made, how many Maſters of Miſrule left off their *ordinary Occupations* of Tinkers, Glovers, and Coffee-men, and took up the *extraordinary Vocation* of Teſt-menders, Government-patchers, and Regulators, who has yet forgot? Or how eagerly and univerſally they ſided with their Enemies to deſtroy the Church?

What matters it, if they pretend in their Defence, that their *accepting* the Toleration amounted to no more, than not plainly telling the King they would not take it; whereas they ought to have petitioned him to have ſet the Rabble once more a pulling down their *Meeting-houſes* about their Ears. Or further, that they were *Fleſh and Blood*, and being ſurprized with unwonted *Eaſe*, after what is better *forgotten* than recounted, ſhould ſome few of them run too far before they ſtopped to ſee where they were going: That thoſe who went thorough with it, were for the moſt Part only the meaneſt of their Raſcality; ſcarce a Man of Name or Credit engaged, and all their Body plainly diſapproving it: That the *Addreſſes* were nothing but *Words* without *Hearts* and *Hands* either, unleſs a very few, and thoſe *dirty* ones, and ſuch as wrote more *Marks* than *Names:* That they honoured and reverenced the Clergy eſtabliſhed, for their vigorous and noble Defence of both *Law* and *Goſpel* by their *Writings* and *Sufferings*, and no Perſons in *England* more ſincere and hearty Rejoicers at the *Delivery* of the *Biſhops*, or more ſatisfied with their Behaviour. This, I ſay, is their *Plea*; but there is an eaſy Way of anſwering it altogether; for it might be troubleſome to do it by *Piece-meal*, and that is, *over-ruling* it, and there is an End of it. After adding, that the moderate Men notoriouſly joined them in *Diſobedience* all this Reign. The *Biſhops* before-mentioned, — *Maudlin College*, — *Oxford*, — *Cambridge*, Towns and Corporations, refuſing to give Liberties and Religion, plotting in Concert with *Fanaticks*, and not *fearing the Wrath of the King*.

It is now high Time, and no Doubt the Reader greedily expects it, to enquire what further Steps they have made in their continued Conſpiracy ſince the laſt great *Turn of Affairs*, which is here my particular Province to declare and *depone*, if Need be, and for which Intent principally I undertook this preſent Taſk.

That their old *Plot* is ſtill on Foot, to accompliſh thoſe by-named Deſigns, no honeſt Man but firmly believes, as much as I myſelf do; it is the general Diſcourſe of both City and Country. How far they have proceeded therein, and the Methods they have lately uſed, and do ſo at preſent, to bring it to Perfection; a grateful and uſeful Work, deign to accept, O Reader! from one who has had the Misfortune to know but too much of that Affair.

The main Stroke of their Deſign was to infect all Degrees of the Nation with their *by-gone Maxims* concerning *Government* and *Allegiance*, whereunto we are indebted for all the late and preſent *Hurly-burly*; for had the People ſtill continued in their old *governable* Opinion, that their *Throats were to be cut*

for

for God's Sake, and they were by no Means to lift up their Hands againſt his Anointed, though to repel the Stab of a Villain commiſſionated by him; had they but remained poſſeſſed with that *furious Deſire of Martyrdom* ſome of the primitive Chriſtians were, and run their Necks into the Nooſe as faſt as they themſelves, upon Racks, Wheels, and wild Beaſts; had we ſtill believed a King to be *ſuch an Image of the Divinity*, that he could no more ceaſe to be what he is, than that can; but that the Obligation of all the reſt of Mankind, to the Firſt-born of *Adam*, and ſo downwards in the *Patriarchal Line*, by *Fergus* the Firſt to King *James*, were inviolable and eternal, and an *unpardonable Sin*, on any Account whatſoever, to oppoſe or infringe it; then, undoubtedly, we had ſtill continued, I ſay, not in the ſame, but a much leſs pitiable Condition than we were before *our great Deliverance*, as it muſt be called. It was the parting with theſe Principles made Way for what ſince happened, *and indeed drove the King away* more effectually than either his *own Conſcience* or the Prince's Army. Now whence came this Alteration, but from ſuch Principles as before-named, induſtriouſly diſſeminated, we may know by whom, *and now, alas! embraced by every Body?*

Oh! Where is the Glory of *paſſive Obedience!* The Honour of *Non-reſiſtance!* The Decency, the Utility, the Bravery of thoſe *Particularities* and *Characteriſticks*, of which our Enemies began very tartly, but a little too early, *to wiſh much Good might they do us!* What a ſmall Sacrifice had it been, to have two or three hundred Thouſand Hereticks ſmall Brains beat out, or *Weaſons whittled*, and all the Churches in *England* whipt out of their heretical Pravity into *Catholick Maſs-houſes?* And how much better and more acceptable had this been, than thus for the *moderate Men* to run Hand in Hand with Fanaticks, and loaded us with ſo many Dung-carts full of Shame and Ignominy, *that we ſhall hardly ever be ſweet again?*

But obſerving there were many of their Party, after Things were come to a Kind of a Settlement, who ſeem contrary to all Government, diſcontent, and murmuring at this, and all Affairs not managed the Way that pleaſed their Fancies; reſtleſs and uneaſy, neither fearing nor loving *God nor the King*; for a Commonwealth, or rather Anarchy, and nothing at all; of too good and keen Memory as to others Faults, and the *moſt forgetful Things alive of their own*; deſirous to embroil all again, like a troubled Sea, ever working, muddy, and uneaſy; *finally*, downright againſt Monarchy, and the Government eſtabliſhed in *Church* and *State*; and, in a Word, for all or none. Cunningly adverting, I ſay, there were ſuch Perſons amongſt them, and ſuch as often made a great Noiſe, and were noticed by all who valued their own Liberties, as Perſons dangerous, and to be ſuppreſſed; leſt theſe ſhould be thrown on the whole Party, and thereby injure and oppreſs them all, which they now began to apprehend, they totally diſclaim, and loudly proteſt againſt ſuch *Perſons* and *Actions*; moſt *uncivilly* refuſing to own them or their Tenets, acknowledging there are ſo many of them, they could be very well ſpared, and heartily wiſhing any other Party had them; alſo concluding, they could no where go, but they muſt meet ſome of their Fellows.

But

But the main *Hinge* of the Deſign, the very *Poiſon and Point of it*, is that which follows: They are deſirous of having ſeveral *eſſential Nails and Pins* pulled out of the Eccleſiaſtical Model, which they have been often enough told is of ſuch an exact and nice Conſtitution, as the leaſt Alteration therein would infallibly ruin all the Building. *And if this be not a Plot, there was none to kill the King at* Newmarket. In this they had as many Abettors as there are *Latitudinarians* in the Kingdom.—Some notorious ones they had in the laſt Reigns, not now alive to help them, particularly Judge *Hales*, who was dipt in this Plot *over Head and Ears*, and ſo loſt to any Senſe of Honour and Religion, as to be acquainted with *Baxter himſelf*. Several living both then and now—*All the moderate Divines*, once well met in a Lampoon, laſhing them ſo ſmartly, that the Blood almoſt came thorough Gowns, Caſſocks, and all, although they (*as their Way is*) aver, that Vengeance fell on him who made it, being a little after accidentally killed in a Quarrel, (which is a Truth we cannot deny.)

Could we but *purge the Convocation*, how many of this Kidney might be *garbled out of it?* And eſpecially, How thin would the *Upper Houſe* remain? To tell Truth, there is hardly *any Diſtinction between theſe moderate Men* and thoſe *Plotters* themſelves, their Deſires being the ſame, whether in the Church or out of it; *namely, to have Alterations*; whereafter, the Minds of Men are of late ſo notoriouſly gadding, that it may be good Service, and a pardonable Digreſſion, to inſert ſundry of the *cloſeſt* and moſt remarkable Arguments, which have or may be urged againſt them, to confirm all that are not quite loſt, of the *Miſchief and Unreaſonableneſs of Moderation.*

1. Becauſe any ſuch Thing would mortally diſoblige all *good Catholicks.* Scandal is not to be given; they have had too much already, as was touched in the *Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.—Some, it is true, believe we ought to take more Care of *diſobliging our Friends* than Enemies, and that we are not quite ſo diſtant from them as from the Papiſts; ſince three Articles are not ſo many as almoſt all nine and thirty; and if thoſe could careſs them, *how much more we?* And that on one there is no Hope of doing any Good, as there is on the other.—But this it may be ſaid the ſecond Argument takes off.

2. Becauſe the Parties complaining will never be ſatisfied; — and ſo they ſay all, proteſt, and reſolve, *Man*, *Woman*, and *Child*.—Whatever offers have, may, ſhall be made—*never talk—propoſe,—argue,*—Here could we put in a Word, ſome would aſk two or three ſhort Queſtions—*When? Where? What?* And till thoſe were anſwered, diſpute no further. Let them alone, and on unto the next.

3. Becauſe there are ſeveral good Men which ought to be, and cannot be preſent at ſuch Alterations, therefore they would not be legal. If any ſays, who hinders them?—They are very impertinent to aſk ſuch a Queſtion as No-body can anſwer. *But there are more yet, as,*

4. Becauſe by *reaſonable Eaſe*, formerly promiſed them, is meant *none at all*; for if all they deſire be *unreaſonable*, why then *a due Temper* is ſuch a one as all Things were in before. Although it be extreamly probable, this

neat Interpretation was not thought on when the *Promiſe* was made, any more than at preſent approved by ſuch as then made it; yet all muſt confeſs it was a dextrous Turn, and as handſome a Trial of Skill as any in that excellent Author, who lately made Uſe of it. [*The pretended Hiſtory of the Convocation.*]

5. Becauſe one may ſafely pronounce of every individual Word, Syllable, and Letter in Controverſy, that it cannot, ſhall not, nor ought to be amended.

The two firſt Branches of the Argument, it is acknowledged, are the ſtrongeſt, it cannot—Becauſe all Things are ſo *conſummately* perfect, as to deny any Addition or Subtraction. It ſhall—that ſhews Power, and what more great than—*ſic volo*—on which Account, not much need of the laſt. It ought not—for ſeveral under Cauſes and Reaſons.

(1.) Should we begin, there would be no ending; that is to ſay, there is no Difference between *ſtaring and*, &c.

(2.) It would argue Weakneſs—In other Terms, would convince us *fallible*, and as *mere Men* as our Forefathers; — a moſt egregious *Imputation!*

But there is one dormant Reaſon ſtronger than all theſe, and a thouſand more, which none but Friends are admitted to hear.

6. Becauſe the late *King ſhall enjoy his own again*; — which is ſo clear by its own Light, there needs no further Illuſtration; and if all theſe weighty ones prevail not to diſſuade from *lukewarm Moderation*, I know not what will. — *But do an Enemy Juſtice*; let us therefore, to evite Partiality, account what Arguments the Party have for *Moderation* and *Accommodation*; in which, Reader, you will ſtill perceive more of the Venom of that *Plot* they are now engaged in.

Theſe momentous Arguments, which they think carry Demonſtrations in their Bellies for Moderation, and compromiſing Differences, are only ſuch weak ones as follow: The Glory of God, the Intereſt of *Europe*, the Good of *England*, and all the King's Majeſty's Dominions in general, and of all Parties, even particularly taken.

They pretend that God's Glory is engaged in it, becauſe it would prevent ſundry Scandals and inevitable Miſchiefs in Religion. The *Atheiſt* would no more argue, that the great Duties of natural and revealed Religion, and Vice and Vertue themſelves, about which there was ſuch a Noiſe and Clutter, were nothing but Trick and politick Contrivance, not believed by ſuch as teach others to obey them; becauſe he ſaw them as earneſt, and more, for ſmall Trifles, what they themſelves acknowledged, but the Gawds and Trappings of Religion. Were this *Schiſm* cured, where-ever the Fault lie, or whether of both Sides, the People would be, they think, more ſolicitous about Matters of more Concern, their Care and Study taken off from what is leſs conſiderable, and true ſaving Chriſtianity, and a good Life, much more heeded, now almoſt totally neglected; ſince it is impoſſible for the Mind of Man to be at once equally intent upon two different Objects. Furthermore, many heinous Scandals avoided; whereas different Parties now ſnatch up, and keep alive, whatever ill Things they hear of one another, not valuing how much common Chriſtianity is injured by their ſo doing, the very Office of the Miniſtry rendered vile and con-

contemptible to the World, all ſacred Myſteries ſlighted and ridiculed; yea, as different Parties are under or at the Top of the Wheel, this murmuring and repining at them above, that preſſing and cruſhing ſuch as are below; which Miſchiefs they think it is impoſſible to evite, conſidering the Paſſions and Weakneſſes of even the beſt of Men, as long as there are different and ſeparate Intereſts and Communions.

And the next Thing they urge (like ſubtil Plotters as they are) is the Intereſt of *Europe*, pretending all *Chriſtendom* to be affected with *England*'s Concerns, that Iſland having been always accounted its Balance, unleſs when we ourſelves break the Beam. Were we united here, how would the Raviſhers of *Europe*'s Liberties tremble, who already are not very ſecure? This has been *touch'd* in another Reign, but deſerves, they think, deeper Conſideration. What one Thing would *France* wiſh like a War within our own Bowels, to divert us from piercing into thoſe of his own Country? Which, if Matters continue as they are, the contrary is rather to be wiſhed than expected. Next to that, a Diviſion of our Councils, Intereſts, and Deſigns, whereupon ill Men would ſtill work to widen them, and diſtract us, muſt needs hugely gratify him and all our Enemies.

And what would more conduce either to our Profit or Glory they further urge? For even making Allowances for the Vanity every Nation has for itſelf and for its Force, as well as a particular Weakneſs that Way wherewith we are charged by our Neighbours, how unjuſtly let others determine: One Thing is certain, that in the Field there is not a braver People under the Sun; and Number for Number, we make our Party good againſt any Oppoſers whatſoever; I will not ſay as one did, while *God ſtands neuter*, but may while he does *not fight againſt us*. Not to inſtance in our late Rencounters with our Slaves the *Iriſh*; for they ſeem only made to be kickt, beaten, and run away, all other *indifferent Judges* acknowledge it; on which Account, and our happy Situation, none care to meddle with us if they could help it. So that were this preſent Rub well over, whoſe happy Succeſs in the common Courſe of Things nothing can hinder but ourſelves; nothing here but our new ſprouting curſed Animoſities, Diviſions, Fears, Jealouſies, and Whimſies of one another, effectually making what we fear. Were this once well over, we might expect the Happineſs, Tranquillity, flouriſhing, Wealth and Eaſe, which God only knows when we had, or now are like to have.

Moreover they pretend, it would be likewiſe the true Intereſt of every particular Party. Could this be proved and believed, without any Doubt we ſhould be all Friends To-morrow; for ingenuouſly, after all, *there* is the great *Diana* that ſets us together by the Ears, and, in Truth, worth a wiſe or honeſt Man's Concern; every one being obliged to provide for his own Houſe, and ſecure his own Happineſs, ſo it be by lawful Ways, and not contrary to publick Good. But there we generally ſlip, few but minding more what they feel than what they ſee. Unite theſe together, and the Buſineſs is done; to which they perſuade themſelves this plain Account will much conduce (albeit,

ten to one but it diſpleaſes all Sides) as theſe Moderators are the moſt unlucky Men in the World for that.

Let us conſider, ſay they, the Church-man as eſtabliſhed in his Poſſeſſions and Privileges, by the Law of the Land, the Inclinations, Promiſes, Oaths of his Sovereign, and Genius of the larger Part of the People, which, were there Need, this demonſtrates: In late Elections, no *Diſſenters* have polled on one Side, many Church-men of the other, together with all the *Diſſenters*; yet the laſt out-numbered, where we have been ſo unhappy, they ſay, as to fall into Parties. His Intereſt is to preſerve what he is legally inſtated in, and to get and keep the Love and Eſteem of the People.

He apprehends all this in Danger from what has lately happened in *Scotland*; from the Diſtempers, Folly, and Wickedneſs of many, who are Profeſſors of that tolerated Party which diſſents from the eſtabliſhed Form, whom he finds, hears, ſees, and is aſſured to wiſh his Deſtruction, and his own Party's Exaltation; albeit he be morally certain, from his Life and Manners, that this cannot be Conſcience whereupon he acts. On this he is, as he ought certainly to be, ſolicitous to preſerve what he is in actual Poſſeſſion of,—(Who blames him?—) and is aſſiduous to countermine thoſe Deſigns, or rather Hopes, of ill-meaning Perſons. — Nor is he to be diſcommended.—But then, ten to one he runs farther, breaks into a Paſſion, cries they are all ſuch, and this is the Bottom of their Conſcience and Pretences to Religion; is Tooth and Nail againſt any Moderation and Accommodation with them, and very probably wiſhes their Toleration again taken from them, of which he thinks they make ſo ill Uſe; and is reſolved to promote the doing it. Now the Queſtion is, If here he go not too far? Which will be preſently anſwered by theſe Moderators, who will take upon them to prove he miſtakes his true Intereſt, or rather over-runs it; for, ſay they, the Thing he deſires is not oppreſſing others Conſciences, but ſecuring himſelf, and what he has, from ſuch as either have none at all, or very large ones; and to this they will ſhew him the infallible Way. Take off what Objections ſuch as are of undoubted Probity and Religion make againſt your Communion, lighten their Burdens, and *theſe Men will love you for ever*. Then the beſt, of moſt Name, Eſtate, and Honeſty, are yours. The Remain a headleſs, witleſs, ſenſeleſs, pretenceleſs Rabble, that muſt drop of themſelves, and in a few Years all Things be peaceable again, and run in their own proper Channel. But then comes Intereſt, and ſays, What ſhall we do with their Clergy? We have (at leaſt) enough of our own, whom they will take Bread from. Anſwer they,—But the Fleece will accompany the Flock, and many a *Golden Fleece* too will return with theſe Shepherds; more than enough to build new Churches, and maintain them ſufficiently, for that there is no very conſiderable Number of their Paſtors now left; for if in one Pariſh in this City there are . . . . . Meeting-houſes, and the Pariſh-church is already more than filled, gueſs what might be done by all thoſe, or but the moſt conſiderable, if once united to the ſame Communion.

The

The Intereſt of the modeſt and moderate Diſſenter is to live comfortably in this, and ſecure the other World hereafter, which he cannot do if he act contrair to his Conſcience here, which, he ſays, he has endeavoured to ſatisfy concerning the Points controverted, but cannot think Compliance lawful, and therefore is ſure, whatever it may be in thoſe otherwiſe perſuaded, it would be a Sin in him; and if this be true, of which God only can be Judge, who can juſtly blame him? Eſpecially when he adds, and ſolemnly proteſts, that he thinks Schiſm a great Sin and Plague, and would part with any Thing but his Conſcience to avoid it: That he would be very unwilling to have the Imputation of doing or not doing any Thing out of meer Contradiction to lawful Authority, which he thinks a ſilly, ſpiteful, and ſinful Practice: That if he did not come into Church, were the Gates made but a little wider for him, without deſiring to have them pulled down for that Purpoſe, he muſt of Neceſſity ſubmit to be looked upon as one of no Principles, Conſcience, Faith, nor Honour. And what ſeems fairer than all this? He thinks it, on the other Side, well worth his Care to conſider of a Way of living for himſelf and Family, and would be willing to have ſome Security of what he enjoys, and ſuitable Proviſion made in other Circumſtances: Still who can blame him? But the Miſchief is, a warm Contribution, of ſometimes 2 or 300 *l. per Annum*, is a very *comfortable Importance*, not eaſily parted with. Hence Deſires of Union are apt to languiſh. The Heats of ill Men on the other Side charged on the whole Party, magnified into a Deſign to ruin them, or a malignant Spirit, at Enmity with God and the Goſpel, and Converſion of Souls; and alledging, that *they only* make the Breach ſo incurable, and that they will never hope nor deſire its Remedy more. He is, as well as all other *Parties*, too tender towards ill Men, who eſpouſe his, though a Diſgrace to any; and it is very poſſible, a little impoſed upon by too ſanguine Hopes, in Numbers here, and Succeſs in other Places. There he does as certainly miſtake, as others in other Things miſtake him; or thoſe Commonwealth's Men, who ſhrowd themſelves under his Name, whom he no more approves, than he thinks the State ought to fear; ſince thoſe that are of them, are for Number and Diſcretion much like *Venner*'s Gang, and muſt believe *one ſhall chuſe a Thouſand*, to make their Cauſe ſprout again: But however, ſecure once this troubleſome *Intereſt*, and all will be well enough: And that is not impoſſible to be done; for if he has a Church and preaches in it, the moſt of his People have ſuch a Reſpect for him, they certainly follow him, and who ſhall forbid them to drop as much in a Church-baſon, as in a Plate at a Meeting-houſe? Or ought a little Difference here to out-weigh the Inconvenience of ſo many great ones in other Caſes? Or were there but a hearty Deſire of Union appearing, would not Authority take care of thoſe Matters?

At this long, tedious Rate, do theſe neither Fleſh nor Fiſh preach about their *Idol-moderation*. If as much as this cannot be accompliſhed, they are for the *next beſt* until that ſhall be attained; a Union in Hearts and Affections, cordial Kindneſs, Allowances, Forbearance, Meekneſs, and *I know not what Apoſtolical Cant, to attain that Plot and thoſe Ends they drive at.*

They

They will ſay, that one Side is very immodeſt, if not content with Toleration granted by Parliament, aſſured by the King's Word; it graſps at either Half, or all that which is none of its own; murmurs at the Government, becauſe it gives not on until it has nothing left; faint in their Allegiance, and give Colour to what their Enemies aſſert, that they will never be contented under any Government; or favour, or encourage thoſe indeed of that Humour.

That the other Side is very unkind, as well as impolitick, if from Heats and Follies on both Sides, it ſhould forget what it formerly promiſed in the Days of Adverſity, what Kindneſs it then received from thoſe who on Provocation enough were courted to deſtroy them; and had they entirely joined that Intereſt at that Time, whereto they had ſuch advantageous Proffers, Things had been now in another Manner of Poſture than they are. If becauſe ſome would have too much, they would take away all that they have already given, and tread the Steps of one who took not very proſperous Counſels, to render Friends Enemies, and then make thoſe Enemies deſperate. And if they forget to conſider, that the more Conſcience a Man has himſelf, the tenderer he is of another's; while he that has none, is like the Debauchee, who becauſe he has no Honour or Virtue himſelf, thinks nobody elſe has any, and deals with them accordingly.

So much for this PLOT.

The Price of the Abdication.

THAT the candid Reader may not ſtumble at the Threſhold, I judge it neceſſary to advertiſe him, that by *Abdication* I underſtand not the King's voluntary reſigning his Crowns; but, as in Fact it was, the Conventions declaring the Throne vacant, and electing a new King.

Before this, theſe Kingdoms enjoyed the Bleſſings of Peace and Plenty, the Confluence of an immenſe Wealth, by an uninterrupted Trade, and the entire Fruition of the Product of their Lands, and Induſtry without any Diminution by Aids, Taxes, or Polls, for the Space of eight or nine Years together.

Not only the utter Deprivation of the Subjects, of all Ranks, of theſe Benefits, may be the firſt Inſtances of the Price of the Abdication; but the innumerable national and perſonal Loſſes and Damages, which may be piled in the Scale, have increaſed the Items to a prodigious Charge.

The very Source of all which our fatal Ruins was the Expulſion of the King, whoſe Study and Deſire was to have preſerved his People in Peace, and Freedom of Traffick (as Mr. *Pepys* has demonſtrated beyond all Cavil) during the Confederates War, which, to this Day, by an infinite Increaſe of Riches,

Riches, theſe Kingdoms might have enjoyed, as well as *Portugal*, the States of *Venice* and *Genoa*, the Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the two Northern Crowns, if the *Dutch* Ambition, Circumvention, and Craft, and *Engliſh* Treachery, and Covetouſneſs, had not prevented it.

To inſert, by Detail, the Advantages we have loſt by want of the Neutrality, and the Damages we have ſuſtained by being engaged in the War, ſcarce falls within Computation. It may ſuffice in a Ruin ſo diffuſive and epidemical, to ſuggeſt ſome general Heads, proportioned to the Deſign of an Abſtract, leaving all, who have any Senſe of their Country's Good or Evil, to enlarge their Reflections.

The *Spaniards* have a wiſe Proverb, *That Evil comes well, which comes alone.* The miſchievous Abdication reached not only the King's Royal Perſon, but, at one Stroke, cancelled all the antient fundamental Laws of the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, as my Lord *Nottingham* himſelf declared in his Speech at the Convention, even but two Hours before the Vote for the Abdication and Vacancy was carried but by two Voices in the Lords Houſe: He then aſſerted, that if they owned there was an Abdication, and that the Throne was declared vacant, that it followed inevitably, *That the antient Government was diſſolved, and that their Lordſhips were no more Peers*, but might be juſtly ranked among the *Plebeians*; the Conſequences whereof remoteſt Poſterity may bewail, as the very ſapping our Mounds and Banks, which ſhould fence the Throne againſt the frequent Inundations of Rebellion and Uſurpation, unleſs the Example of the diſmal Miſchiefs this hath, and will further bring upon the Kingdom, makes them wiſer and more cautious than we have been; who, many of us, have ſeen and felt the miſerable, calamitous Condition of all Degrees of Men, during the Rule of the Long Parliament, their General, or his Baſhaws.

How tyrannically they executed their new Ordinances, put ſtrained Gloſſes on the old Laws, filled their High Courts of Juſtice with Executioners of their illegal Commands, fleeced the People by Aſſeſſments and Loans, and, after Succeſſes had hardened them in Miſchief, and Money from the Body of the People did not ſatisfy their greedy Worm, they ſold the Crown, Biſhops, Dean and Chapters Lands, and thoſe they ſtiled Delinquents Eſtates; and laſtly, after their Pardon and *Quietus eſt* to Compounders; *Oliver* found a new Way of Decimation, to make all who had 100 *l.* a Year, and had compounded, to pay an annual Tenth.

None who lived in that Age can forget theſe Things, or the Regal and Loyal Blood was ſpilt by their Civil or Marſhal Courts: And our Poſterity, when they peruſe the Records of our Trials or Judgments, not only in Criminal, but Civil Matters, where thoſe they ſtile *Jacobites* are concerned, the illegal Impriſonments, ſentencing to Death, Fining, Pillorying, making them pay double Taxes, and Penalties upon refuſing the Oaths, *&c.* will not find much Difference betwixt the former and latter Proceedings, or rather Tyranny.

The

The Penalties on the Clergy for not taking the new Oaths are parallel with the old Sequeſtration, only but ſo much the worſe, as that no fifth Parts are allowed to their Wives and Children. Though the Convention allowed to twelve, ſome Share of their juſt Revenue; yet the *Dutch* Statholder was not ſo merciful as to pay one Farthing of that deſigned Kindneſs. And the inſatiable Thirſt for Money, now that the Country is ſo exhauſted, puts the Commons upon Sale of forfeited States, and without peradventure when our Fund fails, Church Lands may be in Danger; and they, as well as Orphans Eſtates (a Project lately ſet on Foot) may be brought into the Exchequer, and the Clergy have Stipends only, as at this Day is practiſed in *Holland* and *Scotland*.

But a yet dearer Rate hath been paid for the Abdication, even the Hazard, without ſincere Repentance, of the Damnation of the Souls of the much greateſt Part of the Clergy: If wilful, or impoſed Perjury, be in the Claſs of mortals Sin. Thoſe all had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to their lawful King, enjoined and eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.

And that the good Will of the Government might not be wanting to involve the whole Laiety in the like Guilt, they alſo are enjoined under ſevere Penalties to take the new Oaths; which Act had a double Edge, not only to enforce the Compliers into a Combination to ſupport the governing Power, but likewiſe to exclude from Places of Honour and Profit all ſuch as conſcientiouſly refuſed to take ſuch Oaths, that they might be ſupplied by their own Creatures.

Hence it is we hear ſo many repine that the Clergy ſo generally took the Oaths, whereby the Opportunity was loſt of filling their Cures with Diſſenters: But they hope, e'er long, they ſhall compaſs an Oath of Abjuration, which, they aſſure themſelves, will not only change the Majority of Gowns for Cloaks, but purge many out of Civil and Military Places, and ſo make Room for new Legions.

Such ſupplanting one another is a certain Concomitant of all Revolutions of this Nature, in which none can have any Security of his durable Station, but ſuch, who equal the glibbeſt Fane that will vere with the ſmalleſt Breeze: For Ambition, Covetouſneſs, Treachery, and Revenge, being the conſtituent Qualifications of all Men who co-operate in Revolutions of this Kind, it is not to be expected they will alter their Natures.

And hence it is, that neither Miniſters of State, Officers in profitable Poſts, Generals, or Admirals, muſt ever expect a Freehold in their Places or Employments under ſuch like Governments, which, together with the great Arbitrarineſs or Corruptions thoſe diſcover, when they have got Power, are the natural and genuine Cauſes why few uſurped Governments are long lived.

But ſome may look upon the Alterations of Laws, and the Affrights of Damnation, as Matters of no great Moment; ſince, as to the firſt, they believe all People ought to ſubmit to ſuch Laws as thoſe make, who have Power to compel: And to the ſecond Sort, they ſkreen themſelves under the awful

awful Force of the Impoſers, and the hard State either to venture future Damnation, or preſent ſtarving; and moſt have the Faculty to put furtheſt off the evil Day, and are prone to ſay (whatever their reluctating Conſciences ſuggeſts) that it is better to hope for God's Mercy to their Souls, than to truſt rapacious Men with their Eſtates.

But it will puzzle a profound Caſuiſt to reſolve what Plea can be made at the ſupreme Tribunal, for thoſe, who had Lands, or Money, competent for a ten Years Subſiſtance, for them and their Families, and ſo were not neceſſited to perjure themſelves for Bread.

I ſhall leave theſe therefore to their own Defences, and come to that, the Loſs of which Mankind moſt concernedly bewail, and that is, the Price of the Abdication in *Pecuniis numeratis*.

If we peruſe our Annals, Parliament-Rolls, or Records of the *Exchequer*, we ſhall ſcarce find any three or four of our Kings ſince *Henry* IV. nor all the Kings preceding him to the Conqueſt, excluſive, have, in their reſpective Reigns, had ſo much given by Parliaments, as hath been given in theſe five laſt Years; eſpecially if we add the ſtanding Revenue, which *Communibus Annis* uſed to be two Millions, as moſt Men have computed. And I have Reaſon to believe, that if all the Loſſes the Subjects have ſuſtained in the ſame Compaſs of Years by this War, ſolely occaſioned by the Abdication, could be computed, it would ſurmount what this Kingdom hath ſuffered by open War in two hundred Years.

It is well known, that Queen *Elizabeth* maintained a War near upon thirty-four Years againſt the Crown of *Spain*, then as much feared and envied, as *France* is now, and during that War expended great Sums in ſupporting her Intereſt in *Scotland:* By her Money, to the Value of 800,000 *l.* the Aſſiſtance of her Martial Men and Shipping, ſhe gave the chiefeſt Maintenance, if not the Foundation and Being, to the United Provinces: She plentifully ſupplied the Duke of *Anjou*, the Princes of the Blood of *France*, and more eſpecially King *Henry* IV. She maintained a long and chargeable War in *Ireland*, and was at great Charge in providing againſt the *Spaniſh* Invaſion; yet, for the Support of all theſe, ſhe had not, in her whole Reign of forty-five Years, as much as has been drained from the Subjects in ſome one of our late Years; and was ſo tender of oppreſſing her Subjects, that ſhe remitted one Subſidy, if not more, and paid duly what ſhe borrowed on Privy Seals.

We might have made an early Eſtimate what the Price of the Abdication was like to amount to, by the earneſt Penny given to the *Dutch* of 600,000 *l.* more by 400,000 *l.* than they ſpent in the Expedition, and more by 500,000 *l.* than the Ranſom of our famous King *Richard* I. coſt. Yet, I believe, it is now obvious to all, that if the Intereſt of the States General, to hook us into the Support of them, and their War, and depriving us thereby of Trade, and the gaining of our Men, Money, Ships, and Ammuniton, had not been a more prevailing Cauſe, than the pretended preſerving us from Popery and Slavery, we might ſtill have enjoyed our King, and our Money.

Had ſome unmerciful Leeches contented themſelves with exhauſting our vital Blood, [Money] in the Space of one annual Courſe of the Sun, we might have borne it with leſs Regret, as owed the Exceſſes of ſcorching Heat, or tempeſtuous Years: But we have ſeen a five Years ſucceſſive, and annual Encreaſe of our Taxes and Polls, and no Proſpect of Abatement, ſo long as the Government is able to ſqueeze, or our Veins run, and not one ſucceſsful Exploit, much leſs Campaign, to encourage us to part with our Coin without Reluctance.

Thoſe, who pretend nicely to calculate the Money paid by the Country, (for ſome Thouſands go to Aſſeſſors, Collectors, and Officers of the *Exchequer*, more than is accounted for as clear Incomes,) together with the ſtanding Revenue, find it, including this Year, to amount to 32 Millions, beſides the vaſt Arrearages of Debts; ſo much the Price of the Abdication hath coſt in Specie. But, if we tack to theſe the prodigious Sums the Kingdom hath loſt, not only by the Obſtruction of Trade, by which ſingly many Thouſands of Families have been ruined, but by the Ships, and their Cargoes, taken by the *French*, or loſt by Shipwreck, being compelled to ſteer dangerous Seas for avoiding Enemies; it will be found to fall little ſhort of what hath been given in ſome Numbers of theſe chargeable Years.

So that our Poſterity will be as much aſtoniſhed, how the Subjects were able to pay ſuch infinite Sums, as that ever an Houſe of Commons ſhould be ſo extravagantly prodigal in granting them, and will ſet an eternal Brand of Infamy upon thoſe Members, (already in good Meaſure diſcovered) who, to obtain Offices, profitable Places, or quarterly Stipends, have combined, not only to vote whatever hath been demanded, but, that they may be thought worthy of their Wages, in ſome Things exceeded the Expectation of the Government.

I will not preſume to calculate what hath been diſtributed to theſe Penſioners ſince the Revolution, though ſome reckon it at a Million; and there are, who can tell that Mynheer *B——ting* and *Guy* of *Heddon* are Captains of the Band, and when 150,000*l.* was lodged for ſuch ſecret Service, and ſince their Stipends out of the Treaſury, hath diſcovered ſeveral of them, 20,000 Guineas at a Time, out of the Privy Purſe, is intruſted with my Lord *B——ting*, the *Dutch* Almoner, to be diſtributed according to Order; ſo much more are theſe Stipendiaries preferr'd before the Soldiers, who adventure their Lives for the Government, and yet are ſome Months in Arrears for Subſiſtance; none being careſſed, but ſuch as ſtudy and labour to augment the *Exchequer*.

It is remarkable, that ſuch as have been hitherto detected, have had no other Plea, beſides their Merits, in promoting the Abdication: One of which, rather than he would quit that Topick, caſt a very undecent Reflection upon the Prince of O——, his firſt Declaration, wherein his Highneſs was careful to avoid all Expreſſions, as if he had the leaſt Deſign upon the Crown. And yet this doughty Knight affirmed, that at *Exeter*, in Recompence of his Service in going to fetch, and accompany the Prince hither, to the Hazard of his Life and Fortune, he had promiſed him the Weeding, that is, the Underwood of the

the Foreſt of *Dean*; however, it ſeems the Prince, (who is not very liberal in Rewards for Services, how conſiderable ſoever, as my Lord *Churchil*, Admiral *Herbert*, and others can witneſs) finding it of 200,000 *l.* Value, gave him 7000 *l.* I paſs by the Remainder, and the Lord, who got only a Reprimand, for endeavouring to ſtifle the Witneſs of his receiving 40,000 *l.* becauſe they are ſo notoriouſly known; and it is hoped, Mr. *Squib*, and others, will detect more, that Liſts of them may be ſent into every Pariſh of *England*, as a fit Mark of Infamy upon ſuch Betrayers of their Truſt.

This Sort of Claim of Merit not only opens a wide Gap to let in Swarms of other Pretenders, but manifeſtly ſhews, that the Price of the Abdication is never to be diſcharged, while ſuch *Jackalls* are able to find Prey for the *Belgick* Lion; or till the People (when they are made ſenſible of ſuch Combination) ſhall take ſome effectual Courſe to ſecure their Purſes, which they ought more to endeavour, than againſt High-way Men, and their under-hand Setters, who fleece not whole Countries and Kingdoms, as theſe Penſioners do; ſurely we ought to learn ſomething from Camels, and Dromedaries, Beaſts of Burthen, who couch down to take up their Load, but when they find it more than they are able to bear, either refuſe to riſe, or elſe caſt their Load. I leave the Application; though I know it will not be made by ſuch as deſign to load us till our Backs are broke, and that by a ſeeming Contradiction, of laying the heavieſt Burthen upon us, by taking all we have from us.

Neither is this profuſe giving of Money all their Talent; but more miſchievouſly they contribute to the Ruin of their Country, by obſtructing, or rejecting all Bills for publick Good. It can never be expected, that any Bill for diſſolving this, or the frequent Meeting of Parliament, ſhall paſs, while the Houſe is ſo penſioned and officer'd. They know their preſent Incomes, and if the Houſe ſhould be broken up, they might hap to be excluded the next: So that, till they be purged out, it will be in vain for any good Patriot to attempt ſuch a Bill again; which ought to excite all true Lovers of their native Country, both within, and without Doors, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to trap ſuch Vermine.

Our old Parliaments uſed to be very jealous of a ſtanding Army, but ſuch an officer'd Houſe of Commons will conſtantly encreaſe it, and make the Country pay them; and ſeeing that the Government pay them ſo ill in the Camp, and thereby they run ſo much in Debt, that they are not ſecure from Arreſts in the Head of their Troops, I wonder not that *Cutts*, *Matthews*, and other Men of the Blade, take ſuch Pains to get Sanctuary in the Houſe; and when once they grow ſo numerous, as to be able to carry a Vote, it is not to be doubted, but they will endeavour to make their Camp and Quarters Sanctuaries alſo, and then we ſhall be governed by Marſhal and Military Laws of their framing for the Intereſt of the Mamalukes.

Neither is this to be looked upon as an ungrounded Jealouſy, if we reflect upon the many Offers made towards it. What otherwiſe hath been the Meaning of the Denial of the Bill for frequent Parliaments the laſt Seſſion, and the Induſtry uſed this Seſſion to render it abortive? It is true, the great

Outcry of the Country, that the defeating of the Bill this Seſſion was to be aſcribed to the Influence of Penſions, cauſed ſuch, as wanted the Courage to own it barefacedly, to ſtruggle leſs againſt that *Touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament:* But the denying the Royal Aſſent clearly proves which Party in the Houſe is more valued and eſteemed, and not only precludes all Means of vindicating the Honour of the Houſe of Commons from the odious Names of Penſioners, but heightens the Suſpicion, that ſuch are preferred before the Innocent and Uncorrupted; who ought not to forget what was ſaid to P—— *Lewis* of *Baden* by—— *That he believed, he had anger'd the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, as if he gloried in the Exploit, *yet he knew how to pleaſe them*; he knew the *Aurum Potabile* which would do it.

What can the Country judge now of the Freedom of future Parliaments? The direct Oppoſite to Freedom is Bondage and Slavery; if our Parliaments be denied the Priviledge of free and impartial Debates, there can be ſmall Hopes that the Country, after all the preceding Impoveriſhments, ſhall not be reduced to abſolute Slavery, when the Law-makers ſhall be at the entire Diſpoſal of a Junto of Council, or a ſingle Direction of a Penſion-Pay-Maſter, or be governed by *Dutch* Deputies.

We muſt now expect no more burning of Paſtoral Letters, or Titles of Conqueſt. Thoſe, who from a Publick Spiritedneſs would labour to have Grievances redreſſed, muſt have Patience to another Reign; ſince at the Price of all the Millions and Myriads given, they have not been able to obtain one ſingle Law of Benefit, abſtracted from ſuch as were not enacted directly for the Support of the Government.

In fine, If this Way of proceeding be not redreſſed, our Parliaments will ſignify no more than thoſe of *Paris*, and be of no other Uſe, but to regiſter Edicts of the Sovereigns, and impoſe the Taxes on the People; but I leave the further proſecuting of this Matter to the Wiſdom of the ſincere Patriots of their Country, who are not to be tempted with the Golden Bait.

If we caſt our Eyes Abroad, we ſhall find Locuſts to devour what theſe Palmer-worms and Caterpillars leave; nay, we are ſo kind, as to ſend more than we can ſpare to feed theſe Free-booters; from *Piedmont* to the *Swiſs Cantons*, all North the *Rhine* to the *German Ocean*, along the *Moſell*, the *Maize*, and the *Scheld*, our Silver in Specie hath been tranſported. Though the Mines of *Potora* would not ſatisfy the Cormorants of thoſe ſpacious Provinces, yet, leſt they ſhould unlink the Chain of the Confederacy, we are forced to faſten it with our Ingots, and leſt we ſhould not extend it to *Vienna*, a great General is ſent to importune it. Thus our once fortunate Iſland is made a Prey not only to 80,000 blue Coats at Home, but to the Eagle and Eaglets, the *Batavian* Lyon, and his Whelps Abroad; while we have nothing but the Feather in our Cap, that ſuch Princes and States are not only indebted to *England* for the Aſſiſtance of our Auxiliary Troops and Fleets, but of our *Exchequer* alſo.

But

But to return to our own Country; let us take a View of the Miſeries the Subjects ſince the Abdication have endured.

We have ſcarely had one *Gazette* theſe three Months, in which the Scarcity of Bread, and the Apprehenſion of Famine in *France*, hath not been aggravated; while it is certainly known, that at *Paris*, it is cheaper than in *London*; and yet we find no ſuch provident Care as the *French* King takes, to have it ſold at cheaper Rates, by encouraging Importation from *Ireland*, where Wheat is now ſold for 2 *s.* a Buſhel, which here is 10 or 12 *s.* And when *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Hamburghers* bring Corn, in Hopes of a good Market, we publiſh them ſeized as Prize, being deſigned for *France*. They tell us a wild Story of the Troops drawn from *Piedmont* into *Dauphine*, to prevent the Inſurrections of the People for Want of Bread; as if the quartering of ſuch numerous Troops were likely to encreaſe the Grain, or that the *French* King ſhould bring his Troops into barren Provinces; which were the ready Way to make them join in the Inſurrection. But we never touch upon the actual Inſurrections at *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, *Stafford*, *Salop*, *Northampton*, *Sudbury*, and *Colcheſter*, and other Places, to prevent the buying up their Corn to be tranſported to *France*, as ſome maliciouſly gave out, when it was well known it was for *Holland*. But the Charity of the new Biſhop of *E-y*'s Wife is remarkable, who, when a Lady was condoling the Condition of the Poor here, by reaſon of the Dearneſs of Bread, and all Eatables, replied, *But, God be thanked, there is a greater Scarcity in* France.

It were an eaſy Matter to draw up a Book of the exceſſive Rates of all Things for the Belly and Back, which now are paid, in Proportion to what they were before the Abdication; becauſe they are daily experienced by every Houſe-keeper, to the neceſſary pinching of themſelves and their Families. That Loaf of Wheat-bread, which was then ſold for 3 *d. ob.* is now 9 *d. ob.* and ſo proportionable, or at leaſt double, in other Food; that Silk, which was ſold then by Retail at 13 *s.* the Pound, now at 30 *s.* the Muſlins, and all *Eaſt-India* Commodities, three Times the Price.

You can ſcarce paſs one Street in ten, in this populous City, where you ſhall not hear the Shop-keepers avouch, that where they take 1 *s.* now, they uſed to take 20 *s.* before the Abdication; yea, I am very certainly informed, that ſeveral Tradeſmen, who, againſt *Chriſtmas*, uſed to return in their Trade 100 *l.* a Week, this *Chriſtmas* received not ſo much as would pay their Quarterly Tax. Several of the beſt accuſtomed Inns in the Town do avow, that their Cellars are fallen 3 or 4 *l.* in a Week ſhort of their uſual Vend. He muſt be a great Stranger in the City, who hears not every Week, or almoſt Day, of ſome ſubſtantial or other inferior honeſt Tradeſman being blown up, or delivering themſelves into the *King's-Bench* or *Fleet*, taking Sanctuary, or abſconding.

Neither is the Condition of the Country any better. Upon the Road, and every Bating-place, you hear the Complaints of the Inn-holders, that they take not the twentieth Penny they formerly did; and in moſt Corporations and Market-towns, there are ſcarce three or four publick Inns, where there uſed

uſed to be ten or twelve; the Shop-keepers ſcarce take as much in a Week, as will pinchingly keep their Families; and a Quarterly Tax is more difficult for them to provide, than formerly their Rents.

It would pity any one's Heart to ſee, upon this laſt Quarterly Tax, what Straits the poorer Sort have been reduced to for the Diſcharge of it; ſome having their Bedding, or other Moveables diſtrained; others, to avoid the Charge of the Diſtreſs, bringing their Pewter or Braſs, all which were ſold in the open Streets for half, or under Rates; and this not in ſome few Places, but in Multitudes over the Counties of *England*.

In the Country, it is every Day's Diſcourſe of ſome or other quitting their Farms, and betaking them to ſmaller ones, unleſs their Landlords ſettle their Rents, and give them Reſpite for them; and many of them have run ſo much in Arrears in theſe late Years, that their Landlords would be well content to quit them for a Moiety in Hand: So that by Conſequence, the Nobility and Gentry find a great Diminution of their uſual Incomes, by the impoveriſhing of their Tenants; which is ſolely to be aſcribed to the Want of Trade, and Vend of our Manufactures, by which many Thouſands of Families ſubſiſted. So that thoſe, who have kept their Half-ſcore of Cows, a Team of Horſes or Oxen, and Hundreds of Sheep, are forced to take up with a Cow, and little Parcels of Ground; and ſuch as have been able to maintain their Families with good Beef, Mutton, and Pork, are forced to live on Roots, and Offals of Meat, and eat Barley, Turnip, and Peaſe-bread, and their Beverage be Water, or ſmall Drink: Cheeſe, Milk, and Butter, and coarſe Rye, Barley, or Peaſe-puddings, are reſerved for Feſtival Days. It is too well known in this great City, how many there are, who formerly lived in Faſhion and Credit, who are now forced themſelves, or by ſubſtituting their Wives or Children, either privately to beg Alms in a more genteel Way, or in the Streets, in a low Tone, with moving Importunity, to lay open their Condition to ſuch as they judge have the Countenances of Compaſſion; while others impriſon themſelves in their poor Lodgings, to feed on the Scraps the common Beggars furniſh them with.

There are ſome, indeed, who, not having been bred to Callings or Labour, or having been well deſcended of creditable Perſons, have taken a worſe Courſe of the high Pad; who, being apprehended, are ſure to find no Mercy; becauſe they have a general Character of *Jacobites*, and on that Account, are ſure of a Furloe, or Paſſport to the other World.

But to paſs theſe as Criminals, whoſe Puniſhment carries a Face of Juſtice; there are others, who are called State-criminals, and who may juſtly be added to the Rolls of the Impoveriſhed or Ruined by the Abdication, not only by their chargeable Impriſonments, whereby they and their Friends ſuffer; ſome being detained ſix Months, or more, and then nothing being proved againſt them, forced to give in Bail; or if any Colour of a Crime appear, then be detained till an unmerciful Fine be paid. So that, by one Method or other, very few can eſcape Beggary or Undoing.

But

But over and above the before-mentioned Impoveriſhments of the Country, there is another Oppreſſion from the Soldiers, which hath, and doth fall heavy on particular Perſons. Some while, contrary to Law, they were quartered in private Houſes, and paid nothing; and in their Marches left the Townſhips to defray the Charges of their Carriages and Horſes. Now they are quartered in publick Houſes, where they have for 4 *d.* Fire, Candle, Lodging, and two or three Meals a Day, for every private Centinel; ſo that the Hoſt loſeth Six-pence a Day generally by them, and are ſeldom paid but by Bills from their Officers, eſpecially when their Subſiſtance-Money is in Arrear. And the Proclamation for Redreſs is clogged with ſo many chargeable Attendances, even at laſt to apply to the Treaſurer at *London*, that moſt chuſe to loſe all, rather than complain; though the Soldiers are ſure to have it deducted out of their Pay, as in the Caſe of their free Quarter in *Ireland* was notorious, though the Country never was paid. Into what By-pocket this Money goes is worth a Parliamentary Enquiry; to eſtabliſh more punctual Payment to thoſe People, who are the numerous Tenants to the Exciſe Revenue, and ought not to have this additional Oppreſſion.

I paſs their Inſolences in their Quarters, their robbing and pilfering, and the arbitrary and illegal trepanning of Men for Recruits, or preſſing for Seamen; the relating of whoſe Practices, if People made their ſeveral Grievances known, could not be contained in Quires of Paper.

At this Rate, we have purchaſed the Jewel of Abdication by ſelling, or having ravaged from us, all that we were worth to obtain it; which may very well be judged by the Difficulties the Houſe of Commons find (the Majority of which have given full Proof of their Willingneſs to have ample Supplies provided) in Queſt of the Ways and Means to procure ſuch. By which it is evident, that we are come to ſcraping of the Ark, and that we ſhall have all our Projects for raiſing Money exhauſted this Year; ſince ſome, who have made the niceſt Computation, judge, that there is not much above ſix Millions of Money now in Specie in the Nation; of which two Thirds have undergone the *Dutch* Circumciſion; ſo that, if any be ſent out in Specie the next Year to the Confederates, we ſhall have a pitiful Pittance left.

Let us now quit the City and the Country, and take a Tour to the Camps, Garriſons, and Barracks of the Soldiery, and there we ſhall find what an Ocean of Blood, as well as Treaſure, it hath coſt to ſupport this precious Abdication.

The Numbers of Men, (moſt Proteſtants I preſume) who died the firſt Expedition into *Ireland*, in Monſieur *Scombergh*'s Camp at *Dundalk*, at *London-derry*, and the North of *Ireland* by the Plague, together with the *Engliſh* ſlain in Skirmiſhes, at the *Boyne*, where *Scombergh* fell, as his Son got his Death's Wound at *Marſiglia* in *Piedmont*, and thoſe loſt before *Limerick*, are computed at 60,000 Men. And of the King's Army in the ſeveral Battles, Rencounters, Sieges, together with thoſe knocked on the Head, or ſhot in cold Blood, under the Notion of Rapparees, and famiſhed to Death, or tranſported, are thought to exceed that Number; the whole Kingdom alſo,

before

before the War, as plentiful as any Kingdom in the North of its Bigneſs, was in three Years reduced to a Famine of all Things, if *England* and *Scotland* had not ſupplied them; ſo that the Woods and Mountains were ſtrewed with famiſhed Carcaſes. I might add the cruel Proceedings againſt the miſerable *Iriſh*, even after the Reduction of the Country, by Free-quarter, Plunder, and impriſoning by 500 at a Time; among which, decriped old Women 100 Years old, in a barren Iſland near *Dublin*, where no Tree grew, and ſcarce a Tuſſock of Graſs in 20 Yards; where the Sands, or rocky Ground was their Bed, and their own Rags all the Covering they had; and their Food was only ſour Milk and Bread, to uſe the Expreſſion of the Eye-witneſs Relator, as coarſe as if made of Bran and Grains.

What a Price hath *Scotland* paid for the Abdication, by the Extirpation of Epiſcopal Government! As to the cruel Uſage of the regular Clergy, the Plundering, Rapine, and Burning whole Towns during the Hoſtility, the barbarous Murther of the Clan of *Glenco*, after the Highlanders Submiſſion, the Impriſonments, Booting, Fining, and Forefaulting, I muſt refer the Inquiſitive to the ſeveral Treatiſes publiſhed on thoſe Subjects. It being judged, that ſince the Revolution, that Kingdom has loſt, of thoſe ſlain in Battle in their own Kingdom, and in *Flanders*, above 40,000 ſtout Men. And as to the Support and entailing an expenſive War upon them, they enjoy the Priviledges of the Abdication in common with *England* and *Ireland*.

Let us now take a View of thoſe Troops, who have the the moſt ſtrenuouſly maintained this Abdication, and we ſhall find, that though all the Taxes and Impoſitions, which have been extorted from the Country, have been for the Support of theſe, yet they have likewiſe had no cheap Bargain.

If, from the Relations of ſuch who have returned yearly from *Flanders*, and our Navy, or by the annual Recruits ſent to both, we may calculate the Loſs of our *Britiſh* Soldiers there, no leſs than 70 or 80,000 have periſhed by the Edge of the Sword, or Diſeaſes. And the new Troops voted, to be raiſed, if it can be accompliſhed, will be in a very fair Way to ſee the greater Half of their Number dead in Ditches and Highways, if they eſcape in Battle; unleſs their Officers have more Care of them, than thoſe who hitherto have had the Conduct of our Country-men.

It were indeed ſome Encouragement for thoſe, who, of Choice or Neceſſity, follow the Trade of War, if their Generals took care to provide Neceſſaries of all Kinds, and a conſtant Pay, which is their Goddeſs, and caſts the Scale with them, as to the Juſtneſs of the Quarrel; but ours have been ſo inhumanly neglected in this Particular, as if they were *Engliſh* Dogs, (as the very Allies uſually ſtyle them) rather than Men of Valour, or worthy of Regard.

It is too notoriouſly known, (though our liberal Parliaments have given to the full whatever have been demanded) that our Troops have been ſometimes whole Years uncleared; and ſome are ſo ſince their firſt Muſtering, only they have ſome ſcattered Months Subſiſtance-Money, by which, and ſpunging at their Quarters, they keep Life and Soul together; and if one may believe

lieve the Officers come from *Flanders*, or reſiding here, the moſt of the Soldiers are 12 or 13 Weeks in Arrears for very Subſiſtance, where their Officers are not in Caſh to advance ſomething, or gain them Credit in their Quarter, till the Pay-day; while the *Dutch* and Foreigners, in the ſame Service, are punctually paid.

As to the Officers who have ſerved in *Flanders*, they unanimouſly relate, that out of every 20 *s.* they receive for themſelves, 4 or 5 is deducted for Advance, Agent-money, Return of the Money by *Dutch* Exchange, Portage, *&c.* even though it be ſent hence in Specie; and no Doubt but Subalterns and private Centinels ſhare in this Deduction; ſo that the Commons muſt either take ſome Care to prevent ſuch Abuſes, and make ſtrict Enquiry who have the Benefit of ſuch Defalcations, or provide an Allowance for high running *Dutch* Exchange; unleſs they judge it only their Province to give, give, and never enquire into the Diſpoſal.

But to add to the Diſcouragement of our Troops, not only the *Flemings*, and Catholick Confederates, but the *Dutch* themſelves, openly expreſs a Contempt of our Nation; and ſtudy all Manner of Ways to impoſe upon the Soldiers, by enhancing the Rate of whatever they need for Victuals or Neceſſaries, nor will deliver them any Thing without ready and broad Money; though they oblige them to receive what the *Dutch* hath circumciſed, which they publickly do in their Shops, and from thence ſend it hither again, while we are as buſy to execute ſuch as have learnt the Trade of them. I paſs by other Aggravations, and come to more important Matters.

There appears not any Likelihood that the Soldiers can be better provided for in future, ſince the beſt paid of them want 11 Weeks Subſiſtance; and it is certainly known, that there is beſides this, (which will be 225,000 *l.*) 4 Millions owing, and of all the Money voted, 500,000 *l.* is all can be provided in three Months; ſo that the Creditors, or Soldiers, or both, are like to get a ſmall Share; ſince it is demonſtrable, that if all which the Houſe has voted could be raiſed, which is like to fall ſhort at leaſt two Millions, there will not be left ſo much remaining as will pay the Debts already owing.

And to add to the utter Diſcouragement of our Men at Arms, if there be one Piece of Service more difficult than another, the *Engliſh* and *Scots* muſt be upon it; witneſs *Steinkirk*, where whole Battalions of the *Dutch* and Confederates, with Some-body, beſides Count *Solmes*, in the Head of them, contented themſelves to be Spectators, *how the* Engliſh *Bull Dogs*, (as they ſtiled them) *would behave themſelves*; and would not adventure any of the more darling Confederates to ſuſtain our ſhatter'd Troops, even to gain them any Sort of honourable Retreat.

How many *Britiſh* Officers and Soldiers, the very Flower of the whole Army, fell that Day, as Beaſts deſtined for Slaughter, our Country-men ought never to forget, nor ever think they have the Satisfaction of Gentlemen of Arms, till they ſee their General put other Confederate Troops upon ſuch like deſtructive Service, which indeed was in ſome Meaſure done at *Landen*; though it was done with a Mixture of *Britiſh*, *Spaniſh*, *Brandenburgh*, and

Hanover Troops, while the dear native *Dutch* were more safely posted, the more easily to make their Retreat.

But to return to the Business of *Steinkirk:* It would have melted the most flinty Breast, (to use the Expression of some Spectators) to have seen how those of the *English* and *Scots*, who got off, all covered with Blood, and martyred with ghastly Wounds, were piled into Carts and Waggons, by 6 or 800 Waggons at a Time, to be conveyed to *Brussels*, whereof several died by the Way; and when they arrived there, to see how they were promiscuously, Dead and Living, tumbled as Dung out of the Cart. Upon which inhuman Spectacle, some of their Wives became perfectly distracted, one or more, at the Affright, dropping their abortive Births in the Streets.

I might give an Account how ill the sick and wounded Soldiers are treated in Hospitals, and how hurried out, not half cured, to make Room for others; and how small Allowance is made to the unserviceable Invalids, to sustain them in their Return for *England*; and how many die by such Hardships; as also the ill Treatment of the Sea-men, but the Letter from *Dort*, and the Advertisement at the End, having given some short Touches of these Matters, for Brevity's Sake, I will omit them; but it cannot be passed over in Silence what an Officer assured many of, and offered to prove it by Oath, that at *Helversluis* 6 or 700 of those Sick turned out of Hospitals, died famished, neither being relieved by Charity or Care of their Officers. It may be worth Enquiry, why no cautionary Town is secured in *Holland*, or *Flanders*, where so many *English* perish for want of such retreating Places, and Hospitals, to accomodate the Sick and Wounded: Our wise Ancestors had that Foresight, and made such due Treaties for cautionary Towns in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, yea, and in *Oliver*'s Days.

I cannot but here further note, that though the Commons voted a Credit for borrowing 400,000 *l.* for the present Payment of the Sea-men, and victualling the Fleet, yet there was very lately but one hundred and twenty Thousand Pounds advanced, or owned to be received; and it seems, that either some other more pressing Occasion hath diverted it, for the Benefit of the Confederates, or else it's presumed, that the Tars are such good-natured Fools, as to take Promise of future for present Payment; it being it seems a fundamental Maxim in this Goverment, that Expectation is a firmer Tye of military Fidelity than Fruition itself. But whatever the true Cause is, that these Sea-men are not paid, they must be more obliged to the Charity of their Neighbours, than the Care of the Government, if their Wives and Children be not starved this Winter.

It's true, so many of their Element have not been slain as of the Land Forces; there have however Multitudes of them died by Sickness, the speedy Dispatch of which dead, or dying, into the Sea, hath concealed their Numbers; yet not so, but by the yearly Pressings, the Reports of the surviving Ships Crew, they are computed at 20 or 30,000. And every Traveller is Witness what Numbers of the dismissed Sick they have met upon the Roads

Roads in deſpicable Cloathing, with empty Paunches, like wandering Ghoſts, which ſhews no great Care of ſuch neceſſary Men.

What Encouragement therefore can it be for our Country-men, to ſend their Sons, Relations, or Servants, to ſuch Shambles, to be ill treated, ill paid, and miſerably expoſed to Deſtruction, while their Officers are ſo inhuman to them, they gaining more by their Deaths than their Lives? By a general Connivance, they enjoyed the dead Men's Pay till the Spring following, when they are to perfect their Recruits, and when they promiſe the poor deluded Creatures all the fine Things imaginable; but it is not long e'er thoſe trepanned Souls find what I have hitherto related true, if not much worſe.

Upon this Head, I cannot paſs by one Remark, that notwithſtanding all the Care the Parliament hath taken to prevent falſe Muſters, yet, it is obvious, that there is ſcarce one Company muſtered, wherein from 10 to 17, or 25, unliſted Men are not hired at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* on a Muſter-day, to ſupply the Defects; ſo that a third or fourth Part of the Money appropiated to maintain the private Centinels, goes into Officers Pockets, for 6 or 9 Months in the Year at leaſt. A Matter worthy of a parliamentary Cognizance, and a ſeverer Law, or their abſolute with-holding their Hands for ſupporting ſuch armed and couzening Harpies.

Thus with all poſſible Brevity, Plainneſs, and Sincerity, I have laid down ſome Heads of the Price of the Abdication; being fully ſatisfied, that there is neither City, Town, or Village, in theſe three Kingdoms, which cannot juſtify one or other of theſe Particulars, and may not add other Inſtances of the exorbitant Price of the Abdication, and will reſent the ſame accordingly, when they reflect how, by the Ambition of one, and the Treachery of others, a gracious King (whoſe great Deſign was to have enriched his Kingdoms, and preſerved them in Peace) hath been forced to beg his Bread Abroad, and we reduced to the utmoſt Beggary at Home; and inſtead of a new Heaven and Earth, which ſome promiſed themſelves, we have purchaſed an Hell and Purgatory, and in lieu of Redreſſes of pretended Grievances, have accumulated real ones, of the moſt oppreſſive Nature; and find all parliamentary Endeavour to redreſs them diſappointed, or rejected with Scorn.

This appears manifeſtly in the Anſwer returned to the late *Repreſentation* of the Houſe of Commons. The Houſe ſay, *They cannot, without Grief of Heart reflect, that ſeveral publick Bills, made by the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, have not obtained the Royal Aſſent; in particular one Bill, entitled,* An Act touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament; *which was made to redreſs a Grievance* (as noiſome as a ſtanding Pool that corrupts) *and take off a Scandal relating to the Proceedings of the Commons in Parliament,* (the now confirmed Outcry againſt Penſionary Members) *after they had freely voted great Supplies for the publick Occaſion; which they impute to no other Cauſe than the Inſinuation of particular Perſons, who take upon them, for their own particular Ends, to adviſe the King contrary to the Advice of Parliament; and therefore cannot but look on ſuch as Enemies to the King and Kingdoms: There-*

fore they deſire him to adhere to the Advice of his Parliament, and not to the ſecret Advice of particular Perſons, who may have particular Intereſts of their own, ſeparate from the true Intereſt of him and his People.

It might have been expected, that a direct and categorical Anſwer ſhould have been given to ſo home an Addreſs; yet it ſeems the Houſes, for all the Millions given, muſt be treated only with whipt Cream, or perfumed Air; which would not have ſatisfied, if the *Adepti* had not found their Account in a previous Treat of a 23,000*l.* Diſtribution. Let us, however, conſider the gracious Anſwer; ſuch, as if any of our preceding Kings had made upon a Petition of Right, or the like Occaſion, it would have enraged an Hornet's Neſt; and no leſs than the voting a freſh Addreſs, or adjourning till they received a more ſatisfactory Anſwer, would have contented the Houſe.

How can the People believe *no Prince ever had an higher Eſteem for the Conſtitution of the* Engliſh *Government*, when neither our Statutes or Law-books know any other but that of *hereditary Monarchy*, to which *elective* is diametrically oppoſite? Such courtly Compliments were neither made by King *W. Rufus*, King *Stephen*, King *John*, *Henry* IV. *Richard* III. or *Oliver*, who have been Precedents of docking the Entail of the Crown.

How can any ſay *he hath a great Regard to the Advice of Parliaments*; when, at that very Inſtant, neither the Adviſers of the rejecting the Bill are dilated, nor the Prayer of the Repreſentation touched upon?

How can one be perſuaded, *that nothing can ſo much conduce to the Happineſs and Welfare of this Kingdom, as an entire Confidence between the King and People*, without explaining what People are intended? For the complex Body of the People and Penſioners have very different Intereſts, and the Majority of the Repreſentative People were, at the voting the Repreſentation at leaſt, no ſuch Confidents; neither when the *Le Roy adviſera* was pronounced, could it be truly ſaid, *that he would by all Means endeavour to preſerve it*, when, contrary to Expectation and Intereſt, if the Maxim laid down be true, the Prince rejected ſo ſolemn an Advice.

Since therefore ſuch apparent Flaws may be found in the aſſertory Part, it would be worth our Enquiry, how they are amended in the promiſſory Part of the Anſwer, in theſe Words: *And I aſſure you I ſhall look upon ſuch Perſons as my Enemies, which ſhall adviſe any Thing that ſhall leſſen it.* Even Oracles never wanted Ambiguity. The Commons declare who were Enemies to the King and Kingdom; here thoſe are characterized who muſt be reputed Enemies to the King only. It is not *Tanti*, whether they be Enemies to the Kingdom or not, ſo as they be faſt Friends to the King; how dexterous ſoever the Adviſers of the Anſwer thought themſelves. The not complying with the Parliamentary Advice, and the ſo looſe anſwering an Addreſs of that Importance, will more than once rivet it in the Minds of the People, that a penſionary Party, however unfaithful to the Intereſts of the Body of the People, are only to be careſſed, and have the Character of Friends; and the true Patriots of their Country muſt be calumniated with the Epithet of Enemies, who leſſen the Confidence betwixt King and People.

However,

However, ſince the Golden Shower hath laid the Tempeſt, let us conſider what we muſt expect upon the Calm? There may be Danger from Rocks and Quickſands, though the Storm be over. We talk much of Apprehenſion of a *French* Invaſion; a Court Artifice, to haſten Diſpatch of Money-bills, and that of Naturalization.

The Conſequence of this latter Bill, if it paſs, may more effectually enſlave us to the *French Huguenots*, and Foreigners, than ever we can expect from the tranſmarine Arms.

We ſhall then find the provident Care of the Commons, in having the new-voted Troops to conſiſt of, and be officer'd by the King's natural-born Subjects only, by this Naturalization transferred to theſe Foreigners, who muſt be the Janiſaries, and Spahees, and Pretorian Band.

Theſe ſhall then be armed, and the only People confided in, to prevent the Fear of any *Engliſh* Deſertion. The Duke of *Leinſter*, a naturalized Foreigner, is already dignified with the Title of General; the *French Huguenots*, as is well known, are daily and nightly diſciplined in their Houſes, or Out-fields, in ſmall Bodies, to learn the Uſe of Arms; Reformade Officers to command them are in Readineſs; and the granting Commiſſions for the new Levies is only ſuſpended till that Bill paſs. We ſhall then ſee thoſe Refugees ſoon ſtrut in their Buff and Feathers. This Act will not only be of infinite Damage to the trading Part of the Nation, but in the moſt effectual Manner ſubvert the *Engliſh* Freedom. Our Court, Councils, and Camp, will then be govern'd by ſuch Confidents; and, that which will gall ſome, theſe will be the only Penſioners. Theſe freſh, hungry, fluttering *French* Flies, will ſuck the very Marrow out of our Bones, and be like Snakes we have lodged in our Boſoms.

Then ſhall we feel the utmoſt Price of the Abdication: It behoves therefore not only all the Manufacturers of this great City, but the Body of the Kingdom, with great Vigilance, Induſtry, and Reſolution, to prevent the endenizing and arming of ſuch; unleſs they will tamely yield the Meat out of their own Mouths, the Cloaths from their Backs, and themſelves and Poſterities to be reduced to Slavery and Beggary.

A ſhort and ſure METHOD *propoſed for the* EXTIRPATION *of* POPERY, *in the Space of a few Years. By a* Perſon *of* Quality. 1690.

THE dreadful Revolutions, Plots, and Conſpiracies, which have been promoted by the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* ſince the *Reformation*, are of that Nature, and have cauſed ſuch fearful Convulſions in our Church and State, that it is a great Argument of the Goodneſs and Providence of God, that we have been able to bear ſo many Shocks, and to avoid ſo many

many deep Deſigns, as have now twice, within the Memory of Man, brought us to the Brink of Ruin.

We muſt be very impious, or very ſtupid, if our laſt Deliverance has not been able to make us adore the boundleſs Goodneſs of God towards us his ſinful and unthankful Servants; he having defeated the Hopes, and totally overthrown the Contrivances of that reſtleſs, implacable, perfidious Faction, when they ſeemed to be in ſuch a Condition, that they need fear nothing but the Almighty Power of God miraculouſly exerting itſelf, as in the Caſe of *Senacharib*, which they neither feared nor ſuſpected.

The *Non-reſiſting* Doctrine had ſo ty'd the Hands of the *Church of England-men*, that they thought they might ſafely inſult over us, and ridicule the Bond that bound us to our good Behaviour. The *Diſſenters* were, as they thought, ſo obliged by the *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the fulſome Applications they had made to them in many ill-writ Pieces, and by the Favours beſtowed on *Pen* and *Lob*, the two Patriarchs, as they would have been thought, of that Party, that they not only ſuſpected no Oppoſition from them, but really conceived they would have been more than *Scaffolds* in the ruining Deſign they had then on Foot. The Gentry were reduced to the utmoſt Degree of Contempt, and the Nobility, who only were capable of putting a Stop to ſuch notorious and impolitick Encroachments on our Birthrights and Liberties, were not only cloſetted, examined, re-examined, turned out of their Stations, brow-beaten, ridiculed at Court, and, in ſhort, driven into the Country; but they were alſo, by all the Arts that were poſſible, rendered odious to the Crown, contemptible to one another, and of no Uſe to their Inferiors.

The Army, which was the next great Engine to bring about their Deſign, was managed with more Art than is commonly conſidered; for firſt, there was a Party of *Roman Catholicks* mixed with the common Soldiers, to be as it were Spies and Tempters, to creep into all the Places of their Reſort, to obſerve their Words, Looks, and Actions, and to take the Opportunity of all their Needs, Crimes, Vices, and Follies; to pervert them, and draw them over to the Church of *Rome*; and in the mean Time, to ſecure them from contriving any Thing that might interrupt their Projects upon us. *Secondly*, They puniſhed all who deſerted the Service with the utmoſt Rigour and Severity, to keep up their Numbers. And, *Thirdly*, They ſent them to quarter in thoſe Places that had in any Degree refuſed to comply with their Wills, and not only ſuffered, but encouraged them to Outrage, and ſometimes to murder their Hoſts; but to be ſure, in all Places they very much impoveriſhed thoſe that entertained them, and in the Interim, they kept all in Awe and Quiet, while theſe State-mountebanks practiſed upon their Lives, Conſciences, Liberties, and Properties.

A People thus harraſſed and beſet, one would have thought had been conſigned to Ruin and Deſtruction: For where could our Deliverance begin? The *Parliament*, which was our laſt Reſort, was at the ſame Time practiſed on with all the Art and Addreſs that the Wit of Men or Devils could invent; and he muſt be of a deep Reach, or a ſanguine Complexion, who, in the

Beginning

Beginning of *September* laſt, could hope to ſee a free and quiet Parliament meet and ſit one Month, to repreſent, with any Degree of Liberty, our deplorable State and Condition, much leſs to redreſs any of our Grievances.

We had one Hope, which if they had left us ſtill, we had certainly been as quiet and as patient as *Job* himſelf; and that was, that the Princeſs *Mary* of *Orange* would, when God thought fit, ſucceed his Majeſty, and then we promiſed ourſelves a Day of Redemption from all our Calamities and Oppreſſions; ſo that our Poſterity would at worſt ſee better Days. To deprive us of this remote Comfort that Scene was laid, and the Lady of *Loretto* ſolicited, to procure a Prince of *Wales*, to reduce us to an utter Deſperation of any Redreſs for ever. And now they thought they were ſo ſecure of the Day, that they might attack the heretical Biſhops and the whole Body of our Clergy at once, and make them *eat their own Dung* in the Face of their reſpective Congregations. If they had complied, the whole Nation would have abhorred them, as a Parcel of Cowards; if they did not, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was to have mowed them down by Wholeſale; and when the People had been once deprived of their faithful and learned Shepherds, the Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing hoped to have had much better Succeſs than hitherto; but the Biſhops interpoſing, ſo united the inferior Clergy, that this Deſign proved abortive; and the declaring the Biſhops Petition a *ſeditious Libel, and ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe penned with great Modeſty and Humility*, ſo far opened the Eyes of all Men, that the moſt ignorant ſaw nothing leſs than the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion was aimed at.

The Army however, which was the great Wheel in this moſt dreadful *Machine*, was for the moſt Part Proteſtant, and had expreſſed ſo much Joy at the Acquittal of the Biſhops, in the Camp at *Hounſlow Heath*, that they clearly ſaw, till it was new-modelled it could not be relied on; and therefore the *French* and *Iriſh* were to be invited over, and the Companies changed by Degrees. And when ſix of the Officers at *Portſmouth* had, with the greateſt Humility imaginable, only deſired Leave *to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation as they judged moſt ſerviceable to the King; or otherwiſe, that they might be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect, to lay down their Commiſſions*; for this Offence they were brought up Priſoners to *London*, and it was given out they ſhould be hanged, as perhaps they had been, if Monſieur *De Avaux*'s Memorial, given in at the *Hague*, had not come in that very Poſt, to enlighten our little *Stateſmen*, and ſhew them their approaching Danger; and yet, after all, the Tenth of *September* laſt they were caſhiered at *Windſor*.

And when the Storm from *Holland* ſeemed unavoidable, with what Inſolence did they treat the eleven Propoſals made by the Biſhops, and the Petition preſented the Seventeenth of *November* laſt, by the Biſhops and Peers about the Town? So that, till the Army began to go over to the Prince of *Orange*, and the greateſt Part of the Nation had declared for him, no Parliament was to be thought of, and the *Diſpenſing Power* was the moſt Sacred of all the Prerogatives of the Crown.

'That

That we may not imagine all this was undertaken and entered upon, without good Conſideration of the Difficulties the *Roman Catholicks* were to meet with, I would deſire my Reader to peruſe a ſmall Piece by them publiſhed in the Year 1685, during the firſt Seſſions of Parliament of *James* II. ſtil'd, *Salus Britannica*, or, *The Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt all the preſent Apprehenſions of Popery*, in *Folio*. "The Deſign of which, as the "Author himſelf tells us, is to examine what National Operation or In-"fluence, a real Popiſh crown'd Head can ever have over the Lives, Li-"berties, or Eſtates of *Engliſh-men* as now enjoyed, and the Religion of the "Kingdom, as at preſent eſtabliſhed, and by confuting even the moſt ſub-"ſtantial of their imagin'd Dangers, to diſſipate thoſe falſe Fears of Po-"pery," *&c. Pag.* 1. And in Truth, I believe no Man can deny but he has very effectually proved, that it is utterly impoſſible for a Popiſh Prince, who has none but theſe three Kingdoms, to ſet up Popery in this Nation, and that all he can gain by the Attempt, will be the Ruin of himſelf. And certainly they could not but apprehend this might poſſibly, if not probably, be the Event; yet, after all, King and Kingdom was at laſt to be ſacrificed to the Holy See of *Rome*; and on they went, when they had proved it impoſſible to ſucceed.

I need be the leſs exact in ſetting down what they have done, it being within the Space of four Years laſt paſt, that they have had the Management of Affairs, and ſo all Things are as freſh in all Men's Memories, as if they had been acted but Yeſtarday: I think then, that I may from theſe Premiſes ſafely conclude, that a more daring, reſtleſs, and implacable Faction never appeared under the Sun than this is; and that it is the Intereſt of every true *Engliſh* Proteſtant, of what Perſuaſion ſoever he be, to do his utmoſt to free this miſerable Nation from the Danger and Fear too, (if it be poſſible) of ever feeling again the dire Effects of Popiſh Zeal, or rather Fury.

Our wiſe Anceſtors, for above theſe three hundred Years, have been labouring to reſtrain this *Demoniack*, by *Laws*, *Oaths*, and *Teſts*; and when all the Methods of Severity failed, we have tried the Charms of Kindneſs, Truſt, Friendſhip, and Reliance; we ſet up a Prince of their Communion, and oppoſed all thoſe that would have *excluded* him, with a Zeal, which made us look a little too much in Love with one, who ſeemed deſigned to be our Scourge by Heaven itſelf. When he had declared his Religion, and ſome of his Party, amongſt whom *Nevil Paine* was one, had given us clear Indications of their Rage againſt us; yet we in Parliament, not only attainted, and thereby ruined the late Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party; but when ſome Gentlemen propoſed to have the Security of the Proteſtant Religion taken into Conſideration, the Houſe declared, they would *intirely rely upon his Majeſty's Promiſe for the Security of their Religion, which they valued more than their Lives.* And before this, when *Charles* the Second, the 30th of *April*, 1679, to avoid the Excluſion-bill, propoſed very advantageous Reſtrictions of the Authority of a *Roman Catholick* Prince, the *Church* of *England-men* rejected them, for fear they ſhould too much weaken and expoſe the regal Authority,

not

not to mention the Favours ſhewn to all the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, during the fierce Proſecution of the Popiſh Plot in that Prince's Reign: Well, what could have been done more than was, to oblige Men or Chriſtians to treat us like Friends, when they had an Opportunity to expreſs their Gratitude? No, ſtay you there Gentlemen, we *Roman Catholicks* have but one Friend in this World, and if you are not for him too, ſtand off; expect nothing from us but Ruin and Deſolation. Will you *Repeal the Penal Laws and the Teſts*? Why? I cannot betray my Religion; then make Room for one that will turn out; *procul, procul ite Profani.* And we all know what followed; and I ſuppoſe no Body in this Generation will have ſo little Wit as to pretend any more to oblige a *Roman Catholick* by any of theſe Things.

Well, will Oaths bind them? No: They have a *Pope*, and a Maxim that will fruſtrate that Ligament, whenever it is for their Convenience to be free; and of this we have ſeen and felt too much already. Will Laws? If you catch and hang the Prieſt, the Traitor, the Cut-throat, he is made a *Martyr*; his Crime is denied, palliated, excuſed; or it may be juſtified and defended, as Occaſion ſerves; and yet, after all, they ſhall have the Satisfaction of clamouring againſt you for a perſecuting Church, and a bloody Nation.

Well, what is to be done? Why, for my Part, I can ſee but one poſſible Method to quiet the Nation; and that is, once for all to clear it of theſe Monſters, and force them to tranſplant themſelves, not out of the *Engliſh* Dominions, but out of this Iſland: As long as they continue amongſt us, they neither can nor will be quiet; Prieſts they muſt and will have, and that Ferment will ſuffer nothing near it to be at reſt. The Remembrance of what is paſt will irritate the Minds of Men, and make them jealous of future Evils; ſo that no Care of the wiſeſt and beſt Governors can long keep the Nation in Tranquillity and Peace, if theſe Men-catchers are ſuffered to neſtle amongſt us. But then I would have this extended only to *England* and *Scotland*, becauſe *Ireland* would be laid deſolate by ſuch an Expedient; and if the *Engliſh* Nation, which has not above 40,000 *Roman Catholicks*, were once cleared, it would very eaſily ſuppreſs and revenge any Attempt that could be made in that Kingdom.

Beſides this, all Feme-coverts, all Perſons above ſixty or fifty Years of Age, all Day-labourers, and Handy crafts-men might be excepted; theſe can maintain no Prieſts, nor much embroil the Peace of the Nation, or at leaſt for no long Time; but then all the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants, and rich Tradeſmen of that Religion, I think ought to be ſent packing, and for the future a Law be made to diſfranchiſe them, and make them incapable of poſſeſſing, purchaſing, inheriting, or tranſmitting any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, to the Value of forty Shillings *per Annum*, or upwards.

To make this the more eaſy yet, it were fitting that every individual Perſon ſhould be aſked, whether he had rather leave his Country or his Religion? And all that would promiſe the latter upon Oath, to be excuſed; but ſo as

to forfeit their Eſtates if they relapſed after the Oath ſo taken, or brought up their Children in that Religion.

Secondly, To allow all that would tranſplant themſelves the full Value of their Eſtates, both real and perſonal, their Debts being firſt paid and deducted. This would enable them to live in as great, or a greater Equipage and Grandeur in our Plantations, as they ever had here in *England*; and if they removed into *Germany* or *France*, *Italy* or *Spain*, their Eſtates would make their Lives eaſy, and their Baniſhment honourable. The World is wide, and if I were one of them, I ſhould never ſtay for an Act of *Parliament*, but would certainly ſell what I had and be gone, that I might enjoy my Religion and my Eſtate in a warmer Climate.

But, alas! they love their Country too dearly to leave it. What is it in *England* they love? The Civil Liberties they had brought to the utmoſt Limits of Deſtruction; the Religion of *England* they hate above all other; the Earth is not more fruitful, and the Air is much colder than that of other Countries; and I am confident the *Engliſh* Humour is ſo far exaſperated againſt Popery, that half an hundred Years will not allay the Fever the laſt four Years have raiſed in the *Engliſh* Blood againſt Popery; ſo that they have nothing to attach them to *England*, but the ſullen Hopes of being a Plague and a Terror to us.

But it will be ſaid, the tranſporting ſo much Wealth out of the Nation will too much impoveriſh us. This ought well to be conſidered, and a true Eſtimate made both of the Eſtates and Debts of the *Roman Catholicks*, and of the Methods of returning their Effects beyond the Seas, and then perhaps it would rather increaſe our Trade than abate our Wealth; and as for the weakening us by the taking off ſo many of our People, this I am ſure is a meer *Chimera*; two or three thouſand Perſons would be the utmoſt that we ſhould loſe; and thoſe who bought their Eſtates would be better Subjects and Neighbours, than ever they will be as long as they continue *Roman Catholicks*.

It is not to be imagin'd, that all, or any conſiderable Part of this Wealth will be tranſported in *Engliſh* Money in Specie, but Merchandiſe, Bills of Exchange, *&c.* So that I am confident we have more ſent away to the *Jeſuits* College beyond the Seas in ſeven Years, than would be carried out in Specie on ſuch an Occaſion; and hereby we ſhould at once rid ourſelves of one of the greateſt Plagues that any Nation ever ſtruggled ſo long with.

Nor would it be only profitable but *juſt*; they have given us the greateſt Provocation that ever was given by Men to Men. Did ever 40,000 Men in any other Part of the World ever before endeavour to do what they themſelves had proved to be impoſſible? Did ever ſuch an Handful of Men before, by Fraud and Violence, deſign to enſlave a free, to impoveriſh a rich, to ſubdue a valiant and generous Nation? What could they mean by the *Force* they in Print and common Diſcourſe intimated, that was, to compel us to give up our Laws, if fair Means would not do, but a *Maſſacre*, or a *French* Invaſion? Let them conſider how they have treated thoſe of our Religion in *France* and *Piedmont*; and then tell me, and all the World, if we have treated them

them in the ſame Manner, when we have ſent them away with all they can juſtly call their own, only that we might not be forced to ruin them by a ſlower Proſecution.

The Facility is equal to the Juſtice of this Method; they are few in Number, hated by all the reſt of the Nation; and beſides all their former Miſdemeanours, have, by the late Attempts upon the Religion and Liberties of *England*, ſo far encreaſed the Averſion of all Degrees of Men amongſt us, that they will find very few to pity them, and not many to ſpeak for them.

The only Objections I can foreſee, are, firſt, That it will impoveriſh *England* to ſuffer them to carry away their Eſtates, and look too like Popiſh Cruelty, to turn them out deſpoiled of what they have, or of a great Part of their Fortunes. Now this Objection muſt be conſidered in Parliament, becauſe no one Man can make any Thing near a true Eſtimate what the Value will be, their Debts being deducted, till a true Account is given of their Eſtates and Debts; and then I verily believe it will be found much leſs than it ſeems at firſt.

The ſecond Objection is, That it will weaken us, and ſtrengthen our Enemies, to loſe ſo many of our People. To this, I ſay, it is apparently otherwiſe; for if thoſe Eſtates were in the Hands of Proteſtants, they would much more contribute to the Union and Strength of *England*, than the Perſons of theſe *Roman Catholicks* can do, of whom we can make little or no Uſe in Civil or Military Affairs, at Home or Abroad, in Peace or War: And if they were added to any other Country, the Peace and Union they would leave us in, would infinitely over-balance the Loſs of their Perſons, and as I believe, of their Eſtates too.

But now, on the contrary, if they be continued ſtill amongſt us, we may ſtill ſtruggle with all thoſe Inconveniencies, which have neceſſitated our Anceſtors to make ſo many Laws againſt them; and the Severities which muſt be uſed to keep them under, will by Degrees, when the Memory of the late Tranſactions is worn off, beget Compaſſion; and that will grow greater, as they grow fewer and leſs dangerous; and yet at laſt, one ſingle *Jeſuit* may deſtroy the beſt of our Princes, and two or three Gentlemen of Eſtate may diſquiet and enjealous a whole County; and when all is done, no Hopes are left that any laſting Peace can be made with them; ſo that as long as there is any of that Religion in *England*, there is a Ferment in the Veins of the Nation, which will cauſe dreadful Paroxiſms.

Their Emiſſaries will alſo ſow Diſſentions between us and the Diſſenters, and exaſperate the Parties againſt each other; ſo that the good Correſpondence which is now between us and them, will, in a ſhort Time, be turned into Hatred on both Sides, if all the Care imaginable be not taken on both Sides of theſe Incendiaries, which will never be wanting whilſt we have a Popiſh Nobility and Gentry, how ſmall ſoever it be in Number.

The Seminaries at *St. Omers*, *Doway*, &c. are kept up by the Nobility and Gentry of that Communion, and tend very much to the imbroiling and weak-

ning *England*, and the advancing the Intereſt of *France*; but will ſoon dwindle away if they had no Supplies from *England*, as they could have little if we had no Popiſh Nobility or Gentry, and the Lands of *England* were only in the Hands of Proteſtants.

The retiring of his late Majeſty into *France* is another ſtrong Inducement; as long as he or the *Child* is living, they will have a Pretence to plot and cut Throats, and they will have ſome to pity, and others to applaud them; ſo that, if there were no other Reaſon, this alone were ſufficient to determine the Queſtion, unleſs we are reſolved to ſhew ourſelves as careleſs of a Proteſtant Prince, as we have been over-fond of a *Roman Catholick*; which will be an ill Recompence for our Deliverance.

A SECOND LETTER *to a* FRIEND, *concerning the* FRENCH INVASION: *In which, the* Declaration *lately diſperſed, under the Title of* His Majeſty's moſt gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects, commanding their Aſſiſtance againſt the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents, *is entirely and exactly publiſhed, according to the diſperſed Copies; with ſome ſhort Obſervations upon it. By Dr.* Sherlock, *Dean of* St. Paul's, *and Maſter of the* Temple. 1692.

SIR,

HAVING in the Concluſion of my Letter promiſed you, if you deſired it, to give you an Account of the late King *James*'s *Declaration*, I will make no Excuſes, but, like a *ſincere Proteſtant*, will keep my Word with you.

This *Declaration* has been induſtriouſly ſcattered about both in *French* and *Engliſh*, by the Enemies of the *preſent Government*. Now to ſave them any farther Trouble of this Kind, and that the World may ſee we dare venture it, with all the Charms that are by ſome thought to be in it, among the People of *England*, I have thought it the faireſt Way to print the Whole, *verbatim*, *Paragraph* by *Paragraph*, with ſome ſhort *Obſervations* upon it; and only deſire you to remember, that my principal Deſign in it is only to ſtrengthen the Arguments of my former *Letter*, and to make it appear, from this very Declaration, how little Reaſon *Engliſh* Proteſtants have to promiſe themſelves, that the late King will be kinder to them than he was before, ſhould he now return with a *French* Power.

D E-

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS the moſt Chriſtian King, in Purſuance of the many obliging Promiſes he has made Us, of giving Us his effectual Aſſiſtance for the recovering of Our Kingdoms, as ſoon as the Condition of his Affairs would permit, has put us in a Way of endeavouring it at this Time; and in order to it, has lent us ſo many of his Troops, as may be abundantly ſufficient to untie the Hands of Our Subjects, and make it ſafe for them to return to their Duty, and repair to Our Standard; and has notwithſtanding for the preſent, according to Our Deſire (unleſs there ſhould appear further Neceſſity for it) purpoſely declin'd ſending over Forces ſo numerous, as might raiſe any Jealouſy in the Minds of Our good Subjects, of his intending to take the Work wholly out of their Hands, or deprive any true Engliſhman *of the Part he may hope to have in ſo glorious an Action, as is that of reſtoring his lawful King, and his antient Government; (all which foreign Troops, as ſoon as We ſhall be fully ſettled in the quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion of Our Kingdoms, We do hereby promiſe to ſend back, and in the mean Time to keep them in ſuch exact Order and Diſcipline, that none of Our Subjects ſhall receive the leaſt Injury in their Perſons or Poſſeſſions, by any Soldier or Officer whatſoever.) Though an Affair of this Nature ſpeaks for itſelf, nor do We think Ourſelves at all obliged to ſay any Thing more upon this Occaſion, than that We come to aſſert Our juſt Rights, and to deliver Our People from the Oppreſſion they lie under; yet, when We conſider how miſerably many of Our Subjects were cheated into the late Revolution by the Art of ill Men, and particularly by the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration, which was taken upon Truſt, and eaſily believed then, but ſince appears notoriouſly falſe in all the Parts of it; conſiſting no leſs of Aſſertions that have been evidently diſproved, than of Promiſes that were never intended to be performed. To prevent the like Deluſions for the Time to come, and to do as much as lies in Our Power to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, We are willing to lay the whole Matter before them in as plain and ſhort a Manner as is poſſible, that they may not again pretend Miſtakes, or have Ignorance to plead for any falſe Steps they ſhall hereafter make towards the Ruin of their own, and their Country's Happineſs.*——

OBSERVATIONS.

It begins with a Thing very ſurprizing and memorable, that the *French* King hath once in his Life made good his Word, and kept his *Faith*; for ſo the late King *James* tells us he hath done with him, *in Purſuance of the many obliging Promiſes he had made him, of giving him effectual Aſſiſtance for the Recovery of his Kingdoms*, &c. *Effectual Aſſiſtance* is a big Word, and more than the *greateſt* and *moſt puiſſant King* is able always to make good: However, I am glad to ſee they begin to endeavour to perform their Promiſes to one another; it is a good Quality, and it is to be hoped they may in Time extend it further. But this ſatisfies me, that the *French King* thinks

it

it his *Intereſt* to reſtore the late *King James*; for he was never known to keep his Promiſe againſt his own Intereſt; and it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that the *French King* and *Engliſh Proteſtants* ſhould have *the ſame Intereſt*.

He ſeems ſenſible that *French Troops* would not be very welcome in *England*; and therefore to qualify this Matter, he ſays, that *the* French King, *at his Deſire, has purpoſely declined ſending over Forces ſo numerous, as might raiſe any Jealouſy of a* French *Conque*, (for that is the plain *Engliſh* of it;) that they ſhall be kept under *exact Diſcipline* while they are here, and that he will ſend them Home again when *he is fully ſettled in the quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms*. But I thank God, with all my Heart, that there is no Danger now of theſe *French* Troops coming into *England*; which is a much greater Security to us than both theſe Kings Promiſes for their good Behaviour here, or for their Return Home again. It is certain that *one* of them could not keep his Word if he would; and it is as certain that the *other* would not, as it is that it would not be his Intereſt to do it; for there is not the ſame Reaſon for the *French* King to keep his Promiſe of ſending Troops into *England*, and to keep his Promiſe of ſending no more than the late King *James* wants, or of calling them Home again when he wants them no longer. But before I proceed to more particular *Obſervations*, it will not be amiſs (and the Concluſion of this *Paragraph* requires it) briefly to conſider what is not in the *Declaration*, which the People of *England* had all the Reaſon in the World to have expected in it.

Now I can find but *very little* in it, I might with great Truth ſay, *nothing*, which a reaſonable Man, who remembers the late *Reign*, eſpecially the *Concluſion* of it, would have expected in ſuch a *Declaration*.

If the Deſign of ſuch a *Declaration* be to give Satisfaction to the Minds of his Subjects, it ought at leaſt to have contained as good Words, and fair Promiſes, as a Prince could give. He knew very well what it was that had alienated his Subjects from him; that they apprehended their *Laws*, their *Religion*, and their *Liberties* to be in great Danger; and could not but know, that he had given them too juſt Occaſion for ſuch Jealouſies and Fears; and it is wonderful that he ſhould think of publiſhing a *Declaration*, and not think fit to give the leaſt Satisfaction about theſe Matters; not to ſay one Word about *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*, nor to give any expreſs Promiſe that he would remove theſe Fears.

The only Thing he appeals to, is the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and does not think himſelf *obliged to ſay any Thing more upon this Occaſion, than that he comes to aſſert his own juſt Rights*, &c. But this was not the Controverſy between him and his People; they did not diſpute then his Right to the Crown, (tho' they have ſome Reaſon to do it now) and yet were willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; and if he knew what made them ſo, and hoped to return again by their Aſſiſtance, and with their Good-liking, any one but thoſe of his own Council would have thought him obliged to ſay ſomething of it.

The

The Prince of *Orange*'s *Declaration* put him in mind of this, which he ſays *cheated his Subjects into the late Revolution*; and it had been much more to the Purpoſe, to have diſcovered the *Cheat* of that *Declaration*, or to have ſaid nothing of it, than to affirm, without any Proof, that now *it appears to be notoriouſly falſe in all the Parts of it*; for *Engliſh Proteſtants* know nothing to this Day, but that it is all true ſtill. Were there not in the late *Reign* open and bold Attempts made againſt the *Laws*, the *Liberties*, and the *Religion* of theſe *Kingdoms?* Was not the *Diſpenſing Power* ſet on Foot for thoſe Purpoſes? Were not the *Judges* tamper'd with, to obtain a Sentence in Favour of the *Diſpenſing Power*, and placed and diſplaced, till they could find fit Tools for that Work; Men who would ſacrifice the *Laws* and *Religion* of their Country to the Will of their Prince, or to their own Covetouſneſs and Ambition? Were not the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Teſt* diſpenſed with upon this Pretence, and Men unqualified by Law, put into *Eccleſiaſtical*, *Civil*, and *Military* Preferments, to the apparent Danger both of *Church* and *State?* Was there no *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* ſet up, no *Popiſh Chappels*, *Monaſteries*, and *Convents* erected and endowed contrary to *Law?* Were not the *Nobility* and *Gentry* cloſetted and examined about the Repeal of the *Teſt*, and thoſe diſgraced and turned out of all Offices and Employments who would not comply? Were not the *Biſhops* ſent to the *Tower*, and tried in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, for their humble *Petition* to him againſt reading the *Declaration?* Was not the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the greateſt Military Truſts put into the Hands of *Papiſts?* Were not the *Charters* of *Cities*, *Towns*, and *Corporations* ſeized into the *King*'s Hands, and ſo new-modelled, that the *King* might chuſe what *Burgeſſes* he pleaſed, and have a *Houſe of Commons* of his own Creatures? Were there not viſible Grounds of Suſpicion concerning the Birth of the pretended *Prince* of *Wales?* And has there been ſufficient Satisfaction given the Nation about it to this Day? Theſe are the Grievances complained of in the *Prince*'s *Declaration*, which were believed then, not upon the Authority of the *Declaration*, but becauſe they were ſeen and felt; and are believed ſtill, becauſe they are ſtill remembred by thoſe who ſaw and felt them; and how they have ſince *been evidently diſproved*, I cannot gueſs. But if ſuch Things as theſe are not thought fit to be owned as Miſtakes in Government; if it was not thought fit to promiſe the Redreſs of any one of them, no not in his *Declaration*, whereby he commands and invites his *Subjects* to aſſiſt him in recovering his Kingdoms; I can eaſily gueſs, that they will not be thought Faults, much leſs be redreſſed, if he ſhould return: They muſt be his very *Loving Subjects* indeed, that can be thus impoſed upon.

DECLARATION.

And therefore, to take the Matter from the Beginning, it cannot be forgotten, that as ſoon as We had certain Notice of the Prince of Orange's *unnatural Deſign of invading Our Kingdoms, with the whole Power of the* United Provinces, *We firſt took*

took the beſt Care We could to provide for Our Defence; which We ſeem'd effectually to have done, when We had put our Fleet and Army into ſuch a Condition, that tho' his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who well ſaw the Bottom of the Deſign againſt Us, againſt himſelf, and indeed againſt the Peace of Europe, *offered Us conſiderable Succours both by Land and Sea; We did not think it at all neceſſary to accept them, at that Time, as reſolving to caſt ourſelves wholly, (next to the Divine Protection) upon the Courage and Fidelity of our* Engliſh *Army, which had been with ſo much Care and Tenderneſs formed and obliged by Us. And having thus prepared to oppoſe Force to Force; We did, in the next Place, apply Ourſelves to give all reaſonable Satisfaction to the Minds of Our good Subjects, by endeavouring to undeceive them, and to let them ſee betimes, and whilſt the Miſchief might eaſily have been prevented, how fatal a Ruin they muſt bring upon their Country, if they ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by the vain Pretences of the Prince of* Orange's *Invaſion; however, ſo great was the Infatuation of that Time, that we were not believed till it was too late. But when he was obliged to throw off the Mask by Degrees, and that it began to appear plainly, that it was not the Reformation of the Government, (which yet was a Matter that did not at all belong to him to meddle with) but the Subverſion of it, that he aimed at, that ſo he might build his own ambitious Deſigns upon the Ruins of the* Engliſh *Nation: And when the Poiſon had inſinuated itſelf into the vital Parts of the Kingdom; when it had ſpread over Our whole Army, and ſo far got into Our Court and Family, as not only to corrupt ſome of Our Servants, that were neareſt Our Perſon, and had been moſt highly obliged by Us, but not even to leave Our own Children at that Time uninfected; when Our Army daily deſerted on the one Hand, and on the other Hand, Tumults and Diſorders encreaſed in all Parts of the Kingdom; and eſpecially, when ſhortly after the Revolution came on ſo faſt, that We found Ourſelves wholly in Our Enemies Power, being at firſt confined by them in Our own Palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it under a Guard of Foreigners; We could not then but be admoniſhed, by the Fate of ſome of our Predeceſſors in the like Circumſtances, of the Danger We were in, and that it was high Time to provide for the Security of Our Perſon, (which was happily effected, by Our getting from the Guard that was ſet upon Us at* Rocheſter, *and Our Arrival in* France, *the only Part in* Europe, *to which We could retire with Safety) that ſo We might preſerve ourſelves for better Times, and for a more happy Opportunity; ſuch as is that, which, by the Bleſſing of God, is at preſent put into Our Hands.*

OBSERVATIONS.

To begin with the *certain Notice of the Prince of* Orange's *Deſign*, is not *to take the Matter from the Beginning*. Had he intended to give any Satisfaction to *Engliſh* Subjects, he ſhould have begun where their Complaints and Grievances, occaſioned by his *arbitrary* and *illegal* Government, began; that is, where the Prince's Deſign, and his own *Abdication* began. That he *took the beſt Care he could for his own Defence*, no Man queſtions; and had he

he taken leſs, it would not have been taken ill by the Nation. That his *Chriſtian Majeſty* ſaw *this Deſign was againſt himſelf*, long before the *late King* was ſenſible of it, appears from the *Memorial* printed at the *Hague*, *September* 9, 1688, by Monſieur *de Conte d'Avaux*, the *French King's Ambaſſador :* But when he ſays it was *againſt the Peace of* Europe, I confeſs I know not how to underſtand it, unleſs, by *the Peace of* Europe his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* means an *univerſal Deſolation*, which he was making as faſt as he could. For this cannot be denied to be a moſt certain and effectual Way of ſettling a Country in Peace, to lay it waſte, and to deſtroy and drive out the Inhabitants ; to prevent which indeed was the Bottom of this *Deſign* ; and the moſt effectual Way to do it, was to divide *England* from the Intereſt of *France*.

That the *French* King, to prevent this, did offer King *James* the Aſſiſtance of his Forces, is very probable from the ſame *Memorial*, which threatens the *Dutch* with it ; and how this Aſſiſtance came to be refuſed, we learn from my Lord *Sunderland*'s Letter, printed in *the Hiſtory of the Deſertion* ; which, and ſome other Counſels, (that thwarted the *Popiſh* Deſigns) coſt him his *Religion*, and ſoon after the Favour of his *Prince*, and his Preferments at Court.

That he had no ſuch great Confidence in *the Fidelity of his* Engliſh *Army*, was too evident, in the daily Reformations he made in it ; exchanging *Proteſtants* for *Papiſts*, and *Engliſh-men* for *Iriſh* ; which occaſioned that memorable Accident at *Portſmouth*, which gave ſuch a general Diſguſt to the Army, in a very lucky Seaſon, as greatly diſpoſed them either to go over to the *Prince*, or at leaſt not to fight againſt him.

That he did many Things in the Time of his Diſtreſs to ſweeten his Subjects is true ; but he was much miſtaken, if he thought this ſufficient to give *reaſonable Satisfaction*. He undid many Things, which he had illegally done ; but he did this ſo late, and it was ſo apparently a Matter of Force, owing to the Change of his Fortune, not of his Inclinations ; and then too, done with ſo ill a Grace, that I could obſerve No-body that was then ſatisfied with it.

He reſtored the *Charter* of *London*, and of other *Cities* and *Corporations* ; he diſſolved the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, reſtored *Magdalen College*, but never owned the Illegality of theſe Proceedings ; would never renounce *his diſpenſing Power* ; would never be perſuaded by the moſt humble *Petitions*, and earneſt Importunities of his *Lords* and *Biſhops*, to call a *free Parliament*, and to refer the Redreſs of all Grievances to them, till he ſeems to have formed a Deſign of leaving *England* ; and then his iſſuing out of *Writs*, which he reſolved ſhould never be executed, could do him no Hurt, and would have a good Appearance ; as if he had been willing to have referred all to a *Parliament*, had not the growing Power of his Enemies made it more neceſſary for him to conſult the Safety of his own Perſon.

The Caſe of *Magdalen College* convinced all Men that theſe were extorted Favours, and would laſt no longer than it was ſafe to recall them.

King *James* had given his Orders to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Viſitor of that College, to recall Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society ;

and he accordingly went down to re-inſtate them; but upon the News that the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuffered much in a Storm, and probably could not ſail till the next Spring, his Lordſhip had new Orders ſent to call him back; but that News proving falſe, his Lordſhip was permitted to return, and to purſue his firſt Orders. This, it ſeems, was *all the reaſonable Satisfaction* that could be given, what his Graces and Favours to *Proteſtants* were, and how long they would laſt.

As for what concerns the Prince of *Orange*, now our gracious King, I know of no Maſk he had on, nor that ever he threw off, or that he afterwards appeared to be any other than his *Declaration* had repreſented him. He came not for the Crown, but to reform Abuſes, and to ſecure the Succeſſion, which the Right of his Princeſs, and his own Right and Intereſt, the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and of the Liberties of *Europe*, gave him Right and Authority to meddle with. But beſides his Expectation, and original Intention, he has the Crown, which he came not for; he has deceived No-body in it; but if any one be deceived, King *James*, and the People of *England*, have deceived him; the one, in leaving his Crown; the other, in placing it on his Head; where indeed it ought to be, both in Right of his Princeſs, and for his own Merits; for he who ſaves a Nation, had he no other Claim or Title, may very well deſerve to wear the Crown; eſpecially when it was with the free Conſent of the Princeſs, our moſt gracious Queen, and upon the Deſire of the Eſtates of the Realm, and ſtill neceſſary to ſave the Nation.

In the next Place, he juſtifieth his leaving *England*, for *the Security of his* Perſon, *being wholly in the Enemies Power; at firſt confined by them in his own Palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it, under a Guard of Foreigners.* But if he has forgot it, others have not, that before this happened, he had privately withdrawn his Perſon, diſbanded his Army, diſſolved his Government, flung his Broad Seal into the *Thames*, and had never had this Pretence for his Eſcape, had he not been ſtopped by a Miſtake; for No-body intended to ſtay him; and all this while he was in Treaty with the Prince, and that upon ſuch equal Terms, that he could be under no juſt Apprehenſion of ill Uſage.

He excuſes his going to *France*, becauſe it was *the only Part in* Europe *to which he could retire with Safety*; which is a Confeſſion, that he alone was in the *French* Intereſt, againſt all *Europe* beſides; and that he durſt not truſt his Cauſe with any other Princes in *Chriſtendom*; which argues either a great Jealouſy of his own Cauſe, or of their Juſtice and Honour, even to diſtreſs'd Princes. But I am ſure *France* was the only Place in *Europe* he ought to have avoided; and if he had no other Place to go to, he ought to have ventured himſelf at Home, or to have gone to *Rome*, which had been a Kind of ſecond Home, unleſs he intended to reſign his Crown. He knew what Opinion *Engliſh* Subjects had of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and might have known, that they would never fetch him from *France* again, nor willingly receive him with a *French* Power. What a *happy Opportunity* he now has to recover his Kingdoms again by *French* Troops, I ſuppoſe by this Time he begins to diſcern;

diſcern; and I hope it may prove a very happy Opportunity for his *dear Ally* to loſe his: He has ſhewed him, by his own Example, what to do in ſuch Caſes; and the *Engliſh* Parliament has taught the *French* what Name to give it.

DECLARATION.

Upon what Foundation of Juſtice or Common Senſe the Prince of Orange*'s Faction in* England *were pleaſed to treat this Eſcape of Ours out of the Hands of Our Enemies in the Stile of an* Abdication, (*a Word, when applied to Sovereign Princes, that was never before uſed to ſignify any Thing but a free and voluntary Reſignation of a Crown, as in the Caſes of the Emperor* Charles *the Fifth, and the late Queen of* Sweden;) *and what a ſtrange Superſtructure they raiſed upon this weak Foundation, that a Company of Men, illegally met together, who had not Power, even by their own Confeſſion, at that Time, (for it was before they had voted themſelves a Parliament) to charge the Intereſt of the meaneſt Subject; ſhould yet take upon them to deſtroy the whole Conſtitution of the Government, to make an antient hereditary Monarchy become elective; and then, aſſuming to themſelves the Right of Election, ſhould proceed to ſettle the Succeſſion in ſo odd and extravagant a Manner, are Tranſactions that need not be repeated; they are too well known to the World, to the great Reproach of the* Engliſh *Nation; and the Grounds upon which they are built are too vain and frivolous to deſerve a Confutation. Every Freeholder of* England *is, in this Caſe, able to make his own Obſervations; and will, no Doubt, examine a little better than hitherto he has done, what Aſſurance any private Man can have of keeping his Eſtate, if the King himſelf ſhall hold his Crown by no better a Title.*

OBSERVATIONS.

His leaving the Kingdom for the Safety of his Perſon, *and to preſerve himſelf for better Times, and for a more happy Opportunity*, he ſays, was no *Abdication*, as that ſignifies *a voluntary Reſignation of his Crown*; nor do I ſay it was: But his withdrawing his Perſon and Authority was an actual quitting of the Government. Whatever it is in Law, I am ſure, in common Senſe, the Throne is actually empty when No-body is in it; and No-body is in it when there is no Authority in the Nation to adminiſter the Government; and when the Throne is empty, the Eſtates of the Realm (who are the only ſupream Authority when there is no Monarch) muſt fill it again, unleſs the Government muſt diſſolve, and then there is an End of all Rights and Claims; and this they have done, not by turning an antient hereditary Monarchy into an elective, but by placing the next *undoubted* Heir on the Throne. And tho' he never intended to give up his Right and future Claim, yet he has done what he never intended to do. When the Throne is empty it muſt be filled;

and when it is declared vacant, and filled by the ſupream Authority of the Nation, there is no Room for him there.

As for the Convention of Eſtates: When there was no King on the Throne, we do not pretend that they were a formal Parliament; for that muſt have a King at the Head of it; and therefore, as is obſerved in the Declaration, they could impoſe no legal Taxes on Subjects, nor did they attempt it; but yet they were not a Company of Men illegally met together, without Authority to do any Thing; but they met at the Requeſt, and under the Protection of the then Prince of *Orange*, upon the fundamental Reaſons of the Conſtitution itſelf, as the ſole Judges of all Diſputes relating to the Crown. Such Diſputes will ſometimes happen, and if there be no legal Judges of it, the Sword muſt decide it; and that is a State of War, not of Civil Government, which all Governments are ſuppoſed to provide againſt; and yet, if the Convention of the Eſtates are not the proper Judges in ſuch Caſes, it is certain there are none; and then the Civil Government is diſſolved; we are in a State of War, and muſt ſubmit to the *longeſt Sword:* But this is ſo fully and plainly ſtated in the late ingenious *Reflections on the Caſe of Allegiance to a King in Poſſeſſion*, from *p.* 26, to *p.* 34. that to ſhorten this Letter as much as I can, I ſhall refer you to that Author for further Satisfaction.

So that Freeholders are not at all concerned in this Matter. A Convention of Eſtates without a King, cannot meddle with their Properties without a Diſſolution of the Government; but when there is no King, or it is a Queſtion whether there be or not, or who is King by the fundamental Conſtitution of the Government, the Convention of the Eſtates are the ſole and proper Judges of it; in whoſe Determination all private Subjects are bound in Conſcience to acquieſce. And the late King need not complain of this, as if it made the Titles of Princes to their Crowns very uncertain and arbitrary; for he had an unqueſtionable Title to his Crown, and might have held it to this Day, if he himſelf had not undermined it, by breaking in upon the Laws, and even upon the Conſtitution itſelf, upon which his Right was founded. This occaſioned ſuch a Revolution as forced him to abdicate, and to leave it to a Convention to declare his Throne *vacant*, and to fill it.

DECLARATION.

But ſince ſome Men, who could not ſay one Word in Defence of the Juſtice of theſe Proceedings, would yet take great Pains to ſhew the Neceſſity of them, and ſet forth the extraordinary good Effects that were to be expected from ſo very bad a Cauſe; We do not doubt but the Nation has by this Time caſt up the Account, and when they ſhall have well conſidered what Wonders might have been performed with leſs Expence of Engliſh *Blood, than that which has been unneceſſarily trifled away in this Quarrel; that ſuch a Number of Ships of War have been loſt and deſtroyed in the three Years laſt paſt, as might alone have been ſufficient to have made a conſiderable Fleet; that more Money has been drained out of the Purſes of Our Subjects in Compaſs of that Time, than during the whole*

whole Reigns of many of Our Predeceſſors put together; and that not as formerly, ſpent again, and circulating among them, but tranſported, in Specie, *into Foreign Parts, and forever loſt to the Nation: When theſe and many other Particulars of this Nature are caſt up, it muſt certainly appear at the Foot of the Account, how much worſe the Remedy is than the fancied Diſeaſe; and that, at leaſt hitherto, the Kingdom is no great Gainer by the Change.*

OBSERVATIONS.

I doubt his late Majeſty is miſinformed; for there are not only *ſome*, but a great many, who have more than *one Word* to ſay, both for the *Juſtice*, and the *Neceſſity* of theſe Proceedings, and the whole Nation already feels *the extraordinary good Effects of them*, notwithſtanding the Expence of Blood and Treaſure, of which he complains; for we know whom we are to thank for that; and the beſt Way to prevent the Effuſion of more Blood, and the Expence of more Money, is to keep out his *French Troops*, and to know when we are well. Revolutions are and will be bloody, and chargeable, and therefore one *Revolution* is enough for one Age; the *Dutch* are already paid, and we do not deſire to pay the *French* too; which is a much longer Account, and we ſhall get leſs by it; we have hitherto had ſomething for our Money, and ſomething that is very valuable; our *Laws* and *Liberties* and *Religion*; but I believe the Nation will think it a hard Bargain to pay ten Times the Price for *French Popery*, and *Slavery*.

The Nation, as he ſays, has *caſt up the Account*, and I believe above nineteen Parts in twenty, have conſidered the Matter ſo well, that they are come to a fixt Reſolution to oppoſe the intended *Invaſion*, to the utmoſt of their Power.

As for the Loſs of the *Ships* of *War*, it now appears, (God for ever be praiſed for it) that *their Majeſties* have a *Fleet* ſtill left, conſiderable enough, and faithful too, (notwithſtanding all the Arts and Endeavours of our Enemies, to debauch them from their Allegiance) to deal with, and even to deſtroy the *Naval Power* of *France*.

DECLARATION.

The next Conſideration is, what may reaſonably be expected for the Time to come; and as to that, no better Judgment can be made of any future Events, than by reflecting upon what is paſt; and doubtleſs from the Obſervation of the Temper and Complexion, the Methods and Maxims of the preſent Uſurper, from the Steps he has already taken, when it was moſt neceſſary for him to give no Diſtaſte to the People, as well as from the Nature of all Uſurpation, which can never be ſupported but by the ſame Ways of Fraud and Violence by which it was firſt ſet up, there is all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that the Beginning of this Tyranny, like the five firſt Years of Nero, *is like to prove the mildeſt Part of it; and all they have yet ſuffered is but the Beginning of the Miſeries, which*

which thoſe very Men, who were the great Promoters of the Revolution, may yet live to ſee and feel, as the Effect of that illegal and tyrannical Government, which they themſelves firſt impoſed upon the Kingdoms.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is no Anſwer needs to be given to this, which may always be ſaid of the beſt Beginnings of the beſt Government: We for our Part find no Fault with his *Majeſty*'s Government yet, and ſee no Reaſon to ſuſpect it for the future: Taxes are the only Cauſe of Complaint now, and yet few complain of them but *Jacobites*, who out of their great Zeal for the late *King*, pay double Taxes to the preſent Government to keep him out, which does him more Miſchief than *Jacobite* Oaths could do; and yet, Thanks be to God, we have a hopeful Proſpect of the End of theſe Taxes, and have been ſo well repaid of late, that we ſhall not grudge to clear the Account, that we may have ſomething to call our own; but of all Men in the World, (excepting always *his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*) the *late King* ſhould not attempt to frighten us with the Dangers of Miſ-government, for a good Reaſon, in which himſelf is too nearly concerned, and which *all Engliſh Proteſtant Subjects* very well know. As to what relates to the *firſt five Years of* Nero, this certainly is a Piece of the *Secretary*'s own *Pedantry*, to ſhew his great Reading, and to impart to us one of the choiceſt Secrets in the *Roman* Hiſtory. All Compariſons of Princes with *Nero* are very odious; but I know not how he could have made one more to the Advantage of *King William*, than to compare his *Reign* hitherto with *the five firſt Years of* Nero, which the *Roman* Hiſtorians tell us may compare with that of the beſt of their Emperors; but however, this I am ſure of, that it is better to begin a *Reign* as *Nero* did, than to begin where he ended, as *two* other *Kings* have done, and to go on to improve and perfect that ill *Pattern*; to which, if God had not mercifully prevented it, they were, not above a Month ago, juſt ready to have given their *laſt Hand*, and the *finiſhing Strokes*.

DECLARATION.

And yet the Conſideration muſt not reſt here neither; for all wiſe Men ought, and all good Men will take Care of their Poſterity; and therefore it is to be remembred, that if it ſhould pleaſe Almighty God, as one of his ſevereſt Judgments upon theſe Kingdoms, for the many Rebellions and Perjuries they have been guilty of, ſo far to permit the Continuation of the preſent Uſurpation, that We ſhould not be reſtored during our Life-time, yet an indiſputable Title to the Crown will ſurvive in the Perſon of our deareſt Son the Prince of Wales, *our preſent Heir-apparent, and his Iſſue; and for Default of that, in the Iſſue of ſuch other Sons, as We have great Reaſon to hope, (the Queen being now with Child) We may yet leave behind Us; and what the Conſequences of that is like to be, may eaſily be underſtood by all that are not Strangers to the long and bloody Contentions between the*

he two Houſes of York *and* Lancaſter; *and whoever ſhall read the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, and there ſhall have preſented to him, as in one View, a Scene of all the Miſeries of an inteſtine War; the perpetual harraſſing of the poor Commons by Plunder and free Quarter; the Ruin of many noble Families, by frequent Executions and Attainders; the weakning of the whole Kingdom in general at Home, and the loſing thoſe Advantages they might in the mean Time have procured for themſelves Abroad, cannot but conclude, that theſe are the natural Effects of thoſe Strugglings and Convulſions that muſt neceſſarily happen in every State, where there is a Diſpute entailed between an injured Right and an unjuſt Poſſeſſion.*

OBSERVATIONS.

This will need but a very ſhort Anſwer; for as to the Civil Wars he threatens our Poſterity with from the Pretences of the *Prince of Wales*, I muſt needs ſay, I had rather, if it muſt come to fighting, that they ſhould fight for the Crown twenty or thirty Years hence, than now. *Give Peace in our Days, O Lord.* I had rather our Poſterity ſhould enſlave themſelves, if they ſhall have a Mind to be enſlaved, then that we ſhould enſlave ourſelves, and our Poſterity with us. There is no ſuch Haſte of bringing in *Popery* and *Slavery*; and it is to be hoped, if we be true to our *Religion* and *Liberties*, our Poſterity may grow wiſe by our Example; but I muſt obſerve, that whereas the *Prince* of *Wales* in this *Engliſh Declaration* is called the *Heir-apparent*, in the *French* Declaration he is called only the *Preſumptive Heir*. Perhaps *Preſumptive Heir* in the *French* Law may be the ſame with *Heir-apparent* in *ours*: If it be not, what did Sir *E. H.* or whoever was the Penman of this *Declaration*, mean by it? Will they ſet aſide the Pretences of the *Prince* of *Wales*, if the *late* Queen *Mary* (who is ſaid to be with Child) in good Truth bring forth a Son. This looks very ſuſpiciouſly, as if they did not believe they had given ſufficient Satisfaction about the *Birth* of this pretended *Prince of Wales*; but however, we muſt preſume him Prince of *Wales* till they have another, whom they can by better Proof make out to be the unqueſtionable Son of the late Queen *Mary*.

DECLARATION.

There is another Conſideration that ought to be of Weight with all Chriſtians; *and that is the calamitous Condition of* Europe, *now almoſt univerſally engaged in a War among themſelves, at a Time when there was the greateſt Hopes of Succeſs againſt the* common Enemy, *and the faireſt Proſpect of enlarging the Bounds of the* Chriſtian *Empire, that ever was in any Age ſince the declining of the* Roman: *And ſo far from the Hopes of a general Peace before our Reſtoration, that no rational Project of a Treaty can be formed in order to it; but that once done, the Thing will be eaſy, and we ſhall be ready to offer our Mediation, and interpoſe all the good Offices we can with* his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty *for the obtaining of it.*

O B-

OBSERVATIONS.

This whole Period is a ſharp and perpetual *Satyr* againſt the *French* King; for who has been the great Diſturber of the Peace of *Europe*, but his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty? With whom are all the Princes of *Europe* at War but with him? Who elſe has hindered the Succeſs againſt the common Enemy, and the enlargeing the Bounds of the Chriſtian Empire? Who invited the *Turk* into *Europe?* Who encourages him to continue the War, after ſo many fatal Defeats, which may probably prove the Ruin of his whole Empire? In a Word, what other Chriſtian Prince is the *Great Turk*'s Ally and Confederate in this War? And is not this War continued and encouraged by all the Power and Intereſt of the *French* King, on Purpoſe to diſturb the Peace of *Europe*, that while the *Imperial* Forces are otherwiſe employed, he may make a Prey of his weaker Neighbours? It is decent to ſpare crowned Heads, and ſuch as have been crowned; but the Penman of this Declaration deſerves his Reward for putting in ſo many notorious Falſhoods, as may juſtly call the Truth and Sincerity of the Whole in Queſtion. I know but one Excuſe for him, that he has made it almoſt all of a Piece; and though he has had little Regard to Truth, yet he has ſo ordered the Matter, that he can deceive No-body but thoſe who have a great Mind to be deceived; and it is not amiſs that ſuch ſhould be gratified.

Who but the late King could hope to perſuade the World, that to reſtore him to his Kingdoms is abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace of *Europe*; that before his Reſtoration no rational Projects of a Treaty can be formed in order to a Peace? He may be miſtaken in this; for the *French* King may quickly be glad to make Peace, and leave him and his Reſtoration out of the Treaty; for Things are come to that Extremity now, that it is in vain to think of Peace, till *Lewis the Great* be reduced to ſuch a State as to accept it, and unable to break it; and then this Argument returns upon him; for the Peace of *Europe* is a neceſſary Reaſon why he ſhould not be reſtored, as I obſerved in my former Letter.

But he who could fancy himſelf to be a proper and effectual Mediator for a Peace, if he were reſtored, muſt have Liberty to fancy any Thing; and it is happy for him that he has ſo comfortable an Imagination: I do really pity him too much to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs him of it; becauſe that would be to undo him more than he is already undone.

DECLARATION.

Since therefore We come with ſo good Purpoſes, and ſo good a Cauſe, the Juſtice of which is founded upon the Laws both of God and Man; ſince the Peace of Europe, *as well as of Our own Kingdoms, the Proſperity of preſent and future Ages is concerned in the Succeſs of it, We hope We ſhall meet with little Oppoſition, but that all Our loving Subjects, according to the Duty and the Oath of their*

their Allegiance, and as We hereby command and require them to do, will join with Us, and aſſiſt Us to the utmoſt of their Power.

OBSERVATIONS.

I can ſay little to this; the Event will beſt ſhew, whether the People of *England* will think his Cauſe ſo good, and the Reaſons for his *Reſtoration* ſo preſſing, as to aſſiſt him in it.

DECLARATION.

And We do hereby ſtrictly forewarn and prohibit any of Our Subjects whatſoever, either by collecting or paying any of the illegal Taxes lately impoſed upon the Nation, or any Part of Our Revenue, or by any other Ways to abet or ſupport the preſent Uſurpation. And that We may do all that can be thought of to win over all Our Subjects to Our Service, that ſo, if it be poſſible, We may have none but the Uſurper and his foreign Troops to deal with; and that none may be forced to continue in their Rebellion by Deſpair of our Mercy for what they have already done, We do hereby declare and promiſe, by the Word of a King, That all Perſons whatſoever, how guilty ſoever they may have been (except the Perſons following, viz. *The Duke of* Ormond, *Marquiſs of* Winchester, *Earl of* Sunderland, *Earl of* Bath, *Earl of* Danby, *Earl of* Nottingham, *Lord* Newport, *Biſhop of* London, *Biſhop of St.* Aſaph, *Lord* Delamere, *Lord* Wiltſhire, *Lord* Colcheſter, *Lord* Cornbury, *Lord* Dunblane, John *Lord* Churchil, *Sir* Robert Howard, *Sir* John Worden, *Sir* Samuel Grimſtone, *Sir* Stephen Fox, *Sir* George Treby, *Sir* Baſil Dixwel, *Sir* James Oxendon, *Dr.* Tillotſon, *Dean of* Canterbury, *Dr.* Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruſſel, Richard Leviſon, John Trenchard, *Eſquires*; Charles Duncomb, *Citizen of* London, Edwards, Napleton, Hunt, *Fiſherman, and all others who offer'd perſonal Indignities to Us at* Feverſham; *except alſo all Perſons who, as Judges or Jury-men, or otherwiſe, had a Hand in the barbarous Murder of Mr.* John Aſhton, *and of Mr.* Croſs, *or of any others who have been illegally condemned and executed for their Loyalty to Us; and all Spies, and ſuch as have betrayed Our Counſels during Our late Abſence from* England) *that by an early Return to their Duties, and by any ſignal Mark of it, as by ſeizing to Our Uſe, or delivering into Our Hands any of Our Forts, or by bringing over to Us any Ships of War, or Troops in the Uſurper's Army, or any new-raiſed and armed by themſelves, or by any other eminent good Service, according to their ſeveral Opportunities and Capacities ſhall manifeſt the ſincerity of their Repentance, ſhall not only have their reſpective Pardons immediately paſſed under the Great Seal of* England, *but ſhall otherwiſe be conſidered and rewarded by Us, as the Merit of their Caſe ſhall require. And for all others who, after the Time of Our landing, ſhall not appear in Arms againſt Us, nor do any Act or Thing in Oppoſition to Our Reſtoration, the Perſons before-mentioned only excepted, We ſhall provide in Our firſt Parliament (which We intend to call with all conve-*

nient Speed) by a general Act of Indemnity, that ſo the Minds of all Our Subjects may be as quiet, and as much at Eaſe, as their Perſons and Properties will be ſecure and inviolable under Our Government.

Provided always, That all Magiſtrates, who expect any Benefit of Our gracious Pardon, ſhall immediately, after Notice of Our landing, make ſome Publick Manifeſtation of their Allegiance to Us, and of their Submiſſion to Our Authority; and alſo publiſh and cauſe to be proclaimed this Our Declaration, as ſoon as it ſhall come to their Hands; and likewiſe that all Keepers *of Priſons immediately ſet at Liberty all Perſons committed to their Cuſtody upon the Account of their Allegiance and Affection to Us, or be excluded from any Benefit of Our Pardon.*

And We do hereby further declare, That all Officers or Soldiers by Sea or Land, now engaged in the Uſurper's Service, who ſhall, after Notice of Our landing, at any Time before they engage in any Fight or Battle againſt Our Forces, quit the ſaid illegal Service, and return to their Duty, ſhall not only have their reſpective Pardons, but ſhall likewiſe be fully ſatisfied and paid all the Arrears due to them from the Uſurper: And that even the Foreigners themſelves, who have been as well in Troops as ſingle Perſons drawn into this Kingdom, in order to liſt them as there ſhould be Occaſion for the oppoſing Our Return, and continuing Our People in the Oppreſſion they lie under, may not be altogether driven to deſpair, We do promiſe, that all ſuch of them as ſhall, as aforeſaid, before they engage againſt any of our Forces, lay down their Arms, and claim the Benefit of Our preſent Declaration, ſhall have their Arrears ſatisfied, and Care ſhall be taken for their Tranſportation to their reſpective Countries, or elſewhere, as they ſhall reaſonably deſire.

OBSERVATIONS.

Let us now conſider the Grace and Favour promiſed in this *Declaration*. For *Grace* and *Pardon*, &c. are very good Things, when we need them; but yet no Man would chuſe to need them if he could help it. If the *late King's Reſtoration* were deſirable upon other Accounts, and nothing hindered Subjects from returning to their Duty and Allegiance but Fear of Puniſhment for what is paſt, the Promiſe of *Pardon* would be a very good Argument to encourage Subjects to aſſiſt him in his Return; but merely that we ſhall be pardoned, is no Argument to bring him back; becauſe, we ſhall need no Pardon if we don't; and that is always the ſureſt Side, to need no Pardon, much ſurer than any Promiſe of *Pardon* the *late King* can make.

And yet he has uſed that great Caution in his Promiſe of Pardon, as if he were afraid we ſhould expect more than he intends to give, and ſhould charge him with a new Breach of Promiſe, when we come to *Tower-Hill* or *Tyburn*.

We ſee whom he has excepted, but 'tis not eaſy to know who is pardoned; the Truth is, he has put all the Subjects of *England* under a Neceſſity of forfeiting their Pardon, when he recovers his Throne, or of being hang'd or *mobb'd*, at leaſt of venturing both, before *he* can be in a Condition to pardon. All are excepted from this Pardon, who ſhall either *appear in Arms againſt him, or do any*

Act

Act or Thing in Oppoſition to his Reſtoration. Now, *to collect or pay any of the illegal Taxes, or any Part of the Revenue of the Crown*, are expreſsly forbid, *as abetting or ſupporting the preſent Uſurpation*; and therefore, to pay Taxes is one of the *Acts or Things* which excludes from Pardon; and this excepts the whole Nation at once. And for the Comfort of the *Clergy*, to pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and for the Succeſs of their Arms, eſpecially after the *late King* is landed, will certainly be *doing an Act or Thing in Oppoſition to his Reſtoration.* And all *Magiſtrates* are in a very hopeful Condition, who are excluded from Pardon, unleſs they ſhall *immediately, after Notice of his Landing, make ſome publick Manifeſtation of their Allegiance to Him, and of their Submiſſion to his Authority, and cauſe his Declaration to be proclaim'd as ſoon as it ſhall come to their Hands.*

This is a very *gracious Pardon*, which Men muſt purchaſe at the Price of their Necks, and yet how far this *Pardon* will extend we know not; it may be only to *Life*, for here is no Mention of *Fortunes* or *Honours*; and yet it is but a meer *Pardon*; here is not one kind Word given to the *Proteſtant Nobility, Gentry, or Clergy*; no Promiſe to employ them in his *Councils*, or any *Civil* or *Military* Truſts; and when we know how he has hitherto kept his Promiſes, we have little Reaſon to expect that he will now do more than he has promiſed.

But beſides the *Exceptions* from Pardon in general Words, which upon one Account or other do involve the whole Nation, there are ſome Things very remarkable as to the *Perſons* by *Name* excepted. Moſt of them, I believe, are not ſorry for it, becauſe they know their Caſe would have been the ſame had they not been excepted; and poſſibly others may hope their Caſe may be the better for being excepted. But why Sir *St. F.* and Sir. *S. Gr*? They are both of them very worthy and honeſt Gentlemen, and I dare almoſt be their *Compurgator* as to having had any hand in *Revolutions*: But I muſt confeſs both of them have Eſtates very worthy to be accepted. And ſome ſuch Reaſon probably there may be for excepting Sir *J. Q.* and Sir *B. D.* of *Kent*; for it cannot but come into every body's Mind, how conveniently their Eſtates lie to make a Compenſation to Sir *E. H.* for his great Merits and Sufferings. But why deſcend ſo low as to except poor *Hunt*, the Fiſherman? This I take to be a true ſtroke *of Secretary Melfort's Popiſh Bigotry*, and put in on purpoſe to let us know, that effectual Care will be taken, that the *late King*, whenever he returns, ſhall have ſo *exact* a Memory, that the Merits of the meaneſt Man in *England* ſhall not be forgotten. You ſee what the Pardon is, and thoſe who like it may merit it, if they pleaſe.

DECLARATION.

And We do hereby further declare and promiſe, That We will protect and maintain the Church of England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed, in all their Rights, Privileges, and Poſſeſſions: And that upon all Vacancies of Biſhopricks, and other Dignities and Benifices within our Diſpoſal, Care ſhall be taken to have them filled with the moſt worthy of their own Communion.*

OBSERVATIONS.

Here he promiſes to protect and defend the *Church of England*, which will be a great Favour indeed from him, if he ſhould return with a *French Power*. But the *Church of England* is protected already by *Princes*, who think it their Duty to do it: And we think ourſelves much ſafer in the *Inclinations* of a *Proteſtant* King and Queen, than we can be in all the *Promiſes* of a *zealous Papiſt*. And therefore this can be no Argument in our Caſe; becauſe it offers us a worſe Security for our Protection than what we already have; for it is always great Odds on *Nature*'s Side. And yet this Promiſe to the *Church of England* ſeems fainter and cooler than ſome he has formerly made, which is all the Reaſon we have to expect it will be better kept; eſpecially there being not the leaſt Intimation of the Breach of his former Promiſes, nor any Excuſe made for it. And it is fit to be obſerved, that whereas he promiſes, that *upon all Vacancies of Biſhopricks, and other Dignities and Benifices within Our Diſpoſal, Care ſhall be taken to have them filled with the moſt worthy of their own Communion*; there is not one Word ſaid of *Univerſities* and *Colleges*; though the Caſe of *Magdalen College* is ſo very notorious, and ſo freſh in every Man's Memory, that there is hardly a *Yeoman* or *Artificer* in the Nation, that has not a lively Remembrance of it. *Church of England-men* then ſhall at preſent have the *Churches*, and *Papiſts* the *Colleges*, to breed up a *Roman Catholick* Succeſſion of *honeſt Obadiah*'s.

DECLARATION.

And whereas more Tumults and Rebellions have been rais'd in all Nations upon the Account of Religion, than on all other Pretences put together, and more in England *than in all the reſt of the World beſides; That therefore Men of all Opinions in Matters of Religion may be reconciled to the Government, that they may no longer look upon it as their Enemy, but may therefore think themſelves equally concern'd in the Preſervation of it with the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, becauſe they are equally well treated by it; and being convinc'd in Our Judgment, that Liberty of Conſcience is moſt agreeable to the Laws, and* the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion, *and moſt conducing to the Wealth and Proſperity of Our Kingdoms, by encouraging Men of all Countries and Perſuaſions to come and trade with Us, and ſettle amongſt Us; For theſe Reaſons We are reſolved moſt earneſtly to recommend to Our* Parliament *the ſettling* Liberty of Conſcience *in ſo beneficial a Manner, that it may remain a laſting Bleſſing to this Kingdom.*

OBSERVATIONS.

In this *Paragraph*, for the *Peace of the Nation*, and for the Advancement of *Trade*, he promiſes *earneſtly to recommend to the Parliament the ſettling Liberty of Conſcience:* But this is no Argument to the *Diſſenters* to help forward another *Revolution*, becauſe they have it already in as full and ample a Manner

as

as it can be given them. All that he can add to this, is Liberty of Conſcience for *Papiſts*, and the *Repeal* of the *Teſt*, which coſt him ſo much *cloſetting* to no Purpoſe, and now is promis'd as a *Favour:* What *Proteſtant Diſſenters will think of it*, I leave them to conſider.

But when he ſays, *We are convinc'd in Our Judgment that Liberty of Conſcience is moſt agreeable to the Laws, and to the Spirit of the Chriſtian Religion*, methinks theſe *two Kings* treat one another with great Freedom. For what handſomer Compliment could have been made to the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, then to intimate that his Perſecution of his *Proteſtant Subjects* is not at all agreeable to the *Laws* or to the *Spirit* of the *Chriſtian Religion?* This is plain-dealing if the *French King* can bear it: But, I ſuppoſe they are agreed, that K. *J.* ſhall *declare* as is moſt fit for his Purpoſe, and the *French* King *do* what is moſt convenient for his own.

DECLARATION.

Laſtly, It ſhall be Our great Care, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Our Parliament, to repair the Breaches, and heal the Wounds of the late Diſtractions; to reſtore Trade, by putting the Act of Navigation in effectual Execution, which has been ſo much violated of late in Favour of Strangers; to put Our Navy and Stores into as good a Condition as We left them; to find the beſt Ways of bringing back Wealth and Bullion to the Kingdom, which of late has been ſo much exhauſted; and generally we ſhall delight to ſpend the Remainder of our Reign (as we have always deſign'd ſince Our coming to the Crown) in ſtudying to do every thing that may contribute to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Greatneſs of the Engliſh *Monarchy upon its old and true Foundation, the united Intereſt and Affection of the People.*

OBSERVATIONS.

What theſe *Breaches, and Wounds of the late Diſtractions* are, he does not tell us; and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe they are ſuch as are here mentioned. As for *reſtoring Trade*, it has not been loſt yet; the *Cuſtom-houſe* does not complain of it, which is commonly the firſt that feels it. The *Navy* is in a much better Condition than he left it, if we may gueſs at that by its late Exploits: But if he be ſo well ſkilled *in reſtoring Navies*, he ought, both in Charity and Gratitude, now to ſtay a little longer in *France*. As for his *bringing back Wealth and Bullion into the Nation*, I believe, the Nation would have been better pleaſed, if he would have promiſed to ſend none out. And as for his *concluding* Promiſe, in theſe words, *And generally We ſhall delight to ſpend the Remainder of Our Reign (as We have always deſign'd ſince Our coming to the Crown) in ſtudying to do every thing that may contribute to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Greatneſs of the* Engliſh *Monarchy upon its old and true Foundations, the united Intereſt and Affection of the People.* This is *plain-dealing*, and ſureſt to be made good of any thing in the *Declaration.* And if he does this *now, as he always deſigned*

to

to do it (for he could not then do all that he *deſigned* to do) here is a renewed Promiſe of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power:* And thoſe are unpardonable Infidels, who will not take his Word for it.

DECLARATION.

Thus having endeavoured to anſwer all Objections, and give all the Satisfaction We can think of to all Parties and Degrees of Men, We cannot want Ourſelves the Satisfaction of having done all that can be done on Our Part, whatever the Event ſhall be; the Diſpoſal of which we commit with great Reſignation and Dependance to that God who judges right: And on the other Side, if any of our Subjects, after all this, ſhall remain ſo obſtinate, as to appear in Arms againſt Us, as they muſt needs fall unpitied under the Severity of Our Juſtice, after having refuſed ſuch gracious Offers of Mercy; ſo they muſt be anſwerable to Almighty God for all the Blood that ſhall be ſpilt, and all the Miſeries and Confuſions in which theſe Kingdoms may happen to be involved, by their deſperate and unreaſonable Oppoſition.

Given at our *Court* at *St. Germains*, this preſent 20*th* of *April*, 1692, in the *Eighth* Year of our *Reign*.

Per ipſum Regem manu propriâ.

OBSERVATIONS.

Thus the *Declaration* ends, and it is Time for me to end too. After theſe *Obſervations*, you will be able to comprehend both the wiſe Deſign of this *Declaration*, and how likely it is to have its Effect, provided it can but gain theſe two eaſy Points: Firſt, to perſuade King *William* to quit the Crown for fear of loſing it; and then prevail with the People to believe, that *two other Kings*, whom I will not name, will, for this once, put off their Natures, and out of a particular Reſpect and Kindneſs to the *Engliſh* Church and Nation, quit all Thoughts of introducing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* here in *England*.

Once more, *Sir*,

Farewel.

The

The State of the Church of ROME, *when the* Reformation *began, as it appears by the Advices given to* PAUL III. *and* JULIUS III. *by Creatures of their own. With a Preface leading to the Matter of the Book.*

The PREFACE.

THE Oppoſition that *Luther* made to Indulgences at firſt, and ſoon after to other Abuſes in the *Roman* Church, awakened many to enquire into the Reaſons of ſeveral Things in which they had hitherto acquieſced without partlicuar Examination; which Liberty, ſo dangerous to the Intereſt of the *Roman* See, ſoon brought upon *Luther*, who was ſo notable an Example of it, no little Trouble from thence; inſomuch that he found himſelf conſtrained to appeal to a General Council; an Expedient no leſs hated by the Court of *Rome*, which had not yet forgotten the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, than it was generally deſired by all the better Sort of Men, as before for the reforming of Abuſes, ſo now for the quieting of Controverſies in Religion.

Leo the Xth being dead, who had not been wanting, for his Part, to ſuppreſs theſe Beginnings of a new Inquiſition into the Authority of Popes, was ſucceeded by *Adrian* VI. about four Years after *Luther*'s Declaration. *Adrian*, like an honeſt Man, ingenuouſly confeſſed, that this Diſtreſs was juſtly come upon the Holy See, as a Puniſhment of thoſe Abominations that had been committed in it, and promiſed to the World a Reformation; but the *German* Princes inſiſted to have a free and general Council called, which was by no Means well taken to the Court by *Rome*; whereupon the ſecular Princes ſent their Manifeſto to the Pope of the *Centum Gravamina*, or the hundred Grievances which they had ſuffered from that Court. But *Adrian* died (not without vehement Suſpicion of foul Play) before he had ſat two Years in the Chair; and with him died almoſt all that was honeſt and good in the *Roman* Court.

Clement VII. comes next to the Papacy, who of all Things could not endure the Thoughts of a General Council, in Times, wherein he was ſure the Pope's Authority would be called in Queſtion; he therefore laboured againſt it with all imaginable Induſtry and Artifice: But it being impoſſible to ſatisfy thoſe that had not yet openly withdrawn themſelves from the Obedience of that See, without ſeeming to condeſcend to the general Deſire of *Chriſtendom* in this Matter, he tried at length to pacify them, by making Promiſes of calling a Council,

Council, which it was plain to wiſe Men he never intended to perform ; ſince at firſt he would neither ſay where, nor when it ſhould be held, and at length, when the Emperor preſſed hard upon him, he abſolutely inſiſted, that the Council might be held in *Italy* ; a Condition, which (as Things then ſtood) he was ſure would not be ſubmitted to.

Then comes *Paul* III. as great a Diſſembler as ever lived, who knew no leſs than his Predeceſſors, how fatal ſuch a Council as was deſired muſt neceſſarily be to the Gentlemen of the *Roman* See. He found, that it was but more paſſionately deſired for being refuſed, and was indeed put to the utmoſt Stretch of his Talent to keep a Temper in ſo difficult a Caſe ; but being the fitteſt Perſon in the World to do what was poſſible in this nice Juncture, he put off, for ſome Time, the Indiction of a Council, under the Pretence of an earneſt Deſire to call one ; but when that Artifice was ſtale, he delayed the opening of it, after it was called ; and when nothing elſe would do, he knew the beſt Ways how to manage and govern it, and to make the World believe all the while that it was unconſtrained and free.

But in the third Year of his Popedom, the Clamour of the World being upon him for neither calling a Council, nor ſo much as performing his Promiſe of reforming the Court and the Church himſelf, he was forced to make ſome notable Semblance of the latter, that he might a little longer keep off the former. To this End, he required four Cardinals, and five other Prelates, to draw up, in the moſt impartial Manner, a formal Catalogue of Abuſes that needed a Reformation : Which accordingly was done in the former of the two following Advices that are here publiſhed.

The Trick was to make the Chriſtian Princes believe, that he that requir'd, and they who gave this Advice, were in good Earneſt. And ſo it was ſent into *Germany*, where it produced quite other Effects than were hoped from it ; for all Mens Mouths were opened againſt the Court more than they were before ; and the Court ſoon ſhewed, that this ſolemn Advice was but mere Artifice and Colluſion to amuſe the World, and to keep off the ſo much dreaded Council, as long as it was poſſible. As for the Pope himſelf, how well he was diſpoſed to follow the Rules of this Advice, appeared by the whole Courſe of Things afterwards ; for his Buſineſs all along was to ſupport the Abſoluteneſs of the *Roman* See, and to maintain, " That all Judgment in Matters " of Religion ought to be referred to the Apoſtolic See, and that divine and " human Laws, and the Conſent of Ages, had given to the Pope the ſupreme " Authority, as of calling Councils, ſo of determining and ordering Things " that regard the Unity and Advantage of the Church ; [h]" as he told the Emperor roundly, in a Letter to him, about ſeven Years after.

As for the Courtiers that gave the Advice, one of them was the *Theatine* Cardinal, *John Peter Caraffa*, who was eighteen Years after Pope, by the Name of *Paul* IV. and who therefore had it in his Power to put the Counſel he gave to *Paul* III. into Execution, if any ſuch Thing had been in his

[h] *Padr. Paol. Aug.* 5, according to ſome Copies, 24, 1544.

Mind.

Mind. But nothing could be more inconſiſtent with his Counſel than his Practice was: The Advice acknowledged, that the unbounded Licentiouſeneſs of Popes in breaking Laws, and doing whatever they had a Mind to do, had reduced *Chriſtendom* to its deplorable Condition. But this Man yielded not to any of his Predeceſſors in Pride, and lawleſs Liberty; he vouchſafed not to allow ſecular Princes fit to be his Companions; he began his Papacy with breaking the Oath of Capitulation, uſually made in the Conclave, and upon that Occaſion, declared it to be an Article of Faith, that the Pope could not be bound: He made himſelf ſo odious to the World, and eſpecially to the Citizens of *Rome*, by Perfidiouſneſs and Oppreſſion, that the Rage of the People againſt his Name and Family could not be appeaſed, but by doing the moſt publick Diſgraces to him after he was dead.

Now whether *Paul* IV. when Cardinal, gave ſome good Advice for Faſhion-ſake, or having had ſome good Purpoſes once, laid them all aſide when he came to be Pope, I ſhall not diſpute; but it is a plain Caſe, that theſe Men have confeſſed moſt horrible Scandals againſt themſelves; and that at a Time when their Obligations to reform them were the greateſt that the World could lay upon them, they moved not one Step towards a Reformation in good Earneſt, but made it their Buſineſs to baffle the Deſires and Hopes of all good Men; which ſhewed it to be the vaineſt Thing imaginable, to expect afterwards any Reformation by a Council under the Influence of the *Roman* Court; which, by their own Confeſſion, was guilty of all the Diſorders of the Church; or of ſuch Popes as thoſe, who, by their own Confeſſion, had been the chiefeſt Malefactors. The Decrees of an *Italian* Council, under the Direction of ſuch Managers as theſe, were not likely to be very holy ones; nor were Matters of Doctrine in a fair Way to be ſincerely deliberated upon, and determined truly, by thoſe who could not be brought to mend the moſt notorious Faults they confeſſed againſt themſelves; nor ſuch Points of Doctrine, to be ſure, as ſerved to ſupport thoſe Abuſes in Practice, which they were reſolved not to reform.

Certainly there could be no other Reaſon to imagine, that the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be preſent with ſuch a Council, excepting this only, that the Managers were brought to it with as much Difficulty, as if they had been ſure to meet the Holy Ghoſt there.

The Bull for Intimation of the Council was not publiſhed till five Years after the Advice, nor was it reſolved, that they ſhould begin till two Years after that, when the Pope furniſhed his Legates with Powers to diſſolve it, if it ſhould not be an obedient Council[i]; for no Man could certainly ſay with what Diſpoſitions, or in what Numbers, the *German*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* Biſhops might come; and it was good to provide againſt the worſt. It was yet about a Year before the Council was opened, and the Proceedings were then retarded by artificial Difficulties as well as accidental ones; and with all the Management it did not thoroughly pleaſe; and ſo, after frivolous Pretences, was in two Years

[i] Hiſtory of Council of *Trent*, P. 112.

Time, by a Majority of Voters, tranſlated to *Bolonia*, the *Imperialiſts* remaining ſtill in *Trent*. The *Papalins* muſt have it nearer Home, that they might tend it the better. But do what they could, they were obliged three Years after to re-aſſume it at *Trent*; the Loſs of which Point was therefore to be ſupplied with other Arts.

Pope *Paul* dying at this Time, was ſucceeded by *Julius* III. who thought fit to ſuſpend the Council for two Years; the Effect of which was, that it came not together till ten Years after. As for the Motives that influenced theſe Councils, and the Artifices that brought them to Effect, and the Intrigues with Princes, and the Advantages which the Court made of their oppoſite Intereſts, for bringing the Council to a good End; all this is to be ſeen in Father *Paul*'s Hiſtory, but the Particulars are too many to be touched here.

It was to *Julius* III. that the three Biſhops at *Bononia* addreſſed the ſecond Advice, as *Vergerius* relates this Matter, who beſt knew it, not to *Paul* III. as *Wolfius* delivers in his *Lectiones Memorabiles*, who, though he quoted *Vergerius*, had lighted upon a falſe Copy, in which that Paſſage at the End of the Advice, concerning our Queen *Mary*, was left out; which would have diſcovered that Miſtake of his, from whomſoever he had it, that it was found in the Palace, after the Death of *Paul* III. Certainly the Diſcovery of this Advice was the moſt fatal Thing that ever happened to the Reputation of the *Roman* Cauſe; and if it had not been upon the File againſt them now for above an hundred Years, I make no Queſtion but the Popiſh Gentlemen of this Age would run it down for a *ſham* Advice, forged by *Vergerius*, or ſome other Heretick, againſt the Church of *Rome*.

The Difference between that Advice of Nine to *Paul*, and this of Three to *Julius*, is in ſome Reſpects very conſiderable; particularly in this, that the Nine ſeemed to be ſerious, and were not; the Three were ſerious, and ſeemed not to be ſo; which makes the Advice of the former look like Sincerity, and that of the latter to look like Wit; whereas, in Truth, the one was very gravely given, without any Intention to have it followed; the other, with that Pleaſantneſs and Confidence that uſes to be amongſt Friends, but with Deſign of executing what was adviſed. But in this they agree, that as the Advice of the Nine repreſents the corrupt Practices of the *Roman* Communion, with the main Reaſons thereof, ſo that of the Three juſtly ſhews what Kind of Faith theirs is, and how it is to be ſupported.

Neither the one nor the other, that I know of, have yet had their Turn in *Engliſh*; but they are ſo very inſtructing, eſpecially the latter, that I thought a few Hours ſpent in tranſlating them into our Language would not be thrown away.

They are ſo plain that they need no Comment; and the Uſe that is to be made of them is ſo ready, that I need not make any Inference from them in Behalf of the meaneſt Reader; only it ſeemed reaſonable to give ſome ſhort Account of the Circumſtances of the Times in which theſe Things were done; which is all the Light that was requiſite for thoſe who may be Strangers to the Hiſtory of theſe Affairs.

The Advice given to Pope PAUL III. *by four Cardinals, and five other Prelates; whoſe Names are underwritten, in order to the Amendment of the State of the Church.*

Moſt Bleſſed Father,

WE are ſo unable to expreſs what mighty Thanks the whole Body of the Church is bound to pay to Almighty God, who has in theſe Times raiſed up you to be the ſupreme Biſhop and Paſtor of his Flock; and gives you likewiſe that Mind which you have, that we have no Hope, ſo much as to conceive how great they are. For that Spirit of God, by which, as the Prophet ſpeaks, the Heavens are made firm, has decreed, as we cannot but ſee, by your Hand to ſupport the Church, now that ſhe is not only leaning, but juſt falling headlong into Ruin; nay, to advance her to her ancient Eminence, and to reſtore her to her former Beauty.

It is no uncertain Conjecture of this Purpoſe of God, which we are enabled to make, whom your Holineſs called to you and required, that without any Regard had to you, or to any one elſe, we ſhould ſignify to you what thoſe Abuſes are, and moſt grievous Diſtempers, wherewith the Church of God, and eſpecially the Court of *Rome*, has for a long Time been affected, whereby alſo it has come to paſs, that theſe peſtilent Diſeaſes, growing to their Height by little and little, the Church, as we ſee, is upon the very Brink of Ruin. And becauſe your Holineſs (being taught by the Divine Spirit, who, as St. *Auſtin* ſays, does, without Noiſe of Words, ſpeak in the Heart) very well underſtands this to be the Original of theſe Miſchiefs; that ſome Popes, your Predeceſſors, having itching Ears, as ſays the Apoſtle *Paul*, heaped up Teachers after their own Luſts, not to learn from them, what they ought to do, but that they ſhould take Pains, and employ their Wit, to find out Ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleaſed: To which we may add, that as the Shadow follows the Body, ſo Flattery follows Greatneſs, and Truth can hardly find any Way to the Ears of Princes; hence it has come to paſs, that there have been Doctors ever ready to maintain, that all Benefices being the Pope's, and the Lord having a Right to ſell what is his own, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the Pope is not capable of the Guilt of *Simony*; inſomuch, that the Pope's Will and Pleaſure, whatever it be, muſt needs be the Rule for all that he does; which doubtleſs would end in believing every thing lawful that he had a Mind to do.

From this Source, as from the *Trojan* Horſe, thoſe ſo many Abuſes, and ſuch mortal Diſeaſes, have broken forth into the Church of God, which have reduced her, as we ſee, almoſt to a State of Deſparation: The Fame of theſe Things having come to the Ears even of Infidels (let your Holineſs believe us ſpeaking what we know) who deride Chriſtianity more for this, than for any thing elſe; ſo that thro' ourſelves, we muſt needs ſay through ourſelves, the Name of *Chriſt* is blaſphemed amongſt the Nations. As for you, moſt Holy Father, for ſo in truth you are, beſides that Prudence which you ſo long ſince have obtained, being alſo inſtructed by the Spirit of God, when you gave yourſelf wholly to thi Care, that the Church of *Chriſt*, wherewith you are entruſted, might be healeds of her Diſtempers, and recover a good State of Health, you ſaw, and you ſaw aright, that where the Diſeaſe grew at firſt, there the Remedy muſt begin: And following the Example of the Apoſtle *Paul*, you intended to be a Diſpenſer, and not a Lord, but to be found faithful in the Lord, like that Servant in the Goſpel, whom the Lord ſet over his Family, to give them their Food in their Seaſon; and in order to this, you reſolved at no hand to will that which is unlawful, nor to deſire the Power of doing what you ought not. For theſe Reaſons you called us to yourſelf, who, how unqualified ſoever we may be, in Point of Skill, for ſo weighty an Affair, do not yet want a good Affection towards the Honour and Glory of your Holineſs, and above all to the Reformation of the Church of *Chriſt*. You enjoined us, with moſt ſerious Expreſſions, that we ſhould go and bring together all thoſe Abuſes, and lay them before you, proteſting, that, if we proceeded herein negligently, and unfaithfully, the Account that ſhould be given to Almighty God of this Matter committed to our Truſt, ſhould be upon ourſelves. And that all Things might be more freely handled by us, and opened to you afterward, you bound us by an Oath, and under the Penalty of Excommunication, that we ſhould diſcover no Part of this our Truſt to any one whatſoever.

We therefore, in Obedience to your Command, have brought together thoſe Diſtempers, in as few Words as may be, and their Remedies, the moſt effectual, at leaſt, which we, for our Part could think upon. And now we rely upon your Goodneſs and Wiſdom to mend all thoſe Faults, and ſupply all thoſe Defects of the Performance, which are left in it, by reaſon of our Incompetency for this Undertaking.

But to reduce all our Thoughts to ſome certain Heads; ſince your Holineſs is both the Prince of theſe Provinces, which are the Eccleſiaſtic Eſtate and Territory, and withal the Governor of the Univerſal Church, and likewiſe the Biſhop of *Rome*; we have not taken upon ourſelves to ſpeak of thoſe Things which concern that Principality, which by your Prudence is ſo excellently governed as we ſee. We will touch upon theſe Matters only that belong to the Office of the Univerſal Paſtor, and ſome alſo that are proper to the *Roman* Biſhop.

Firſt of all then, we think, moſt Bleſſed Father, according to what *Ariſtotle* ſays in his *Politicks*, that, as in every other Common-wealth, ſo in the Eccleſiaſtic Government of the Church of *Chriſt*, it ſhould be eſteemed the principal Law

of

of all, that Laws ſhould be obſerved as much as is poſſible; and that it be not lawful to diſpenſe with the Laws, but for a Cauſe urgent and neceſſary. For no Cuſtom, introduced into a Common-wealth, can be more pernicious, than in Obſervance of Laws, which our Anceſtors thought were religiouſly to be kept, and doubted not to call their Authority Venerable and Divine. All theſe Things you know, moſt Excellent Pope; you have read them long ſince in the Philoſophers and Divines: But one Thing there is of Moment next to this, or rather of far greater Conſequence, as we think, that it is not lawful for the Pope, who is *Chriſt*'s Vicar, to make any Gain to himſelf of the Uſe of the Keys, of the Power of the Keys we ſay, which *Chriſt* hath committed to him. For this is the Commandment of *Chriſt*: *Freely ye have received, freely give.* Theſe Things being in the firſt Place provided for, ſince your Holineſs has the Care of *Chriſt*'s Church upon you, ſo that it may be furniſhed with divers Miniſters, by whom that Truſt is to be diſcharged; and that theſe are all the Clergy to whom divine Service is committed, the Presbyters eſpecially, and thoſe of them chiefly that have the Care of Souls, and above all the Biſhops; it follows, that in order to a right Proceeding in this Government, the firſt Care that is to be taken, is, that theſe Miniſters be ſuch that are fit for the Duties of their Function.

And here the firſt Abuſe in this Kind, is, that in the Ordination of Clerks, eſpecially of Presbyters, no Manner of Care and Diligence is uſed; but everywhere the moſt uneducated Youths, of the vileſt Parentage, ſet out with nothing but evil Manners, are admitted to Holy Orders, even to Prieſthood itſelf, though that be the Character which expreſſeth *Chriſt* more than all others. From hence grow innumerable Scandals; from hence comes the Contempt of the Eccleſiaſtick Order; and hence it is, that the Reverence of God's Worſhip is not only diminiſhed, but well nigh extinguiſhed. We think therefore the beſt Way would be, for your Holineſs to appoint two or three Prelates of Learning and Probity to look after this Matter, who ſhould govern the Ordinations of Clergymen, and then to enjoyn all Biſhops, under the Penalty of Cenſures, to take the like Care in their Dioceſſes. Nor ſhould your Holineſs ſuffer any to be ordained but by his own Biſhop, or with the Licence of his Biſhop, or ſuch as are deputed in the City. And every Biſhop ſhould provide a Maſter in his Church, for the Inſtruction of the inferior Orders of the Clergy, in good Learning, and good Manners, as the Law requires.

Another Abuſe, of a moſt grievous Nature, is in the Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, eſpecially with Cure of Souls, and above all of Biſhopricks; the Manner having been, that good Proviſion is made for thoſe who have the Benefices, but for the Flock of *Chriſt*, and the Church, none at all. In beſtowing therefore theſe Benefices with Care, and chiefly Biſhopricks, it is highly requiſite, that they be conferred upon good and learned Men, who are able by themſelves to diſcharge the Duties belonging thereto; and who withal, are moſt likely to be reſident; for which Reaſon, a Benefice in *Spain* or *Britain*, is not to be given to an *Italian*, nor the like; which Rule is to be obſerved both in Collations, when a Vacancy happens by the Deceaſe of the Incumbent, and in Ceſſions too; whereas now, no Regard is had to any thing elſe, but the Will

and

and Advantage of him that reſigns: We think therefore it would be very well, if one or more honeſt Men were appointed to govern this Buſineſs. Another Abuſe is, when Benefices are conferred, or reſigned to others, that Penſions are to be paid out of the Revenues; nay, and ſometimes he that reſigns, reſerves all the Profits to himſelf: In which Matter it is to be obſerved, that Penſions ought not to be allotted upon any other Account, but as certain Alms, which ſhould go for pious Uſes, and for the Relief of the Poor: For the Revenues are annexed to the Benefice, as the Body to the Mind, ſo that of their own Nature they belong to him that has the Benefice, that, according to his Rank, he may live honeſtly upon them, and be able to bear the Charge of divine Service, and to repair the Church, and the Houſes belonging to it; and that he ſhould ſpend what remains in pious Uſes: For this is the natural Employment of ſuch Revenues.

But, as in the Courſe of Nature, ſome Things are done otherwiſe than according to common Rules, and beſides the Inclination of univerſal Nature; ſo, as to the Pope, who is the univerſal Diſpenſer of eccleſiaſtical Benefices, if he ſees that the Portion of Prieſts, which ought to be laid out in pious Uſes, or ſome Part thereof, may be employed for ſome particular good Uſes; and that it would be moſt expedient it ſhould be ſo, he may, without Doubt, provide accordingly. He may therefore very lawfully ſet a Portion upon a Benefice, for the Relief of an indigent Perſon, eſpecially a Clergyman, that he may be able to live, in ſome meaſure, according to his Order. But it is a great Abuſe that all the Fruits ſhould be reſerved, and that wholly taken away which is to ſerve for the Maintenance of Divine Service, and the Support of the Incumbent: And that Penſions ſhould be given to rich Clergymen, who can live conveniently enough upon the Revenues which they have, is ſurely a great Abuſe, alſo, and both of them are to be removed.

There is another Abuſe alſo in the changing of Benefices, upon Contracts that are all of them *Simonical*, and in which no regard is had to any thing but Gain. Another Abuſe, to be taken away all altogether, has prevailed in this Court, by the Knavery of certain Perſons that are ſhrewd in their Way: For whereas the Law provides, that Benefices cannot be given away by Will, becauſe they are not the Teſtators, but the Church's Fee; and that the Church's Patrimony ſhould be continued as a common Proviſion in the Behalf of all good Men, but never grow into a private Eſtate: No little Pains have been taken, in which more of worldly Wiſdom than Chriſtian Honeſty is to be ſeen, to find out divers Tricks for the eluding of the Law. For Biſhopricks, and other Benefices are reſigned, firſt, with a Condition of reſuming them; to which is added, a Reſervation to collate the Benefices belonging to them; with another Reſervation to adminiſter and govern. And ſo here comes to be a Biſhop, who has not ſo much as one Right of a Biſhop, while the other is no Biſhop at all, who claims all the Right belonging to one. Your Holineſs may ſee to what a Paſs Things are brought by the Flattery of making every Thing lawful that is reſolved to be done: For we would fain know what this is, but to make a private Inheritance of a Benefice? Another Cheat beſides this

this is invented, that Biſhops, upon their Petition, have Co-adjutors granted to them, not ſo well qualified as themſelves; ſo that, unleſs a Man be reſolved to ſhut his Eyes, he muſt needs ſee, that the Co-adjutor is, by this Trick, made Heir to the Biſhoprick. Again, it is an ancient Law eſtabliſhed by *Clement*, that the Sons of Prieſts ſhould not ſucceed their Fathers in their Benefices; and this, leaſt the common Patrimony of the Church ſhould become a private Eſtate: But as we hear, this venerable Law is diſpenſed with; and we muſt not conceal what every prudent Perſon will, by himſelf, diſcern to be a great Truth, that no one Thing hath raiſed more of that Envy againſt the Clergy, from whence ſo many Seditions have already happened, and more are at Hand, than this turning of Eccleſiaſtical Profits and Revenues from being a common, to a private Thing. All Men had ſome Hope before this; but now they are reduced to Deſpair, and ſharpen their Tongues againſt this holy See. It is another Abuſe, that Benefices are diſpoſed in Reverſion, and Occaſion is given to the Expectant to deſire another Man's Death, and to be glad when he hears of it; by which Means alſo, when a Vacancy happens, they that deſerve beſt are excluded; beſides the Law-ſuits that are hereby cauſed. All this we think ought to be mended. By the ſame Craft, a farther Abuſe is introduced; for whereas ſome Benefices are by Law *incompatible*, and are ſo called, our Anceſtors intending to admoniſh us by the Signification of the Word, that they ought not to be conferred upon one Perſon; this too is now diſpenſed with, and not only two, but more of theſe Benefices; and, which is worſt of all, Biſhopricks are enjoyed by the ſame Man: Which Cuſtom, brought in by Covetouſneſs, we think, ought to be turned out again, eſpecially as to a Plurality of Biſhopricks. What ſhall we ſay to the Union of Benefices for a Man's Life, to avoid the Incompatibility of them under this Colour, is not this a meer Fraud upon the Law? Another Abuſe has prevailed, that Biſhopricks, not one only, but more are collated upon the moſt Reverend Cardinals, or given them in *Commendam:* Which we, moſt bleſſed Father, believe to be no ſlight Grievance in the Church of God; in as much as, firſt of all, the Office of a Cardinal, and that of a Biſhop are incompatible in the ſame Perſon: For the Cardinal's Province is to aſſiſt your Holineſs in the Government of the Catholic Church: But that of a Biſhop is to feed his Flock; which he cannot do well, and as he ought, if, as a Shepherd, he dwells not with his Sheep; beſides, Holy Father, the Example of this Cuſtom does a World of Miſchief: For how can this Holy See guide others, and correct their Abuſes, if ſhe ſuffers ſuch Abuſes in her principal Members? For we do not think, that becauſe they are Cardinals, it ſhould be more lawful for them to tranſgreſs the Laws, but that they ſhould leaſt of all preſume to do it, ſince their Lives are to be a Law to others; nor are they to be like the *Phariſees*, who ſaid, but did not; but to our Saviour *Chriſt*, who began to do, and then to teach. And beſides this, Licentiouſneſs being the Fewel of Avarice, the Uſe of it is prejudicial to the Counſels they take in Church-Affairs. Moreover, for the obtaining of Biſhopricks, Cardinals do court Kings and Princes, their Dependance upon whom afterwards, hinders them from ſpeaking their Minds freely; at leaſt, if they were bold

bold and willing enough to ſpeak, yet they would eaſily be perverted into a wrong Judgment by Affection and Intereſt. We could wiſh therefore, that this Cuſtom were broken, and that all the Cardinals might have an equal Revenue, which would maintain them handſomly according to their Dignity; which Proviſion, we think, might eaſily be made, if we would be willing to ſerve *Mammon* no longer, and would ſerve none but *Chriſt*.

Theſe Things being ſet right, which refer to the Appointment of your Miniſters, who are, as it were, the Inſtruments for the right performing of God's Worſhip, and the well-ordering of the People in a Chriſtian Life. We muſt now come to thoſe Things which relate to the Government of Chriſtian People: As to which Matter, moſt holy Father, there is an Abuſe in the firſt Place to be corrected; and the greateſt Care is to be taken, that Biſhops, eſpecially, no nor Curates, be abſent from their Churches and Pariſhes, unleſs for a weighty Cauſe, but keep their Reſidence; but eſpecially the Biſhops, ſince they are the Husbands of the Church committed to their Care. For we appeal to God, that no Sight can be more lamentable to a Chriſtian Man going through *Chriſtendom*, than this Solitude of the Churches. Almoſt all the Paſtors are withdrawn from their Flocks, which are almoſt every-where entruſted with Hirelings: There ought therefore to be a great Penalty upon Biſhops above all, and likewiſe upon Curates, who are abſent from their Flocks, and who ought not only to be cenſured, but not ſo much as receive the Revenues of the Church, unleſs for ſome ſhort Time the Biſhops obtain Leave of Abſence from your Holineſs, and the Curates from their Biſhops. Let ſome of the Laws and Decrees of Councils in this Matter be read, whereby it is provided, that a Biſhop ſhall not be abſent from his Church above three Lord's Days.

It is alſo an Abuſe, that ſo many of the moſt Reverend Cardinals are abſent from this Court, and do not ſo much as in Part do any thing of that Office which belongs to a Cardinal. We think, indeed, that it is expedient for ſome few Cardinals to live in their Provinces; ſince they are, as it were, the Root of the Papacy, that by ſhooting out its Strings abroad in the Chriſtian World, contains the People in their Obedience to the *Roman* See. But yet we think it were very much for the Intereſt of your Holineſs, to recal them, though not perhaps every one, to their Reſidence in this Court: For beſides, that by this Means they would execute the proper Office of Cardinals, the State and Retinue of your Court would be provided for, and the Want of thoſe many Biſhops would be ſupplied, who ought to leave the Court, and return to their Churches.

Another great Abuſe, and by no Means to be endured, ſince it is a Scandal to all Chriſtian People, ariſes from the Hindrances and Reſtraints that are upon Biſhops in the governing of their Flocks, and chiefly in the puniſhing and correcting of wicked Perſons. For firſt, there are ill Men, and eſpecially Clergymen, who, by many Ways, exempt themſelves from the Juriſdiction of their Ordinary: But then, if they are not exempt, they betake themſelves eaſily to the Penitentiary, or to the Datary, where they preſently find a Way to protect their Impunity, and which is ſtill worſe, by giving of Money. This Scandal, moſt holy Father, does ſo diſturb Chriſtian People, that it is not to be

be expreſſed. We beſeech your Holineſs, by the Blood of *Chriſt*, wherewith he hath redeemed his Church, having waſhed the ſame in his Blood, that theſe foul Blemiſhes be taken away: Let theſe Miſchiefs be removed, to which, if in any Republick, or Kingdom, Allowance were given, it would in a little Time fall headlong into Ruin, and would not, by any Means, be able to ſubſiſt long; and yet we think it is lawful for us, ſo that we have the doing of it ourſelves, to ſee theſe Monſters brought into the Common-wealth of *Chriſtendom*.

In the Orders of the *Religious*, there is another Abuſe to be corrected, that many of them are ſo degenerate, that they are grown ſcandalous, and their Examples pernicious to the *Seculars*. We think the *Conventual* Orders are to be aboliſhed, not by doing to any Man that Injury of diſpoſſeſſing him, but by forbidding them to admit any more; for thus, without wronging any one, they would ſoon be worn out, and good *Religious* might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them; but at preſent it were beſt, that all Children, who are not yet profeſſed, ſhould be taken from their Monaſteries.

We think alſo, that as to the *Preachers* and *Confeſſors* that are ſent out by the Fryars, there is Need of Animadverſion and Amendment, that great Care ſhould be taken by their Chief, that they be fitly qualified; and then, that they be preſented to the Biſhops, to whom chiefly the Church is intruſted, to be examined by them, or by fit Perſons; and that without their Conſent, they be not admitted to the Exerciſe of thoſe Offices.

We have already ſaid, moſt holy Father, that it is by no Means lawful to make any Gain by the Uſe of the Keys; in which Matter the Words of *Chriſt* ſtand firm and ſure; *Freely ye have received, freely give*. This does not only belong to your Holineſs to take notice of, but to all who ſhare in this Power; and therefore, we deſire that it may be obſerved by your Legates and Nuntios: For, as the Cuſtom which has much prevailed diſhonours this See, and makes the People clamorous, ſo the contrary would be exceedingly for the Ornament of the one, and for the Edification of the other.

Chriſtian People are diſturbed by another Abuſe, which concerns *Nuns* that are under the Care of the *Conventual* Fryers, wherein moſt Monaſteries, publick Sacrileges are committed to the intolerable Scandal of the Citizens. Let your Holineſs deprive the *Conventuals* of this Care, and give it to the Ordinaries, or to others as you ſhall ſee Cauſe.

The publick Schools are moſt perniciouſly abuſed, eſpecially in *Italy*, where many Profeſſors of Philoſophy teach that which is wicked; yea, in Churches themſelves, there are moſt ungodly Diſputes; and if any of them are pious for the Matter, yet divine Things are handled very irreverently as to the Manner, and that before the People. Therefore, where there are publick Schools, the Biſhops ſhould be required to admoniſh the Readers not to teach Impiety to young Men; but to ſhew the Weakneſs of natural Light in Queſtions concerning God, concerning the Lateneſs, or the Eternity of the World, and the like; and to direct them to pious Belief. And as no publick Diſputations about ſuch Queſtions ſhould be permitted; ſo neither concerning Matters of Divinity, which by this Means would loſe very much the Eſteem and Reve-

rence of the People: Thoſe Things ſhould be diſputed privately, and other Queſtions in Natural Philoſophy be choſen for publick Diſputations: Which Caution is to be given to all other Biſhops, eſpecially of the greater Cities where ſuch Diſputations uſe to be held. The ſame Care is to be taken about the Printing of Books; and all Princes are to be written to, not to ſuffer any Sort of Books whatſoever, without farther Examination, to be printed in their Territories. The Care of which Thing ſhould likewiſe be given to the Ordinaries. And becauſe *Eraſmus*'s Colloquies are now-a-days wont to be read to Children in *Grammar* Schools, in which there are many Things apt to diſpoſe uneducated Minds to Impiety; therefore the reading of thoſe Colloquies, and the like, in ſuch Places, ought to be prohibited.

Now, beſides theſe Things which refer to the appointing of your Miniſters in this Care of the whole Church, and then in the Adminiſtration and Government thereof, your Holineſs may pleaſe to take notice, that there are other Abuſes introduced likewiſe.

The firſt concerns Apoſtate Fryars, or *Religious*, who, notwithſtanding their ſolemn Vow, draw back from the Religion of their Order, and obtain Leave not to wear the Habit of it: No, not the leaſt Appearance thereof, but only ſome handſome Habit of a Clergyman. We ſay nothing now of Lucre; for we noted at firſt, that Merchandiſe was not to be made of the Power of the Keys received from *Chriſt*: We now ſay, that this Kind of Diſpenſation is not to be uſed: For the Habit is the Sign of the Profeſſion, to which theſe Apoſtates ought to be held; nor has the Biſhop Power in this Caſe; ſo true it is, that this Liberty ought not to be given to theſe Men. Neither, when they have broken away from their Vow to God, ſhould they be ſuffered to enjoy Benefices, or Cures.

There is another Abuſe in the Collectors for the *Holy Ghoſt*, for St. *Anthony*, and others of this Kind, which put Cheats upon Ruſticks, and ſimple People, and entangle them in a World of Superſtition. Theſe Collectors, we think, ought to be taken away.

Another Abuſe there is, in diſpenſing with a Perſon in Holy Orders to marry, which is not to be allowed to any, unleſs it be for the Preſervation of human Race in any Nation, where the Cauſe is weighty, and of publick Concern. This is eſpecially to be obſerved in theſe Times, in which this Liberty is violently contended for by the *Lutherans*.

We conceive it alſo to be an Abuſe, to diſpenſe with the Marriage of thoſe that are in the ſecond Degree of Conſanguinity, or Affinity, unleſs it be for a weighty Reaſon. Nor ſhould Diſpenſations be granted without other Degrees, but where the Cauſe is honeſt, and ſtill without Money; unleſs the Parties were married before, in which Caſe it is lawful to impoſe a pecuniary Puniſhment, in order to Abſolution from Sin already committed, and to convert it to pious Uſes, ſuch as your Holineſs promotes. For, as where there is no Sin in the Uſe of the Keys to be done away, no Money can be demanded; ſo where Abſolution from Sin is deſired, a pecuniary Mulct may be laid, and deſigned for pious Uſes.

In the Abſolution of a *Simoniacal* Perſon, there is another Abuſe, and it is a diſmal Thing to conſider, that this Plague reigns in the Church to that Degree, that ſome are not afraid to be guilty of Simony, and to go preſently for Abſolution. The Truth is, they buy their Abſolution, and ſo they keep the Benefice they bought before.

We do not ſay, that your Holineſs wants Power to forgive that Puniſhment which is by poſitive Law appointed for this Crime, but that you ought not by any Means to do it; that ſo horrible a Wickedneſs may be more effectually ſuppreſſed, than which there is none that breeds more Miſchief and Scandal.

Neither is Liberty to be given to Clergymen, unleſs for an urgent Cauſe, to diſpoſe of the Goods of the Church by Will; leſt that which is for the Relief of the Poor be converted to private Pleaſure, and the Luxury of Building.

But neither are Faculties to receive Confeſſions, with the Uſe of a portable Altar, eaſily to be granted; for thus Eccleſiaſtical Affairs grow cheap, and that Sacrament alſo, which is the Principal of all the reſt. Nor are Indulgences to be given above once a Year in every greater City. Nor ought a Commutation of Vows to be lightly yielded to, but where the Good is equivalent, and will bear it out.

It has been a Cuſtom alſo to change the Wills of Teſtators, who have left a certan Sum of Money for pious and charitable Purpoſes; which, by the Authority of your Holineſs, is transferred to the Heir of the Legatee, under Pretence of their Poverty, *&c.* and this is gained by Money too. Surely, unleſs a great Change happens in the Eſtate of the Heir, by the Death of the Teſtator, ſo that the Teſtator himſelf, in all Likelihood, if he had foreſeen that Change, would alſo have changed his Will, it is an impious Thing to depart from the laſt Will and Teſtament of the Dead. Of filthy Lucre we have ſpoken ſo often, that we muſt mention it no more.

And thus, according to our Capacity, having ſummarily deſcribed all thoſe Things which belong to the Duty of the Supreme Biſhop of the Catholick Church, it remains, that we ſay ſomething of that which belongs to the *Roman* Biſhop. This City of *Rome* is both the Mother of the Church, and the Miſtreſs of other Churches; wherefore the Worſhip of God and Purity of Manners ſhould flouriſh there moſt of all: But yet, holy Father, all Strangers are ſcandalized, when they go into St. *Peter*'s Church, and ſee what ſlovenly, ignorant Prieſts ſay Maſs there, ſo habited and cloathed, that they could not appear cleanly in a naſty Houſe. This is ſo mighty an Offence to all, that the moſt Reverend the *Arch-preſbyter* and the *Pœnitentiary* are to take care of this Thing, and remove the Scandal: And the like Order is to be taken in other Churches.

Nay, in this City, Whores walk about as if they were goodly Matrons, or they ride upon Mules, and are at Noon-day followed up and down by Men of the beſt Account in the Families of Cardinals, and by Clergymen. We ſee no ſuch Degeneracy in any other City but in this, which is to be an Example to all others. Theſe Whores live in ſplendid Houſes: It is a filthy Abuſe, and ought to be mended.

In this City alſo, Malice and Animoſity reign amongſt private Citizens; to bring whom to a right Underſtanding, and to make them Friends, is a main Part of the Biſhop: Wherefore ſome of the Cardinals, who are fitteſt for this Service, ſhould be appointed to take up Quarrels, and to reconcile the Citizens to one another.

There are Hoſpitals, Pupils, and Widows in this City; the principal Care of which belongs to the Biſhop and Prince: Wherefore your Holineſs may pleaſe to take a fit Care about all this, by ſome Cardinals that are Men of Probity.

Now theſe are the Things, Moſt Holy Father, which we, for the preſent, have brought together, as our Capacity would permit; that, as to us it ſeems needful, they may be corrected; but you, in your Goodneſs and Wiſdom, will make a more perfect Judgment of every Thing. We indeed, though we have not anſwered the Greatneſs of the Concern, which is too hard for us, yet at leaſt have ſatisfied our own Conſciences; and cannot but conceive great Hope, that under your Government we may ſee the Church of God purged, fair as a Dove, at Harmony with itſelf, and united into one Body; to the never-dying Honour of your Name. You have taken to yourſelf the Name of *Paul*; we hope you will imitate the Charity of *Paul*, who was a choſen Veſſel, to carry the Name of *Chriſt* among the Gentiles. We hope that you are choſen to reſtore the Name of *Chriſt*, forgotten by the Nations, and even by us of the Clergy; that hereafter it may live in our Hearts, and appear in our Actions, to heal our Diſeaſes, to reduce the Flock of *Chriſt* into one Sheep-fold, to remove from us that Indignation and Vengeance of God which we deſerve, which is now ready to fall upon us, which now hangs over our Heads.

The Names of the Cardinals, *&c.*

Gaſpar, Card. *Contarene.*
Joh. Peter, Card. *Theatine*, afterwards *Paul* IV.
James, Card. *Sodelet.*
Reginald Pole, Card. of *England.*
Frederick, Archbiſhop of *Brunduſium.*
Joh. Matthew Gibet, Biſhop of *Verona.*
Gregory Corteſe, Abbot of St. *George* at *Venice.*
Fryar Thomas, Maſter of the Sacred Palace.

The Advice given, by ſome Biſhops aſſembled at Bononia, *to Pope* JULIUS III. *concerning the Way to eſtabliſh the* Roman Church.

Moſt Holy Father,

YOUR *Legate* at *Bononia* has given us to underſtand, that 'tis your Pleaſure, that we, the *Biſhops* lately aſſembled in this City, by your Command, ſhould, three by three, ſeparately conſult about the moſt effectual Means of *eſtabliſhing* and *advancing* the *Apoſtolic See*, which is at preſent ſo much troubled, aſſaulted, and weakned by the perfidious *Lutherans*; and that we ſhould deliver in Writing our Opinions of this Matter, that *your Holineſs* may compare them together, and deliberate with yourſelf about them as you deſire. We therefore, the three *Biſhops*, whoſe Names are to this, though neither our Prudence, Learning, or Experience in Buſineſs, does avail much, will yet in Obedience to your Will, diſtinctly declare our Opinions, with ſuch Submiſſion, that yet all ſhall be referred to the Judgment of *your Holineſs.*

But in the firſt Place, with all Reverence imaginable, we would admoniſh *your Holineſs* to take care leſt the ſame Thing happen to this our Advice, which we remember lately happen'd in another Caſe, when ſome Cardinals, with ſelect Biſhops, Nine in all, conſulted about this very Thing, *viz. The Way of reforming the Church*, and preſented a Paper, in which they offer'd their Opinions: For the Things there, that ought to have been ſuppreſs'd and concealed, preſently ſtole Abroad, and were ſcatter'd and diſperſed even as far as *Germany*; and ſo all our Councils were diſcover'd and laid open to our Enemies the *Lutherans*. And theſe Things were of wonderful Advantage to them in the Oppoſition they made againſt us; and 'tis incredible, what hatred of us they raiſed by the Books they publiſhed upon thoſe Advices, affirming, that we ourſelves confeſs there are many Errors and Abuſes in the Church, which we are ſo far from being willing to correct ourſelves, that we do not ſtick to defend and maintain them by force, and perſecute with the utmoſt Rigour any one that dares but to open his Lips about the neceſſary Amendment of them.

The divulging that Council, moſt holy Father, believe us, was a great diſadvantage to our Affairs; God forgive him, by whoſe Fault or Negligence it happened: But truly there ought to be all Care and Diligence uſed, that this our Advice never come Abroad; otherwiſe we ſhall add Affliction to Affliction, and heap Evil upon Evil; for we ſtrike at Things of the higheſt Concern, and freely, without any reſpect of Perſons, we fall directly on the main Cauſe; firſt, ſhew the Diſeaſe, and then offer a convenient Remedy. But theſe, we ſay, are to be kept as Secrets.

When

When we had well, and long conſidered, what was the State of this weighty Controverſy, recollecting all Things from the Beginning, (for we ſhould always run back to the firſt Principles) we at laſt found it to be this: The *Lutherans* hold, and confeſs all the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed, that of *Nice*, and *Athanaſius*. This is very certain; for we ought not to deny (eſpecially amongſt ourſelves) what we all know to be ſo true. And theſe *Lutherans* refuſe to admit of any other Doctrine, but that alone, of which the *Prophets*, *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles* were Authors; and wiſh likewiſe, that all Men would be content with thoſe few Things that were obſerved in the Apoſtles Time, or immediately after, and would imitate the Primitive Churches; nor think of receiving any Traditions which it is not apparent, as the Light, were delivered and inſtituted by our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles. Thus do our Adverſaries judge; but indeed they judge ill: We, on the other hand, following the Opinion of your Holineſs, would have all Traditions, Conſtitutions, Rules, and Ceremonies, which have hitherto been brought into the Church, by the Fathers, Councils, or any private Man, (with a good Intention) believed, and received as Doctrine neceſſary to Salvation: But particularly as to Tradition, we believe, as an Article of Faith, what the Council of *Trent*, lawfully aſſembled, with the Holy Ghoſt, has decreed in the 3d Seſſion, *viz.* That our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Apoſtles, delivered more Precepts, relating both to Manners and Faith, by Word of Mouth, than are in the Scriptures; and that theſe, without writing, were handed down to us; And although we can't prove this clearly, (for amongſt ourſelves we plainly acknowledge, that we have no Proofs, but ſome ſort of Conjectures, to make out what we teach concerning Tradition) yet we confeſs this to be true, becauſe the *Roman* Church maintains it. This, in ſhort, is the Hinge on which the whole Controverſy turns; hence theſe Tumults and Contentions proceed. But, we ought to venture all to keep their Doctrine from ſpreading any farther, although it has got too far already, which, in Truth, can never enough be lamented: For 'tis no Trifle that is under debate, but the Safety and Welfare of your whole State, and of us, who are all your Creatures and Members, is now at Stake. For in the Days of the Apoſtles, (to tell you the Truth, but you muſt be ſilent) and for ſeveral Years after them, there was no Mention made of either Pope or Cardinal; there were none of theſe large Revenues belonging to Biſhops and Prieſts; no ſumptuous Temples were raiſed; there were no Monaſteries, Priors or Abbots, much leſs any of theſe Doctrines, theſe Laws, theſe Conſtitutions, nor this Sovereignty which we now exerciſe over People and Nations.

But the Miniſters of all Churches (as well that of *Rome* as others) were willingly obedient to Kings, Princes and Governors. Let your Holineſs therefore judge how hard it would go with us, if, by ill Deſtiny, we ſhould again be reduced to the Primitive Poverty and Humility, again ſubjected to the wretched Servitude of being under the Command of others: This is therefore, as we ſaid before, a Matter of the higheſt Moment.

Moreover,

Moreover, this, in our Judgment, is the only Way of avoiding this grievous Danger. We find, upon full Examination of the Matter, that the Glory, Authority, and Power of the Church firſt aroſe, when ſhrewd, diſcreet, active Biſhops began to preſide over it, who uſed their Opportunities to obtain from the Emperors, that they would, by their Authority and Power, eſtabliſh the Primacy and ſupreme Power over other Churches, in this See. And this Pope *Boniface* III, amongſt others, is ſaid to have received from the Emperor *Phocas*. We obſerved likewiſe, that the Affairs of the Church began more and more to flouriſh every Day, when Cardinals were created, the Number of Biſhops was increaſed, and ſo many, and ſo goodly Orders of Monks and Nuns were firſt founded. Nor can we doubt, but thoſe Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, Monks and Nuns, have, by their Cunning, their Inventions, Rites and Ceremonies, turn'd away the Church from that ancient Doctrine which kept her ſo poor and humble, and have, by theſe Arts, procured her Favour and Authority. We ought therefore to take the ſame Meaſures to preſerve her in that State to which they have raiſed her; that is, all kind of Application and Wit is to be employed; the Number of Cardinals, Biſhops, Monks, and Nuns is to be encreaſed, and to ſpeak particularly, your Holineſs is in the firſt Place to take this Courſe.

France, *Italy*, and *Spain* (notwithſtanding the *Lutherans* boaſt that the greateſt Part of *Europe* is in their Intereſt) are content with your Empire, the laſt of which does moſt religiouſly obſerve all your Laws and Conſtitutions, does not change or innovate in any Thing. And as for that Nation, you need not be ſollicitous; for you can find but few amongſt the *Spaniards*, who have not an Abhorrence for the Doctrine of *Luther:* But if there are any Hereticks amongſt them, they are ſuch as rather deny that the *Meſſiah* is yet come, or that Mens Souls are immortal, than queſtion the Power of your Holineſs. But, without doubt, this Hereſy of theirs ſeems to us more ſufferable than that of *Luther*; and the Reaſon is plain, for theſe *Marani*, though they believe nothing of *Chriſt*, or a future State, are yet wont to hold their Tongues, or at moſt, laugh amongſt themſelves, and in the mean Time are not at all wanting in their Duty to the *Roman* Church.

But the *Lutherans* do not behave themſelves thus; they openly diſſent from us, and endeavour what they can to weaken and ruin our whole State. *France* and *Italy* ſeem plainly to affect Innovations; and moſt of theſe Nations, according to the Copy that *Germany* has ſet them, are ready to lay hold on the next Occaſion to fall off from us: Moreover, there are many eminent Cities in thoſe two Provinces, who have no Biſhop of their own, but are ſubject to the Biſhops of the greater and moſt powerful Cities. Now your Holineſs ſhould chuſe out about a Hundred of theſe, and create ſo many new Biſhops to govern them; then add fifty more to the preſent Number of Cardinals, and out of all theſe Biſhops, I ſay, and Cardinals, as well old as new, ſelect thirty or forty of the moſt ſubtile, and moſt verſed in Courts and Buſineſs, who are ſkilful in the Cannon and Civil Laws; keep theſe about your Perſon, let theſe be your Counſellors and Miniſters in your moſt weighty Affairs, and pri-

vate

vate Concerns; and ſend all the reſt, as well thoſe Biſhops that are Cardinals, as others, into their reſpective Dioceſs; and order them to entertain the People with Plays, Shows, and all Manner of Diverſions; and let them preſent themſelves to the People both in the Church, and riding frequently about the City, in as much Pomp and Splendor as they do at *Rome*. So will it come to paſs, that the common People, who admire theſe Pomps and Ceremonies, and are wont to make much Money, where there are many rich Men, will at laſt be brought over, either by Courteſy, or their own Advantage, to favour your Side; and we need not fear for the future, what *Luther*, *Brentius*, *Melanchon*, or that late Heretick *Vergerius*, ſhall write. Oh! how much did it concern us, that he ſhould not have eſcap'd from us, but have here been either clapt into Priſon, or thrown into the *Tiber?* For he who was brought up in your publick and private Affairs, is acquainted with a great deal of our Concerns, and of all our Councils. But your Holineſs has long Hands, and in your great Wiſdom will find a Remedy for this Evil; for it is, and ever will be lawful to take all Ways to free ourſelves from the Snares of our Enemies; nor did we think fit to name thoſe Men, but for a very good Reaſon; a Word to the wiſe: Then let your Holineſs take care that theſe Cardinals and Biſhops that reſide in their Dioceſs, beſtow Benefices on the Children of their Citizens; for this is an admirable and ready Way to keep their Minds ſteady in the Faith; and we know many of your Subjects who would long ago have embraced *Luther*'s Doctrine, but for this one Reaſon, that either they themſelves, or their Brothers, or their Sons, enjoyed ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferment. Nor would it be amiſs to ſend a great many of thoſe Prieſts that they call *Chietini* and *Paulini*, into *France* and *Italy:* For, to ſay the Truth, theſe common Prieſts and Monks do really abuſe the Maſs too much, which they ſay with little or no Devotion, chopping it up in haſte, and making a publick Sale of it; beſides, they live ſuch diſſolute, profligate Lives, that Men deſervedly give no longer Credit to them, nor ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded (though our Sophiſters take great Pains about it) that a wicked, bebauched Fellow can draw *Chriſt* out of Heaven to the Altar, free Souls from Purgatory, and obtain Forgiveneſs of Sins, both to themſelves and others, and all this by the *Works done*; therefore theſe new Prieſts, the *Chietini*, becauſe they ſay Maſs ſlower, and with greater Gravity, take no Hire, but are content with their Meat and Cloathing, and in the courſe of their Lives carry a greater ſhew of Goodneſs, will reſtore Maſs to its Primitive Authority, and recover its Reputation. You ſhould likewiſe make it your Buſineſs to get new Orders of Monks founded every where; for they, believe us, do great Service in the Eſtabliſhment of your Dominion; for you may conſider how they have encreaſed it by the Confeſſions, Preaching, and Worſhip which they have brought into the Church; beſides, we are taught this by long Experience, that the Sect of the *Lutherans* has been leſs able to intrude itſelf there, where there are the greateſt Numbers of Monks (eſpecially *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*) who have ever ſtoutly maintained your, and overthrown the Adverſaries Doctrine.

Likewiſe give Orders to the Cardinals and Biſhops who reſide, as well as to the Prieſts and Monks, that they inſtitute new Fraternities, as they call them,

in

in Honour of this and that Saint. For our Brother *Thomas Stella*, or *Todeſchin*, boaſts that he contributed much to the Eſtabliſhment and enlarging of your Empire, by preaching the People, in many Parts of *Italy*, into a Zeal for theſe Fraternities, eſpecially that of *Corpus Chriſti*. Moreover, let them make Supplications with the greateſt Show and Pomp imaginable; let them cauſe new Statues and Images to be made; burn Lamps and Candles before them; and uſe all Sorts of Inſtruments and Organs in their Temples; theſe are the Things, I ſay, with which the People are chiefly delighted, and for whoſe Sake they have almoſt forgot that Doctrine which was ſo deſtructive and pernicious to us.

Nor are theſe, which we have mentioned, the only Things to be obſerved, but the moſt Reverend the Cardinals and Biſhops ought likewiſe to be mindful of this.

That they themſelves ſing Maſs with the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence they can poſſibly, and alſo conſecrate Fonts, give Orders, purify Churches, Altars, and Burying-Places, chriſten Bells, veil Nuns, in the Eyes of the People, and in the Sight of all the Congregation; for the Vulgar are given to admire, and to be amuſed with theſe Things, in the Contemplation of which their Minds are, as it were, ſo intangled in a Snare, that they have no Reliſh for any other Food, or any Inclination to any other Doctrine; as indeed, (to ſay the Truth) they were deſigned for that Purpoſe; and really, in our Judgment, theſe Things ſhould be augmented and multiplied; for, if the introducing and appointing thoſe few, which we have now mentioned, were of ſuch Uſe to the Settlement of your Kingdom, of what Advantage would it be, were there ſome new ones added? For Example, that threefold Oil for the *Criſmes*, and for the Sick, is conſecrated every Year upon *Maunday-Thurſday*; and that by one Biſhop, together with twelve Prieſts, with that thrice repeated Adoration and Salutation, with thoſe Exorciſms, with thoſe Breathings upon it, and with that rich Balm which is uſual. Let your Holineſs appoint, that the Conſecration be not performed under five Salutations, and twenty Prieſts. Command likewiſe, that ſome other precious Liquor, beſides Balm, ſuch as *Manna* be added; becauſe we find it rained that in the Wilderneſs, which therefore deſervedly ought to take Place amongſt our Ceremonies. Likewiſe, as often as the Water of *Baptiſm* is conſecrated, it is cuſtomary to put Salt and Oil into it, and to dip the Paſchal Taper thrice in it, and to divide it into four Parts. Order that, moreover, they mingle ſome Vinegar with it; for that was given *Chriſt* to drink on the Croſs, and therefore that ought to be of ſome Uſe amongſt the Ceremonies. Alſo, in the Dedication of Churches, the Biſhops are wont to draw all the Letters of the *Latin* and *Greek* Alphabet with their Croſier in the Duſt; command them to write the *Hebrew* Letters too, if they know them, (though that does not ſignify much; for they do not underſtand *Greek*, and hardly *Latin*, and yet they can write it, and 'tis the ſame Thing as if they knew them) for the Reaſon of Chriſt's Crucifixion was written on the Croſs in thoſe three Languages, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and whereas the Biſhops only anoint the Palms of the

Prieſts Hands, order them to anoint both the Palms and Backs of their Hands, as well as their Head and whole Face.

For if that little Oil has ſo much Virtue to ſanctify them, ſurely a greater Quantity of Oil will have more Virtue for that Purpoſe. Laſtly, when Bells are chriſten'd, they make a Perfume of *Frankincenſe* and other *Incenſe*, appoint that *Muſk* and *Amber* be mixt with it, to raiſe and increaſe the Religion of the Thing, and the Wonder of the People. Once more, when any Biſhop ſets himſelf to officiate in any Divine Service with Pomp and Solemnity, he ought to have many Ornaments to diſtinguiſh him from ordinary Prieſts; ſuch as (to omit the reſt) the Bones and Relicks of ſome dead Man, which he uſually wears at his Breaſt, ſet in Gold, in the Form of a Croſs. Do you command him to hang, a whole naked Leg, Arm, or Head of ſome Saint about his Neck, by a good thick Cord; for that will contribute very much to the Encreaſe of the religious Aſtoniſhment of all that ſee it. The Truth is, theſe Ceremonies were all invented and continued by Popes; you therefore that are Pope, may, if you pleaſe, augment them; nay rather indeed, for that Purpoſe and Deſign which we mentioned, ought to do it. Beſides, we would adviſe, that your Holineſs ſhould lay your Commands on thoſe Cardinals and Biſhops that happen to reſide in their Dioceſs, that they take care to have *Logick*, *Sophiſtry*, and the Art of the *School-men*, *Metaphyſicks*, the *Decretals*, *Sextus*, the *Clementines*, the *Extravagants*, and the Rules of *Chancery* publickly taught and read in their Cities. It had been well, if Men had ever applied themſelves induſtriouſly to the reading ſuch Sort of Books; for then our Affairs had never been in ſo bad a Poſture as they are; but deſpiſing this Sort of Learning, they began to employ themſelves in learning *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in a little Time, to examine the Tranſlation of the Bible by the true Original, and to ſtudy Divinity, and the antient Fathers of the Church; and hence ſprang all the Misfortunes we lie under; therefore you muſt endeavour, that ſetting theſe Studies aſide, Men ſhould again fall to the Study of the School-men, and of your Canon-Law, by which 'tis manifeſt, the Study of Divinity was in a Manner overwhelmed and buried. But let your Holineſs uſe Caution in this; for we mentioned before only the *Decretal*, and *Sextus*, and the *Clementines*, and the *Extravagants*, and not that which is called the *Decretum*, which ought not to ſeem ſtrange; for 'tis a pernicious Book, and leſſens your Authority extreamly, although it ſeems in ſome Places to enlarge it: For, amongſt other Things, in ſeveral Places, it denies, That the Pope can add the leaſt Tittle to that Doctrine which our Saviour delivered to us, and the Apoſtles taught; for thus ſays the Canon, *Transferat, &c.* 24. *q.* 3. "They change "Truth into a Lye, who preach any other Thing, than what they received "from the Apoſtles." This is a downright *Lutheran* Maxim; for what elſe do our Adverſaries daily inculcate, than that it is not lawful to depart, in the leaſt Degree, from thoſe Things that were in Uſe amongſt the Apoſtles, But who of us doth not every Day often depart from them? Indeed, in our Churches, we ſcarce retain (as we hinted at the Beginning) the leaſt Shadow of that Doctrine and Diſcipline which flouriſhed in the Times of the Apoſtles,

but

but have brought in quite another of our own. Nay, we are expreſsly called Liars by that *Decretum*, inaſmuch as we have done this; yet we have done it by the Advice and Inſtructions of Popes; nay, by their peremptory Order and Command. But we wiſh there were not ſo many Canons as there are of this Kind, that enjoin Things directly contrary to what the Popes, and all of us do every Day (we ſpeak of Matters of Faith and Doctrine, not of Manners.) Take one or two of them for Inſtance: Thus ſays the Canon that begins *Contra* 25. *q.* 1. "Nothing can be eſtabliſhed contrary to the Conſtitutions "of the Fathers, nor any Thing alter'd, no, not by the Authority of this See." And then another Canon, that begins *Ideo*, *&c.* ſays, "Thus by the divine "Permiſſion, we are ſo made Paſtors of Men, that we ought not in the leaſt to "tranſgreſs whatever our Fathers, in their Sacred Canons or Civil Laws, have "appointed; for we go againſt their moſt wholſome Inſtitutions, if we do "not keep inviolably, what they according to divine Pleaſure have ordained." Do not Pope *Zozimus* and *Leo* the Third, (nay and the whole *Roman* Church) plainly here declare aloud, that the Authority of this See can do nothing againſt the Canons, againſt the Law, and againſt the Ordinances of the antient Fathers, which ought to be religiouſly obſerved? How therefore ſhall we anſwer our Adverſaries, when they preſs and urge us with this, and turn that of the fifth Pſalm upon us? There is no Certainty in their Mouth; for they accuſe us of Lightneſs and Inconſtancy, who have ſuch expreſs Canons, which forbid the Popes to alter the Decrees of the Fathers, or to do any thing contrary to them; and notwithſtanding all this, there is nothing more frequent than the Preſumption of altering what has been eſtabliſhed by the antient Fathers and Councils. How, I ſay, ſhall we anſwer this; eſpecially ſince the Book of Decrees is ſo celebrated and famous, and is in all Schools, Courts, of Judicature, and Churches, held in the greateſt Honour and Eſteem? And beſides thoſe few which we have given you a Taſte of, it contains a great many others that favour the Cauſe of our Adverſaries; and favour it in ſuch a Manner, that they ſeem to have been penned by ſome of them. Moreover, we ſhall conſider of ſome Courſe to be taken with theſe Decrees; for it ſeems very abſurd, that any thing ſhould be taught which is contrary to what your Holineſs does not only do, but commands to be done.

But we have reſerved the moſt conſiderable Advice which we could at this Time give your Holineſs, to the laſt: And here you muſt be awake, and exert all your Force to hinder, as much as you can poſſibly, the Goſpel from being read, eſpecially (in the vulgar Tongue) in all the Cities that are under your Dominion. Let that little of it which they have in the Maſs ſerve their Turn, nor ſuffer any Mortal to read any thing more; for as long as Men were contented with that little, Things went to your Mind; but grew worſe and worſe from that Time, that they commonly read more. This in ſhort is the Book that has, beyond all others, raiſed thoſe Storms and Tempeſts in which we are almoſt driven to Deſtruction. And really, whoever ſhall diligently weigh the Scripture, and then conſider all the Things that are uſually done in our Churches, will find there is great Difference

betwixt them; and that this Doctrine of ours is very unlike, and in many Things quite repugnant to it. And no ſooner does any Man diſcover this, being ſet on by ſome of our learned Adverſaries, but he never ceaſes bawling againſt us, till he has made the whole Matter publick, and rendered us odious to all Men. Therefore thoſe Papers are to be ſtifled; but you muſt uſe Caution and Diligence in it, leſt that create us greater Diſturbance.

[k] *D. John Della Caſa*, Archbiſhop of *Beneventum*, the Legate of your See at *Venice*, behaved himſelf handſomely in that Buſineſs; for although he did not openly and avowedly condemn that Book of the Goſpel, or order it to be ſuppreſs'd; yet, in an obſcure diſſembling Manner, he inſinuated as much; whilſt in that long Catalogue of Heteticks which he put out, he has found Fault with Part of the Doctrines maintained in it; particularly ſome certain Chapters which ſeem moſt to make againſt us. Seriouſly, a renowned divine Action, whatever others chatter; for at firſt Bluſh it ſeem'd ridiculous to many, that he ſhould condemn ſo many Authors at once, who writ about Religion, when himſelf had never read ſo much as one Syllable of Divinity, and publiſhed I know not what, to which he gave this Title, *Of the Divine Art*. But this is nothing, and they who cenſure this in him, have little Buſineſs of their own to employ them, and ſhew themſelves to be great Novices in the Court of *Rome*. For he, as he is a true and eminent Courtier, ſpake freely what was his Opinion, which we think makes much for his Credit.

It now remains, *Moſt Holy Father*, That we ſhould in ſhort make a Reply to what may perhaps be objected by you, that having done this we may finiſh our Epiſtle.

Your Holineſs, therefore, perhaps may ſay, If it is at this Time ſo dangerous a Thing to hold a Council of theſe Biſhops, though few in Number, leſt ſome of them ſhould dare to raiſe a Clamour, and be ſevere againſt my Dignity to undermine it, how much more dangerous would it be, if beſides theſe there were an hundred others created? We ſhall offer three Things in Anſwer to this: *Firſt*, Look (as you generally do) that thoſe Biſhops, who are to be created, be ignorant and unlearned, but very ſkilful in the Affairs of Court, and addicted to the Intereſt of your Family; for that alone will ſuffice. Then avoid a Council as much as you can, though *Cæſar* be very urgent, clamorous, and importunate. *Laſtly*, If only to ſave your Fame and Reputation, you deſire, or would ſeem to deſire a Council, you may re-aſſemble that. But (as has been hitherto) let there only be admitted who you are certain will go on your Side, and let the others be kept out, and driven away. But of all Things, be moſt careful that no Embaſſies from any of the *German* Princes, who are of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, come into the Council; for, good God! what Miſchief, what Damage did we many Ways receive by the Embaſſy which the Duke of *Wirtemberg* ſent to *Trent*? I wiſh *Creſcentius* the Legate had faggoted them up together, both *Theoderic* of *Plienningen*, and thoſe two

[k] Author of the Poem *Dell, urno.*

Doctors,

Doctors, *Werner* of *Muchingen*, and *Hieronymus Gerardus*, as well as thoſe two ſcurvy Divines, *Brentius* and *Burlinus*, (for thoſe were the Duke's Embaſſadors) and ſo thrown them into the next River *Atheſis*; nor ſhould he have ſpared *Sleidan*, the Envoy from the *R. P.* of *Straſburgh*.

For ſince they could not obtain their Audience of the Council (and Hereticks are not worthy to be heard) they returned into their Countries with greater Animoſity againſt your Holineſs than they had before; there they write Books againſt us, and embroil every thing. It had been therefore much better Policy not to have kept our Faith with them, (as our Canons order) but made them Inhabitants and Freemen of the River *Atheſis*, as an Example to all other Hereticks, that they preſume not to come near our moſt ſacred and holy Councils.

Theſe are the Things, *Moſt Holy Father*, which, in Obedience to your Holineſs, we thought fit to offer to you, being ready to have given better if we could: We truly have ſpoke freely and ingenuouſly what we thought; but we muſt again and again put you in Mind to be careful that theſe Things be not divulged; and if you act according to our Advice, we have no ſmall Hopes that your Holineſs will preſerve *France* and *Italy*; (for, as we ſaid, we have no Apprehenſions of *Spain*) in the Faith, and eſtabliſh and ſtrengthen your Kingdom. As for *Germany* (to tell you the Truth) we can by no Means hope it will ever be reduced under your Command; therefore we adviſe you to throw away all Thoughts of it; for if *Cæſar*, when victorious, after he had granted ſo many Articles, which are plainly repugnant to the *Catholick Church*, (as you may ſee in his *Interim*) could not bring that Nation to an Agreement with us, you may be certain there is no Way left to regain it. Add to this, that the People in thirty-ſix Years are quite degenerated into another Race; for they who were born and educated under your Government, who had a ſingular Senſe of their Duty to you imprinted on their Nature, are dead; and there is on the other Hand a Succeſſion of young Men, who, as they had no Experience of your Doctrine, neither love nor admire you; inſomuch as they do not ſtick (Oh Villainy!) to call you *Antichriſt*. We know there are ſome indifferent good Scholars who favour us heartily, and really wiſh to reſtore thoſe Things that were delivered them by our Anceſtors, and reinſtate you in your former Power; this they endeavour with all their Might, and ſometimes ſcatter their Notions in Company, ſometimes publiſh Books to maintain and ſupport the ſinking Papacy; but theſe are much the feweſt, and of no Authority or Judgment, therefore they can do nothing. But it is wonderful to ſee with how much greater Vehemency and Affection the *Germans* are carried to hear thoſe who teach the *Lutheran* Hereſy, than to frequent Maſs, or hear them that preach your Doctrine. *Laſtly*, All *Italy* ſaw the Letter of Cardinal *Pole*, your Legate, who is to reclaim *England* from Hereſy; who writ in this Manner:

" We ſtay'd for ſome Days at *Tilinga* and *Ausburgh*, and made moſt dili-
" gent Enquiry into all Matters belonging to Religion; but we found nothing
" of this Kind that could pleaſe us. For the Churches of our Adverſaries

" are

" are every Day wonderfully frequented, and their Preachers followed with " great Alacrity : Ours, on the other Hand, are forſaken ; and if you ſaw our " Churches, you would call them Deſarts, there are ſo few, and thoſe I know " not who, old Men and Women, that come to Maſs." Thus he, and his Friends, particularly D. *Aloyſius Priulus*, wrote a great deal to this Purpoſe. In ſhort, we may deſpair of that Nation ; therefore your Holineſs may very lawfully exact ſomething more than ordinary from thoſe who are ſtill your Subjects ; that what you loſe out of your Revenue by their Revolt may be thence ſupplied. But we would likewiſe admoniſh you of this, that in raiſing Money out of the *Datary* and *Pænitentiary*, as they call it, and other Offices, as alſo in the Exaction of Tithes and Tribute, you uſe Circumſpection ; and though you are deſirous to pick up Money from every thing, yet carry yourſelf ſo in it as to ſilence the Clamours of People for the future. It is certain indeed, that all the Riches of the World are yours, who are *Chriſt*'s Vicar, to whom the Poſſeſſion of all Things belongs ; and therefore you may lawfully take what you pleaſe any where : But do this neatly and dextrouſly ; for (let us confeſs the Truth) it is incredible with how great Hatred People are incenſed againſt you, and what horrid Things are ſpread amongſt the Multitude concerning you ; and there has hardly been any Pope, to whom, both in Words and Writing, they have more manifeſtly declared their Averſion. For, as for *England*, upon which you value yourſelf ſo much, as if it were to be aſcrib'd to your good Fortune, that that Queen takes Care to extirpate Hereſy out of the Kingdom, you have certainly no Share in that Praiſe : Then we fear leſt that ſudden Felicity ſhould not be laſting. Beſides, the Queen ſtiles herſelf Supreme Head of that Kingdom, next and immediately after *Chriſt* ; ſo that, though the old Worſhip and Ceremonies were never ſo much reſtored, your Power and Authority is not to be retrieved. In ſhort, you muſt be very watchful, and face the Storm, unleſs you are deſirous to venture all at one Caſt.

Wiſhing your Holineſs all Health, we, humbly proſtrate, kiſs your ſacred Feet.

Your Holineſs's moſt devoted

Servants and Creatures,

Bononia, Oct. 20, 1553.

Vincentius de Durantibus, Biſhop of *Termulæ*.
Giles Talceta, Biſhop of *Caprulæ*.
Gerards Burdragus, Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*.

The

The Church of ENGLAND's *Complaint in Vindication of Her Loyalty.*

IF ever Mother had juſt Reaſon to complain of her Children, and expoſtulate the Caſe with them, certainly it is I. If ever Children did diſhonour their Parent, or at any Time blaſt her Reputation, they are now mine.

I, who formerly gloried in my ſtedfaſt and unſhaken Loyalty; I, who by my many Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, eſtabliſhed the Regal Authority againſt all *Papal* and *Popular*, *Foreign* and *Domeſtick Power*; I, who ſo often declared it unlawful for any Subject, upon *any Pretence whatſoever*, to take up *offenſive* or *defenſive* Arms againſt their *Sovereign*; I, who contemned my Siſter Churches, as teaching Doctrines and Poſitions leſſening that *towring Loyalty* which I profeſſed; and particularly her of *Rome*, for maintaining a foreign Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, though only in meer ſpiritual Matters; now find my Reputation tainted, my Loyalty brought in queſtion, and my conſtant Adherence to my own Canons and Conſtitutions, not only doubted of, but denied; whilſt the Malice of ſome of my Children bring in a foreign Power to invade my Sovereign's Rights, under a meer Pretence of ſupporting my Grandeur; and raiſe popular Tumults for the eſtabliſhing my Peace; whilſt the irregular Zeal of others, makes them draw their Swords againſt their and my Head and Sovereign in the moſt unnatural Quarrel; and others, who ſhould have ſtood up to ſupport my Honour, not only look on with an affected Silence, but by covert Ways abet *Rebellion*.

He who ſpares the Rod, ſays *Solomon*, *ſpoils the Child*; and this I fear has been my Caſe. The Evil ſeems, by my Neglect, to have taken Root, and ſpread its Branches to a large Extent; and ſhould I, in this Juncture of Affairs, make uſe of my maternal Power, or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and publickly diſinherit, or denounce them to be no Members of my Body, who have broken my *Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, to which an Excommunication, *ipſo facto*, is annexed, I might fear to exaſperate, rather than recal my Children to a due Obedience: Nay, I might juſtly apprehend a vaſt Diminution in my Numbers; and they who have given this Wound to their Mother's Honour, by calling in, or abetting a *Foreign Power* againſt her *Head*, would alſo contemn my *Cenſures*, and never ſue for *Abſolution*.

But *Loſers*, they ſay, *have Leave to ſpeak*; I hope then it may be allowed me, even at this Time, to ſpeak my Mind freely, and read a Lecture of Duty and Obedience to my Children.

And to whom ſhall I addreſs myſelf, but to them whoſe Eccleſiaſtical Dignity has given them not only Authority to teach my Children their Duty, but

to

to compel them alſo by Cenſures to it; and particularly to you my *ſeven Sons*, who of late gained ſo vaſt a Reputation, by oppoſing Majeſty, that no Emblem, but the *ſeven golden Candleſticks*, was thought ſufficient to expreſs your Glory: And this ſo much the rather, becauſe it is ſurmiſed, that Occaſion has been taken, from your Examples, to advance too far, and paſs over the Bulwarks of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* into the open Campaigns of *Rebellion*.

You know what *Articles*, *Canons*, and *Conſtitutions* have been eſtabliſhed by me in your Predeceſſor's Times; and what Obligations all my Children have lain under by them: But you know alſo, how little they have been put in Execution.

You know, that from my firſt Eſtabliſhment, I declared in my 37th Article, That, "The King's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of "*England*, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all "Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in *all Cauſes* "doth appertain, and is not, nor ought not, to be ſubject to *any foreign Juriſdiction*." And this without any Limitation.

You know alſo, that in the [l] *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* ſet forth in the firſt Year of King *James* the Firſt, "Not only the inferior Clergy, but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf, is obliged to keep and obſerve faithfully, and "(as much as in them lies) ſee that others keep and obſerve all and every the "*Statutes* and Laws confirming the *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* of the Kings of "*England*. And that all who have Cure of Souls, Preachers, *&c.* ſhall "teach, that *all foreign and uſurped Power* has for juſt Cauſes been taken "away and aboliſhed; and therefore no *Obedience* or *Subjection* is in *any Manner due*, in theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms and Dominions, to *any foreign Power whatſoever*. —— But that the regal Authority is the firſt and ſupreme, "next under *God*, to which *all Perſons* are obliged by the Law of God to "pay *all Fidelity* and *Obedience* above any other Power upon Earth."

That in the 2d of thoſe Canons, "They are to be excommunicated [m] *ipſo* "*facto*, who ſhall preſume, in any Manner, to hurt or leſſen the ſaid Regal "Primacy, eſtabliſhed by the *Laws* of the Kingdom: And that this *Excommunication* ſhall not be taken off, but by the Archbiſhop, and that, not till they "*repent*, and publickly recal thoſe *impious Errors*."

From whence it naturally follows, that, to bring in or abet *any foreign Juriſdiction*, (without Exception) againſt our lawful Sovereign, upon *any Pretence whatſoever*, whether *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Civil*, is to go directly againſt my Doctrine delivered in my XXXIX *Articles*, againſt the eſtabliſhed *Laws* of this Nation, againſt my *Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, and ſuch a Crime as is juſtly called *Impious*, and incurs an *Excommunication*, *ipſo facto*.

You know moreover, that in my latter [n] *Canons* and *Conſtitutions*, publiſhed in the Year 40 (to prevent thoſe inteſtine Broils which threatened the Nation, and brought it preſently after to Ruin:) Several Explanations of the

[l] *Sparow*'s Canons, p. 271. [m] *Lædere aut extenuare.* [n] *Sparow*'s Canons, p. 345.

Regal

Regal Power were commanded to be read by every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon ſome one *Sunday* in every Quarter of the Year at Morning-Prayer; which Explanations declared at large:

1. "That the moſt high and ſacred Order of Kings is of divine Right, "and that God has given them a ſupreme Power to rule and command in "their ſeveral Dominions, all Perſons of what Rank or Eſtate ſoever, whe-"ther Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and to reſtrain and puniſh with the temporal "Sword, all ſtubborn and wicked Doers.

2. "That the Care of God's Church is committed to Kings, who are com-"mended by God, when the Church keeps the right Way, and taxed by him "in holy Scriptures when it runs amiſs." But it is no where ſaid, that either a foreign, or domeſtick Power, may compel him to do, or puniſh him for not performing his Duty.

3. "That the Power to call and diſſolve Councils, both National and Pro-"vincial, is the true Right of all Chriſtian Kings within their own Realms and "Territories: And when, in the firſt Times of *Chriſt*'s Church, Prelates uſed "this Power, it was therefore only, becauſe in thoſe Days they had no Chriſtian "Kings: And it was then ſo only uſed as in Times of Perſecution, that is, "with Suppoſition (in caſe it were required) of ſubmitting their Lives unto the "very Laws and Commands, even of thoſe Pagan Princes, that they might "not ſo much as ſeem to diſturb their Civil Government, which *Chriſt* came "to confirm, but by no Means to undermine."

From whence it follows, That the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience, is what is taught in the Primitive Church, as neceſſary to be practiſed even towards Heathens, and their Laws, much more ought it to be now towards Chriſtian Princes.

4. "That for any Perſon, or Perſons, to ſet up, maintain, or avow, in any "their Realms or Territories reſpectively, any independent, co-active Power, "either Papal or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their "great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that moſt ſacred Ordinance, "which God himſelf hath eſtabliſhed; and ſo is treaſonable againſt God, as "well as againſt the King."

And certainly, if it was then my Duty to cry out againſt any independent, co-active Power, either Papal or Popular; it is no leſs my Duty now, to diſavow any foreign or domeſtick Power, though Proteſtant.

5. "That for Subjects to bear Arms againſt their Kings, offenſive or de-"fenſive, upon any Pretence whatſoever [whether for Religion or Property, "it matters not] is at leaſt to reſiſt the Powers, which are ordained of God: "And though they do not invade, but only reſiſt, St. *Paul* tells them plainly, "*They ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation*.

6. "They declare, That though Tribute and Cuſtom, and Aid, and Sub-"ſidy, and all Manner of neceſſary Support and Supply, be reſpectively due "to Kings from their Subjects, by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, "for the publick Defence, Care, and Protection of them; yet neverthel eſs "Subjects have not only Poſſeſſion of, but a true and juſt Title to, and in all "their Goods and Eſtates, and ought to have: And theſe two are ſo far from

" croſſing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and " comfortable Support of both: For as it is the Duty of the Subjects to ſupply " their King, ſo is it Part of the kingly Office, to ſupport his Subjects in the " Property and Freedom of their Eſtates.

7. " They decreed, That if any Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, ſhall " voluntarily, or careleſly neglect his Duty in publiſhing the ſaid *Explications* " and *Concluſions*, according to the Order above deſcribed, he ſhall be ſuſpend- " ed by his Ordinary, till ſuch Time as upon his Penitence he ſhall give ſuffi- " cient Aſſurance, or Evidence of his Amendment, *&c.*

8. " They do thereby alſo require Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other inferior " Prieſts and Miniſters, that they preach, teach, and exhort their People to obey, " honour, and ſerve their King: And that they preſume not to ſpeak of his " Majeſty's Power in any other Way than in this Canon is expreſſed.

9. " And laſtly, if any Parſon, Vicar, Curate, Preacher, or any other Ec- " cleſiaſtical Perſon whatſoever, ſhall in any Sermon, Lecture, Common- " Place, Determination, or Diſputation, either by Word or Writing, pub- " lickly maintain, or abet, any Poſition, or Concluſion, in Oppoſition or Im- " peachment of the aforeſaid *Explications*, or any Part or Article of them, he " ſhall forthwith, by the Power of His Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Cauſes " Eccleſiaſtical, be excommunicated (till he repent) and ſuſpended two Years " from all the Profits of his Benefice, or other Eccleſiaſtical, Academical, or " Scholaſtical Preferments, *&c.*"

You know alſo, that theſe *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* do bind you no leſs now in 88, than they did your Predeceſſors in 41, it having been decreed [o], " That whoſoever ſhall hereafter affirm, that a moſt holy Synod of this Na- " tion, is not repreſentatively the true Church of *England*; or that no Perſons, " whether of the Clergy or Laity, are any Ways obliged by the ſaid Decrees, " touching Eccleſiaſtical Matters, who were not perſonally preſent in the ſame " [p] holy Synod, as not having given their Votes or Conſent, ſhall be excom- " municated; and by no Means to be abſolved, till he have repented, and pub- " lickly recalled this wicked Error."

I muſt deſire you alſo to call to mind the Oaths which you and all my other Children of the Clergy took, when you entered into that ſacred Function, as alſo the Declarations you ſubſcribed when you became Incumbents.

The firſt at your Ordination, was in theſe Words:

" *I* A. B. *do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience* [q], *that the King's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things or Cauſes, as Temporal; and that no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical, or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all Foreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and*

[o] *Sparow's* Can. p. 333. Can. 139. [p] Can. 140. [q] *Ibid.* p. 145.

do

do promiſe, that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highneſs, His Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminences, and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, His Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

The Second Oath, or Declaration, is before their Admiſſion, to be Incumbents, in theſe Words:

I A. B. *declare, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King* [r]; *and that I abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms, by His Authority, againſt His Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by Him,* &c.

Theſe are my Articles, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Declarations, loyal indeed in their Expreſſions, and ſuch as religiouſly maintain my known Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, upon any Account whatſoever, and Paſſive Obedience, where Conſcience will not permit an Active. Theſe are the Oaths you yourſelves have taken, and the Declarations you have ſubſcribed. The Cenſures are high, even thoſe of Excommunication *ipſo facto*; and the Laws are made equally againſt any Foreign or Domeſtick Power, Papal or Popular; Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate.

But what does it avail me, to make Laws and Canons for my Children, if they will not pay Obedience? I can ſee my Siſter Churches religiouſly obeyed, and all their Children look upon themſelves, as bound, under a mortal Sin, to obey their Parent, though no Excommunications were annexed; but alas! all my Commands are ſlighted, even from the Obſervation of my Feaſts and Faſts, to my Allegiance to my Sovereign: And you who ſhould ſtand by me, and by your Cenſures, as well as your Examples, vindicate my Power, and maintain my Honour, take no Care to put my Canons in Execution: Nay, which is yet more, join with the Multitude of my rebellious Children, and by a criminal Silence in this Caſe, equally blaſt my Reputation.

Conſider, I pray (my Lords) your Station and your Duty. You are my principal Children, who ought to ſtand as Bulwarks to defend my Faith and Doctrine, and not only by your Diſcourſes, Sermons, and Examples, teach my inferior Children their Duties, but by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Excommunications compel them to it. But alas! how faintly do you comply with this Obligation?

You ſee a Foreign Power is entered into this Nation in an hoſtile Manner, pretending to give Laws to mine and your Liege Sovereign: You ſee Perſons of all Conditions join themſelves with this Invader, and take up Arms againſt my King, contrary to their ſworn Allegiance, and in Oppoſition to my Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance: And what Canon, Conſtitution, or Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure have you publiſhed againſt them? Have you pronounced this Invaſion unlawful, and all the Subjects of the King of *England*, who join with the Invader, Traitors both to their King and to their God; and ſuch as reſiſt the Powers that are of God, and ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation?

[r] *Act of Uniformity*, 14 *Car.* II.

Have you iſſued out your Commands to the inferior Clergy, to read the ſeveral Explanations of the Regal Power, and preach up that Obedience which is due, and the neceſſary Reſiſtance which every Subject ought to make againſt the Invaders of their Country? Have you excommunicated a *Burnet*, though liable to an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure? Has any of you opened your Mouths againſt the moſt perfidious Treachery of a C——, who calls me ſtill his Mother? In a word, what is it you have done to maintain my Doctrines, or ſecure me from the Reproaches that are daily caſt upon me?

Is not all the World ready to ſay at preſent, what a noble Peer ſaid ſome time ago to King *Charles* II. "The Church of *England* is, we ſee, like other "Chriſtian Churches, obedient, as long as it conſiſts with her Intereſt to obey, "and for a King as long as a King is for her; but ſetting aſide thoſe Caſes, "ſhe can diſpenſe with Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, as well as any "of her Puritan Neighbours:" And have you done any Thing to remove the Obliquy?

Nay, let me come a little cloſer to the Point: Have not ſome of your Order been accuſed of calling this Invader into your Country? Has not the Prince himſelf declared as much? Does not this reflect upon my Honour as well as yours? And have you vindicated either yourſelves or me? What could there have been more eaſy, or more ſeaſonable, for the Vindication of both our Reputations, than to have denied the Fact, and publiſhed an Abhorrence of ſuch a treacherous and unparallel'd Invaſion? And yet we ſee nothing but a profound Silence; which ſome ſay, is the certain Sign of Guilt.

A Silence, I ſay, unleſs you will call your laſt Petition your Defence, whilſt others look upon it as a publick Acknowledgment of your being guilty. A Petition, which, beſides the Unpracticableneſs of what is deſired in it, *a Free Parliament*, at a Juncture, when neither the King, Lords, nor Commons, can be free; being publiſhed at this Time, and without His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer, is looked upon, by moſt moderate Men, as an open abetting of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſign by this Invaſion, and a ſiding with him.

Let me a little expoſtulate the Caſe with you. Pray tell me, Is not the Prince of *Orange* a Foreign Enemy? Are not many of thoſe who join with him Subjects of the King of *England?* Has not he and they entered the Kingdom in an hoſtile Manner? Does he not now ſeize upon the King's Revenues? Has he not ſtript his Soldiers, who would not join in the moſt treacherous Action that ever ſaw the Light? Has he not erected a formal Treaſury? Does he not pretend to ſettle the Nation, redreſs Grievances, and force, or fright the King to a Compliance? Has he not forbid the publick Prayers for our dread Sovereign, and ordered them to be offered for himſelf? All this you cannot deny; pray then tell me further, What Law, Canon, or Conſtitution, has given him this Power, Superiority, or Dominion, over our King or Kingdom? What Caſe of Conſcience has abſolved the King's Subjects from their Allegiance? Who is it that has diſpenſed with all the Oaths you or they have taken; or, can they be diſpenſed with? What is there can make the moſt unnatural Invaſion lawful; and Rebellion, which is as the Sin of Witchcraft,

become

become a Virtue? If no Man muſt reſiſt, or take up Arms in any Caſe againſt the King, what colourable Pretence can any one produce to vindicate the Actions? Is the Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience mine, or is it not? If you cannot anſwer categorically to theſe Queſtions; but you muſt neceſſarily condemn this Invaſion and Rebellion, and all the Adherents or Abettors of it: Pray tell me, whether a Silence in thoſe that are obliged to ſpeak, have their Liberty, and may hope to prevail by ſpeaking, be not in the higheſt Nature criminal?

You know what Eſteem you have gained in the Minds of the People by oppoſing the King, and not publiſhing his Declaration for Liberty of other Perſons Conſciences; which Liberty you thought was inconſiſtent with your own; ſo that what you now ſay to them, will be looked upon almoſt as ſacred; but if you be not now as ſtout in oppoſing a foreign Power, and ſuppreſſing domeſtick Broils, will it not be inferred, either that you approve of the Invaſion, or have loſt your Courage, or acted then more by Paſſion than Reaſon or Religion? I muſt needs tell you, that ſome are not afraid to whiſper; nay, to ſpeak it out, "That you had not been then ſo courageous, if you "had not foreſeen this Invaſion; and that the ſeven Trumpets now appears "to have been a fitter Emblem than the *ſeven Candleſticks:*" And thus that Glory which you then gained begins to tarniſh, and the Garland withers upon your Temple, by your being ſilent, and you ſtill affect it.

But you will perhaps ſtill ſay with the *Mobile*, The Prince comes not to hurt us, but to protect us and our Religion. You will alſo, it may be, ſay that thoſe Laws, Canons, and Conſtitutions, which were made againſt a Foreign Power, were only meant againſt the Pope and Popery, but not againſt a Proteſtant Prince, who comes only to ſecure us againſt the Deſigns of Papiſts.

But if you ſay this, ſpeak ſoftly; leſt you entirely ruin my Reputation, and inſtead of repelling the Calumny, clench it by ſuch Diſtinctions. Is not King *James* II. my lawful Sovereign, againſt whom this Foreign Invader comes? Are not you, and all his Liege Subjects, bound by all the Ties of God, of Nature, and of Nations, to defend him againſt any Power whatever, Papal or Popular, Foreign or Domeſtick? Suppoſe he had gone about to perſecute my Children, or pull me down (though I muſt needs ſay, the Promiſes he made me, and the Methods he was taking to ſecure my Right, would have been the moſt ſolid Eſtabliſhment for me, even to envy in future Ages) is not Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance my known Doctrine? What Pretence then can you, or any of my Children, have to join with ſuch a Foreign Power, abet Rebellion, or ſtand with folded Arms, without pronouncing Sentence againſt ſuch Rebels?

Have you ſuch a Charm as can turn what would be Treaſon, Treachery, and Rebellion in a Papiſt, into Proteſtant Virtues? I dare ſay, if the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any *Roman* Catholick King, Prince, or Potentate, had, in the Beginning of the Proteſtant Reformation, entered into this Kingdom in ſuch an hoſtile Manner, for the Defence of the ancient Liberties and Religion of the Nation,

as then by Law eſtabliſhed, you would have proclaimed them unjuſt Invaders, and all the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, that would not join in the repelling of them, Traitors. And is the Caſe now changed, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* is a Proteſtant, and our Gracious King a *Roman* Catholick? Is that a Virtue in a Proteſtant Prince, which would be the higheſt Crime in a *Roman* Catholick King? Was the intended Invaſion in 1588 looked upon by me as a moſt wicked Undertaking, and juſtly puniſhed by an avenging Fire, and ſhall not that of 1688 be as much condemned; becauſe this is a Proteſtant Invaſion, and that a *Roman* Catholick? Have you ſo frequently condemned the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and inſtilled an Averſion into the People's Minds, by laying bloody Principles to their Charge; and will you now aſſert, that it is lawful for Proteſtants to defend their Religion againſt their Sovereign, by Invaſions, Rebellions, Tumults, Rapines, Seditions, Maſſacres, Bloodſhed, and all the dire Effects of War?

Tell not theſe Things in Gath, *publiſh them not in the Streets of* Aſkelon, *leſt the Daughters of the* Philiſtines *rejoice, leſt the Daughters of the Uncircumciſed triumph.* Tell them not, (I ſay) leſt not only our Brethren of other Nations, but even Heathens themſelves, ſhould ſcoff at our Morality.

I have heard of ſeveral *Roman* Catholicks, who, being interrogated by publick Authority, whether, if the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould come into *England*, they would ſtand for the Pope, or for the King, made Anſwer, "If the "Pope come in with his Books and Beads, we will be for him; but if he "come in with Sword and Piſtol, we will fight againſt him." And ſhall they whoſe Principles we cenſure, exceed us in the Degrees of Loyalty? What ſhame, what Confuſion will this be to us in After-ages! when God, who will vindicate the Right of Kings, ſhall again eſtabliſh our Sovereign's Throne in Peace? This will be a Blot to be hit by every polemick Writer: My Reputation thus loſt, will never be regained, and I ſhall always be put in Mind of the wiſe Man's Advice, *Fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with thoſe that are given to change.*

Let me beg of you then (my beloved Children) to conſider your Mother's Honour and Reputation, if you will not reflect upon your own. Let not my Doctrines and Principles be laid aſide, and thoſe that are contrary to them embraced by you. Let it not be objected that I have changed my Faith, and inſtead of even Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, now go about to preſerve my Rights and Privileges by an Invader's Sword, and Rebels Arms: But, on the contrary, labour to regain your own Reputations, and repair my blaſted Honour by an unſhaken Stedfaſtneſs to your Sovereign.

Publiſh boldly the Abhorrence of this treacherous Invaſion, which is the only Way to clear your Innocence, and confute the Invader's Accuſation. Move your Brethren to ſend forth your joint Injunctions to all the inferior Clergy, commanding them to preach Obedience and Non-reſiſtance to the People, and by that Means quell the Fury of the Rabble. Declare all thoſe to be excommunicated Perſons, whom the King declares to be Traitors. Pronounce Rebellion to be as the Sin of Witchcraft; and that they who

curſe

curſe the King in their Thoughts, ſhall have a Bird of the Air carry the Voice, and an avenging God to puniſh the Offence. Stand up now, before it is too late, for my Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, and then you need not fear the being exerciſed in that of Paſſive Obedience; for when our gracious Sovereign ſhall, by that Means, ſee your Loyalty in Practice, as well as Doctrine, he will be as conſtant to his Promiſes as you can be to your Principles; and if I maintain the Right of Kings, he will maintain me as by Law eſtabliſhed.

The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled, A New Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty. *With ſome Reflections upon the additional Libel, intitled,* An Inſtance of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty.

THE Church of *England* has, of late Years eſpecially, been on the charitable Side towards the Papiſts, and has allowed them to be Chriſtians, and not Anti-chriſtians; nay, to be a true Church, and not the Synagogue of Satan; and ſeemed to have utterly forgotten the two fundamental Points of Popery, *That Hereticks are to be purſued with Fire and Sword,* which was determined by the *Lateran* Council, under *Innocent* the Third, and conſcientiouſly practiſed ever ſince; and, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; which the Council of *Conſtance* determined in the Caſe of *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*. And in this Exceſs of Charity, which hopeth all Things, and believeth all Things, they have hoped againſt Hope, and have exerciſed ſtrong Acts of Faith where no Faith is; neither have they had any Apprehenſions of being deſtroyed, but rather of being ſaved and protected with Fire and Sword. But finding in great Meaſure their Charity miſtaken, to the End that all their Diſappointments may ſeem juſt upon them, they are preſently taxed with Diſloyalty. So *Æſop*'s Lamb, when ſhe was to be eaten, was charged by the Wolf for muddying the upper Part of the Stream, which was far above her. In Vindication therefore of the Church of *England*, and to ſhew her Innocency in this Point, I ſhall examine this new Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty, where ſhe is tried and caſt, weighed in the Balance and found light; but, to our Comfort, it is by deceitful Weights and Meaſures.

The firſt Device is to pretend, "That the Church of *England* appropriate "to themſelves alone the Principles of true Loyalty, and that no other Church "or Communion on Earth can be conſiſtent with Monarchy, or indeed with "any Government. This is a Preſumption of ſo high a Nature, that it renders "the Church of *England* a deſpicable Enemy to the reſt of Mankind."

To which I anſwer, That the Church of *England* is here repreſented by that which is the true Character of the Church of *Rome*, which has all along been a known

known Engroſſer; which pretends to have all Faith, and all Holineſs, and will have all Heaven to herſelf; and pretending to have the Keys of it, will ſuffer none others to come thither: Whereas the Church of *England* allows, not only that all Proteſtants have true Faith and true Loyalty, as well as ſhe, and the ſame Faith and Loyalty, as appears by the Harmony of their Confeſſions; but alſo that Pagans are capable of moral Virtue, ſuch as Loyalty is, and have heretofore been great Examples of it. Many of them have looked upon themſelves as not born for themſelves, but for their Country, and were ſtrict Obſervers of the Laws; and it is well known, that *Socrates* in particular had that Reverence for the Laws, that though he was put upon it by his Friends, yet he would not break them to ſave his Life. *His Bones and Sinews*, as his Words are, in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, could eaſily have carried him into a foreign Country, but he would not ſuffer them to do it. And therefore this Author, in ſaying that the Church of *England* avers, "That no other Sect or Community on "Earth, from the Riſing to the Setting Sun, can be capable of this ſingular "Gift of Loyalty," betrays his Malice and Ignorance together, and plainly ſhews, that though he makes new Teſts of Loyalty, yet he does not know what Loyalty is.

The Word *loyal* is a Term of Law, and is indifferently applied to Things as well as Perſons. So a loyal Judgment is a Judgment according to Law, and is oppoſed to a falſe Judgment. A loyal Contract is a lawful Bargain. A Man buys a Horſe in a Market, and then he has a loyal Title, a legal Title to him. So again, a Perſon behaves himſelf according to Law, and obſerves the Laws of the Land; and then he is a loyal Man, he is *Legalis Homo*, as a Juryman is required to be; that is, ſuch a one as cannot be challenged for a Criminal, or a Breaker of the Laws. And in caſe a Man's Behaviour be according to Law, it is loyal, whether it reſpect a Superior or an Inferior. *Action n'eſt autre choſe que Loial demand de ſon droit.* "An Action is nothing elſe but "the loyal Demand of a Man's Right." *Mirror*, Pag. 115 and 122. "A "Serjeant at Law ſhall not uſe any Deceits in his Practice, nor conſent to "them; *Mes loyalment maintiendra le droit de ſon Client*, &c. but ſhall "loyally maintain the Right of his Client, ſo that it be not overthrown by "any Folly, Negligence, or Default of his."

From hence it follows, that Loyalty can have no other Rule or Meaſure but the Law; for though ſome Men love to have confuſed Notions of Things, and ſpeak of Loyalty as if it were a Thing in the Clouds, and ſome abſtruſe Matter over our Heads, yet it appears to be a plain Thing, and of eaſy Comprehenſion; for it is nothing elſe but Conformity to the Laws. The plain *Engliſh* of Loyalty is Lawfulneſs; and it is utterly impoſſible that there ſhould be any other Teſt or Touchſtone, any other Meaſure or Standard of Lawfulneſs, but the Law itſelf; for if there had been no Law, as there had been no Tranſgreſſion nor Violation of it, ſo there had been no Loyalty nor Conformity to it: And therefore Loyalty againſt Law is a Contradiction; it is Obedience made up of Diſobedience. The Law is that which makes the King our Liege Lord, and us his Liege People; and accordingly, both Prince and People are mutually

ſworn

ſworn to the keeping of it; and our Allegiance binds us to an Obedience according to Law, and not otherwiſe. To obey the King himſelf, contrary to Law, is Diſloyalty; and to diſobey the King, in Obedience to the Laws, is Loyalty. If it be not thus, then all the Judges of *England*, for theſe 340 Years, and upwards, have been all ſworn to be diſloyal; for they are ſworn "to proceed according "to Law; though the King, by his Letters or Writs under the Great Seal, "or under the Little Seal, or by his own Mouth, ſhall command them the "contrary." 2, 18, 20, *Ed.* III. *Forteſc.* c. 51. *Etiamſi rex per literas ſuas, aut ore tenus contrarium juſſerit.* And ſo in the Court-leet, when we ſwear, "that we will be true Liegemen, and true Faith and Truth bear to our So-"vereign Lord the King; and that we ſhall no Felony nor Treaſon commit, "nor thereunto aſſent; and ſhall be obedient to all the King's Majeſty's Laws, "Precepts, and Proceſs proceeding from the ſame." It is plain, that we do not promiſe any Obedience to Precepts or Proceſs, which are contrary to Law, or beſides the Law, and not grounded upon it; no, that is no Part of our Allegiance; which you plainly ſee is limited to the Laws.

Now this being the undoubted Notion of Loyalty, how ſhould the Church of *England* ever dream of appropriating it to herſelf, ſince Obedience to the Laws of their Country has always been practiſed, in all Nations, by all virtuous Men whatſoever? It being a Point of common Honeſty and Juſtice, that Men ſhould abide by thoſe Laws, which either themſelves or their Proxies have made, and to which, in one Way or another, they have given their own Conſent; which always concludes, and is binding to an honeſt Man. Only there is one Sort of Men in the World who can never be loyal; becauſe no Man can ſerve two Maſters, the Government of his own Country, and the Pope of *Rome*. They, who have a Legiſlator Abroad, to give them new Laws, and a Diſpenſer to repeal the old ones, can never be true and firm to the Laws of their natural Country. Their Loyalty is in Abeyance to the Pope's Laws, (which agreed even with the old Laws of *England*, before the Reformation, like Fire and Water, as Archbiſhop *Cranmer* proves, in his large Letter to Queen *Mary*) and their Allegiance is pinned upon the Pope's Sleeve. In the mean Time, the Church of *England* has very great Reaſon to inſiſt upon her Loyalty; becauſe, if a Man be not a lawful Man, he is defeated of the Benefit of the Law in many Caſes; whereas the Members of the Church of *England* are able to uſe the old legal Exceptions againſt their preſent Accuſers. *Siri, jeo ſuy loial Home, & a la foy le Roy; & ceſt provor eſt felon, & hors la foy le Roy.* "Sirs, I am a lawful Man, and in Allegiance to the King; and "this Accuſer of mine is a Felon, or a Traitor, and never took the Oath of "Allegiance." And we are ready to join Iſſue with them upon this Point, whether they, or we be the lawful Men, and which of us are guilty of High-treaſon againſt the King and the Realm; Felony, Miſpriſion of Treaſon, Præmunire; and are utterly diſabled by the Law to hold any Office, either Civil or Military; not only by the Statutes made in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, but alſo in the Reigns of King *James*, and of King *Charles* the Second. And therefore, as often as we are taxed in our Loyalty, we ſhall only aſk them, What

Laws we have broken? Or whether it be we, or they, who hate the Laws of the Land, and are continually exclaiming againſt them, and would blow them up, with as good a Will, as once they attempted to blow up all the States of the Kingdom in the Parliament-houſe where thoſe Laws were made; and for that very Reaſon, becauſe thoſe Laws were made there? See *3 Jac.* c. 1. the Statute which is yearly read in our Churches on the Fifth of *November*.

Having thus explained the true Senſe and Meaning of Loyalty, it is eaſy for every Body to apply it, and to juſtify the Church of *England*'s Carriage and Behaviour, both in her Infancy, and now in her old Age (by the Way, old Folks and threatned Folks live long) and to ſhew that it has been according to the Laws of the Land; which, if they had broken and oppoſed, as the Papiſts have done, they might then be charged with Diſloyalty indeed. But while they continue to keep the Laws, by the Grace of God, the Laws will keep them; for ſo long as the Law enables them to hold their own, they can challenge the Benefit of the Law, they can claim a legal Protection; which is far better than any which is illegal and arbitrary, uncertain and precarious; and they are on the better Side of the Hedge of all the Violaters of the Law whatſoever. I ſhall not need therefore to trouble myſelf with the Remainder of this new Teſt, any otherwiſe than by making ſome very ſhort Notes upon the moſt remarkable Paſſages in it.

I. The firſt Charge is, *That the Church of* England *aſſiſted Uſurpers to invade the Crown*, meaning the Lady *Jane* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

As for the firſt of theſe, I cannot ſee how it can be charged upon the Church of *England*; becauſe the Proteſtants were divided about Queen *Jane*'s Title; ſome were for it, and ſome were againſt it; as particularly Judge *Hales* and the *Suffolk* Goſpellers, who ſtuck to Queen *Mary*, and were but ſorrily rewarded for it. But to wave Queen *Jane*'s Caſe, and what might be ſaid concerning it from the Statute 11 *Hen.* VII. c. 1. I think this is a very fair Offer, that when the Papiſts have anſwered for all the bad Titles which were ſet up in the Times of *Popery*, which were at leaſt in the Proportion of two bad ones for one good; we will then anſwer, as well as we can, for that ſingle one, which has happened ſince the Time of the Reformation.

The other Uſurper, which the Church of England *aſſiſted to invade the Crown, was Queen* Elizabeth, *a known Baſtard.* It is well known, that a Popiſh Parliament, then ſitting, acknowledged her Title, and aſſiſted in ſetting her upon the Throne; and not the Church of *England*, which was then driven into Corners, and into Foreign Countries, and was not in a Condition to aſſiſt any body. And whereas Queen *Elizabeth* is ſaid to have been a known Baſtard, the Church and Court of *Rome* knew the contrary; for they knew that her Mother's Marriage was good, becauſe the former Marriage was naught. And the former Marriage was confeſſedly naught, becauſe it wanted the Pope's Diſpenſation and Licence; which was bought with a mighty Sum of Money to make it good. If it had been lawful in itſelf, it had not needed the Pope's Diſpenſation to make it lawful. And we are willing to refer it to all the World,

World, whether the Pope's Diſpenſation can make an unlawful Marriage to be lawful.

II. We are told, *That the Prelatick Proteſtancy, called the Church of* England, *enacted thoſe bloody Canibal Laws, to hang, draw, and quarter,* the *Prieſts of the living God.* I ſuppoſe he means the Maſs-prieſts; now theſe Canibal Laws were made to hang them, not as Prieſts, but as Traitors and Traitor-makers. But I would fain aſk, might not any Sheep-ſtealer, or Cut-purſe, in *Newgate*, exclaim againſt Perſecution, and the bloody Canibal Laws, with a much better Grace? That a Man, made in the Image of God, ſhould be hanged like a Dog, for ſuch Trifles as a Sheep, or a little looſe Pocket-money! Whereas the Law of God only required *fourfold Reſtitution* in thoſe Caſes; and in ſome Countries, ſtealing was not only lawful, but was encouraged as an Accompliſhment; but on the other Hand, in God's own Government idolatrous Prieſts were to be put to Death, and by the Law of Nations in all Countries whatſoever, Spies, Deſerters, Adherents and Emiſſaries of a publick Enemy, (as by our Law the Pope is to us, and by his Law all Hereticks are declared to be to him) are all to be hanged up.

And then as for the Maſs-prieſts being called *the Prieſts of the living God*, I appeal to the Senſes and Underſtanding of all Mankind, whether the Lord God, the Maker, the Former, and the Creator of a Maſs-prieſt, whom he carries in his Box, and worſhips, be a living God, or no? Nay, according to *the School of the Euchariſt*, I will be judged by the very Rats and Mice, which often run away with him.

III. The next Thing the Church, or rather the State of *England* is charged with, for it was a Parliament Buſineſs at leaſt thirteen Years, is the Execution of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, for Treaſon againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; wherein, if they did any Thing contrary to Law, and the Allegiance due to their then preſent Queen *Elizabeth*, they are chargeable with Diſloyalty, otherwiſe not; and whereas this Author calls it *a barbarous Murder*, and an *execrable Fact*, I would deſire him to ſpeak low; for if the Laws ſhould over-hear him, they would call this arraigning the Juſtice of the Nation; and in ſaying, that this Fact was *the firſt of the Kind*, he betrays great Ignorance; he might as well have ſaid, that the Emperor *Licinius*, Colleague with *Conſtantine the Great*, and Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, are *ſtill living*; and as yet I have never read, that what *Conſtantine* did in that Caſe, was to the *Scandal and Reproach of Chriſtianity*, or even of thoſe *Chriſtians* who lived under *Licinius*, and joined with *Conſtantine the Great* in that Affair.

But fourthly, I find (which is the Subſtance of the ſixth and ſeventh Pages) That the Church of *England* might have all her old Scores cleared, and all her former Faults forgotten, and might paſs for Loyal ſtill, if ſhe would now conſent *to the repeal of the Sanguinary Penal Laws, (which were purpoſely enacted to maintain the Uſurpation of Queen* Elizabeth) *and the late impious Teſts*, which puts me in Mind of the Conditions of Peace, which the Wolves ſent to the Sheep; the main Article was, that the Sheep ſhould deliver up their Dogs, which they kept for a Guard, and which were the great Hindrance to a firm and

laſting Peace, but every body knows how long the Peace laſted; but to proceed, *if the Sanguinary Penal Laws were purpoſely enacted to maintain the Uſurpation of Queen* Elizabeth, how came they to be enacted afreſh in the firſt Year of King *James*, when that *Uſurpation* was over? How came they two Years after, 330 *Jac.* c. 1. to be called religious and neceſſary Laws? And how came more of theſe religious and neceſſary Laws to be made in the ſame Parliament, and in ſucceeding Parliaments? As for *the late impious Teſts* (choice Epithets for the Laws of the Land) they were made, as appears by the Title of the Acts, *to prevent Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants.* Now the Sheep might ſafely have parted with their Dogs, if the peaceable Wolves at the ſame Time would have parted with their *Fangs.*

5. In the laſt Page he ſays, "As for the Teſts themſelves, it is not my "Province to ſhew the Abſurdities of them in Point of Doctrine." It is well it is not; for he muſt get Abundance of Help whenever he goes about that Work. However, he offers at it in theſe Words: "Though, by the by, I muſt hold "it a great Folly to ſay, that Tranſubſtantiation is not a probable Opinion at "the leaſt, conſidering the Number and Learning of thoſe who maintain it, "which is the beſt Part of Chriſtendom; and if it be a probable Opinion, it "muſt be a great Temerity in any Man to ſwear there is no ſuch Thing." I had always thought, that a probable Opinion muſt be made out by Proofs, and probable Reaſons, and not by Numbers, and telling of Noſes; but it ſeems the Cauſe of Tranſubſtantiation runs very low, when it muſt be maintained by ſuch Arguments, as hold much ſtronger for *Paganiſm*, and for *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, whom all the World worſhipped. The Religion of the *Heathens* was of a larger Extent, and of longer ſtanding than Popery, and was maintained by all the Learning of *Athens* and of ancient *Rome*; and yet we dare be ſworn, that it was a falſe Religion. I think we do not renounce Tranſubſtantiation upon Oath, but only by publick Declaration and Subſcription; but if we did, it would by no Means be a raſh Oath. For may not I ſafely ſwear, that there is no ſuch Figure as a Square Circle, when the Thing involves manifold Contradictions, and it is plainly demonſtrable, that the Properties of a Square and of a Circle are utterly inconſiſtent. Now we have a Thouſandfold more Evidence, and are able to make as clear Proof and Demonſtration of it a thouſand Times over, that there never was, nor is, nor can be any ſuch Thing as Tranſubſtantiation, which is nothing elſe but a Heap of Contradictions, Abſurdities, and impoſſible Falſhoods. And therefore we have the ſame Aſſurance, that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation never came, nor could come from God, as we have of this clear and evident Truth, that it is impoſſible for God to lie.

6. And now we are come to the Concluſion and Upſhot of the Buſineſs, which is in theſe words: "So that, upon the whole Matter, the loyal Church "of *England* muſt either change her old Principles of Loyalty, and take "Example by her Catholick Neighbours, how to behave herſelf towards a "Prince who is not of her Perſuaſion; or ſhe muſt give his Majeſty leave "not to nouriſh a Snake in his own Boſom, but rather to withdraw his

"Royal

" Royal Protection, which was promiſed upon the Account of her conſtant " Fidelity." I wiſh this Author had been more expreſs and particular in this Dilemma and Difficulty, to which he thinks he has reduced the Church of *England*; either to turn over a new Leaf, and learn a new Leſſon of Loyalty from her Catholick Neighbours, or elſe to do worſe. For he does not tell us, which of our Catholick Neighbours we muſt take Example by; whether Mrs. *Celier*, and Mr. *Sclater*, who have both publiſhed to the World, that they turned Papiſts, that is, have made themſelves High-Traitors, for the Improvement of their Loyalty: Or whether we ſhould take Example by this Author himſelf, to call Queen *Elizabeth* Baſtard; to ridicule an infallible *Engliſh* Parliament, as he calls it in Scorn; to deprave and vilify ſeveral Statutes, which are, and will be the ſtanding Laws of the Land, till ſuch Time as they are repealed by Act of Parliament: And therefore, he has not been ſo clear as he might have been in this Point; which the Church of *England* will hardly trouble herſelf about; becauſe ſhe likes her old Principles of Loyalty very well, and is not given to change, but knows when ſhe is well. In the mean Time, this Author tells us very plainly, and expreſly enough, " That till the Church of *England* " change their old Principles of Loyalty, and take Example by their Catholick " Neighbours, they are to be looked upon as a Snake in his Majeſty's Boſom, " and cannot expect to be protected." Alas! this Gentleman is utterly miſtaken; for a legal Eſtabliſhment has a Right to a legal Protection, and the King is bound, both by his Oath, and by the Duty of his kingly Office, to protect the Church of *England* as it is by Law eſtabliſhed: And therefore to talk of withdrawing Protection from the Church of *England*, is to talk of removing the *Thames* to *York*. But we are ſo much uſed to ſuch empty Threatnings and Flaſhes in the Pan, that we know they will not kill. So the Reply to the *Oxford* Reaſons againſt addreſſing, threatens the Church of *England*, " That, " by the Prerogative, in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, it may be in a great Meaſure " *legally ſubverted.*" P. 4. A legal Eſtabliſhment, even while it remains ſuch, legally ſubverted! They would make us believe, that the Laws of *England* were made up of Jeſuitical Equivocations, and did blow hot and cold with the ſame Mouth; but beſides, that Replier ſhould be told, that a thouſand more of his pompous Quotations, which were written in the Time of the High Commiſſion, will not revive that Branch of the Statute 1 *Elizabeth*, upon which the High Commiſſion Court was erected. And likewiſe he ſhould be told, that a Power given by one Statute, and taken away afterwards by two, is certainly reduced to its primitive Nothingneſs.

But I return to our preſent Author only to take my leave of him, which he has done of the Church of *England* in theſe words. " And now let us leave " the Holy Mother Church at Liberty, to conſult what new Meaſures of " Loyalty ſhe ought to take for her own dear Intereſt, and for ought I know it " may be worth her ſerious Conſideration." I am in Hopes, that this Church of God, *which he hath purchaſed with his own Blood*, (though this Author be pleaſed to trample upon her with ſo much Scorn and Inſolence) will take Occaſion, even at an Enemies bidding, *to conſult what new Meaſures of Loyalty ſhe ought*

ought to take for her own dear Intereſt, and for the Intereſt of Poſterity, which is much dearer, and for the everlaſting Intereſt of both, which is deareſt of all. And will humbly and heartily bewail her Diſloyalty to her great Lord and Maſter, and thoſe many, and great, and open Tranſgreſſions and Violations of his moſt holy and righteous Laws which are amongſt us. And Oh, that every Member of that Communion in particular would ſpeedily repent, and return to his Duty, and perſevere in a Courſe of holy Obedience to his Life's End! This is the *Loyalty* that is too much wanting in the Church of *England*, which is due to the Laws of our bleſſed Saviour, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. As for her earthly Lords, they cannot charge her with any diſobedient or lawleſs Carriage towards them, or with any Diſregard to the Laws, unleſs perhaps in ſome unwarrantable, officious Inſtances, which it would hardly be proper for them to object againſt her: And to the End, that both we, and our Children after us, may be better Subjects to our bleſſed Lord, than hitherto we have been, I am in Hopes, that the Church of *England* will lay a dead Hold upon that great Depoſitum which the Laws have put into her Hands, which is the only Inſtrument of our Reformation, I mean the *Engliſh* Bible. We are very bad now; but what would become of us, if we ſhould likewiſe be deprived of the only Means to make us better? If all the Laws of the Land were aboliſhed, there could be no Loyalty; and if the Goſpel were taken away, which is the Laws and Statutes of Heaven, how were it poſſible for us to be the Subjects of *Jeſus Chriſt?* We might indeed be the Servants of Men, and Vaſſals to the Pope, but we could not poſſibly obey the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, if it were taken and hid from us; we remember full well who they were that would not ſuffer an *Engliſh* Bible to be in this Kingdom for very many Ages together: And if any devout and religious Soul, who deſired to know his Maſter's Will, had gotten but the Lord's Prayer, or Ten Commandments in *Engliſh*, it coſt him his Life. We ſhall never forget the ſeven *Coventry* Martyrs, who were burned all together in the little Park, the 4th of *April*, 1519, for teaching their Children and Family the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in *Engliſh*, nor ſhall we ever forget how the poor Children were ſent for, and charged in no wiſe to meddle any more with thoſe very ſmall Scriptures, upon Pain of ſuffering the ſame Death with their Parents. What is once made Hereſy by an infallible Church, muſt be always and every where Hereſy, though Hereſy indeed is not every where durning, for want of Opportunity. Thanks be to God, and our good Laws, that it is not ſo here; and I hope the Church of *England* will always be careful to aſſert the Authority and Majeſty of the Laws, which are ſo much to be preferred and valued above our Lives, in as much as by them we enjoy both our Lives and the Proteſtant Religion together. May God be entreated to continue this unvaluable and undeſerved Bleſſing to us, and to our Poſterity! *Amen.*

Some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intituled, An Inſtance of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty.

IT is a juſt Judgment upon thoſe who have renounced their Reaſon to embrace Tranſubſtantiation, and thereby have diſtorted their natural Faculties, that their Underſtandings ſtand awry for ever after, and we cannot expect ſo much as common Senſe from them any more. From thenceforward they write, as well as believe contradictious Myſteries; and he that means to comprehend their aukward and perverſe Reaſonings, muſt ſtand upon his Head. We need not go far to fetch Examples of this, for the late *Inſtance of the Church of* England*'s Loyalty*, is a remarkable Inſtance of all that I have ſaid: Wherein there are theſe following Abſurdities, delivered in a Way of much Smartneſs, and with the Appearance of very cloſe Reaſoning.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are ſet aſide, and ſome few Addreſſes in this preſent Reign, are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

2. The Biſhops and Clergy of ſeveral Convocations, who have been dead theſe hundred Years, are rendered diſloyal, for not governing themſelves by theſe Addreſſes two Years ago, which they knew not of.

3. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* by ſuch an Argument as makes her no Queen of *Scots*, and by giving her another's Kingdom takes away her own.

4. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* upon the Hypotheſis of the paternal Right, when upon that Hypotheſis ſhe was diſinherited, and forecloſed from the Crown of *England* by two ſucceſſive Patriarchs, *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. I ſhould think for that very Reaſon, That the Hypotheſis of the Laws had been a much better Hypotheſis.

In the opening a little, and ſhewing theſe Abſurdities, I ſuppoſe I ſhall meet with all that is remarkable in that Paper.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are ſet aſide, and ſome few Addreſſes in this preſent Reign are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, p. 3. and 5. Is this *arguing from the Church of* England*'s own Principles*, which, he ſays, *is the Deſign of his Paper*, p. 6? Is it the Principle of any one Clergyman in *England*, That the Doctrine of the Church of *England* is to be ſought for, and found out in Addreſſes? Or in any thing but the Liturgy and Homilies, the Articles and Canons of the Church, which have the publick Sanction, and the univerſal Conſent of the whole Clergy? If he had found Materials out of any of theſe to make good his Charge of Diſloyalty, he had done like a Man, and the Church

Church of *England* had been condemned out of her own Mouth; but if he cannot do this at preſent, we will have Patience to ſtay till he can, and in the mean Time he had done wiſelier to have ſaid nothing.

2. The Biſhops and Clergy of ſeveral Convocations, who have been dead theſe hundred Years, are rendered diſloyal, for not governing themſelves by theſe Addreſſes two Years ago, which they knew not of. This is a great Hardſhip indeed, that Men ſhall be tried and condemned by Laws, which were not promulged till an hundred Years after their Death. The preſent Church of *England* has a very great Reverence for thoſe Biſhops and Clergy, who were the Reſtorers of the Proteſtant Religion to this Kingdom, and who had formerly hazarded their Lives for it, and will be very loth to ſee them paſs under the Character of Traitors and Rebels: And when we demand, What Laws of the Land, or what Principles of the Church of *England* they had tranſgreſſed, we are in effect told, that they were Rebels againſt ſome choſen Expreſſions in very modern Addreſſes. The Inſtance which he gives, is the Church of *England's* Behaviour towards *Mary* Queen of *Scots* above an hundred Years ago: Now mark his Words, p. 5. "But yet, becauſe I am "about to give a notorious Inſtance of their receding from this Principle, "(namely, the divine Right of Succeſſion) when the Practice of it thwarted "their Intereſt, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that they have acknowledged, "in their ſeveral Addreſſes to his preſent Majeſty, upon his Acceſſion to the "Crown, the unalterable and inherent Right of Succeſſion." Now this is the Reaſoning, which, as I ſaid before, would make a Man ſtand upon his Head. Beſides, how could they *recede*, or go back from a Principle which they never came to, and were never nearer it than at an hundred Years Diſtance? For their Opinion, or Principle, call it what you will, was this, as appears by the 27 *Eliz.* That in caſe an Heir in Remainder killed the preſent lawful Poſſeſſor of the Crown, that Perſon had not a divine Right of Succeſſion. And that neither God nor the Laws ever meant to reward the Falſhood of Treaſon, and the bloody Uſurpation of a Crown, with ſo much the earlier Poſſeſſion of it. My Buſineſs is not to concern myſelf about either of theſe Principles or Opinions, but only to ſhew the abſurd Reaſoning of this Writer.

3. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* by ſuch an Argument as makes her no Queen of *Scots*, and by giving her another's Kingdom takes away her own. The Argument is this, That Queen *Elizabeth* being illegitimate, and only an Act of Parliament Queen, could not interpoſe betwixt the Crown of *England* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who was Heir by inherent Birthright. Now does not all the World know, that all the Title that *Mary* Queen of *Scots* had to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was an Act of Parliament made at *Scone* in the Time of *Robert* the Firſt; whereby his Iſſue by *Elizabeth Moor* his Concubine (whom he never married, but who was afterwards married to one *Giffard*, a Gentleman of *Louthien*) were made inheritable to the Crown, and at the ſame Time all his legitimate Children, by his lawful Queen *Eupheme*, were ſet aſide. Theſe Men take juſt the ſame Meaſures as their Father *Garnet* did in the Gun-Powder Treaſon, who reſolved, That in order to blow

blow up the Hereticks, they might lawfully blow up their Catholick Friends too; nay, all that this Inſtancer ſays againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, (admitting it to be true, which we do not) bears much harder upon the Title of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. Was Queen *Anne*'s Marriage with *Henry* VIII. naught? But in *Elizabeth Moore*'s Caſe there was no Marriage at all. Or was King *Edward* ſet aſide to make Way for illegitimate *Elizabeth?* But ſo it was done by the Act at *Scone*. Every body underſtands the *Engliſh* of Queen *Anne Bolen*'s Pre-contract, when they remember, that King *Henry* VIII. was married again to Lady *Jane Seymour*, within three Days after the Beheading of that Queen.

4. *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, is made Queen of *England*, upon the Hypotheſis of the paternal Right, P. 3 and 5. when, upon that Hypotheſis, ſhe was diſinherited and foreclоſed from the Crown of *England* by two ſucceſſive Patriarchs *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. *Henry* VIII. by his Laſt Will and Teſtament, excluded the Houſe of *Scotland*, and *Edward* VI. by his Will, excluded both that and his own Siſters likewiſe. But, as the Biſhop of *Roſs* argued againſt the firſt Will, that it was not ſubſcribed by his Grace's own Hand-writing, as was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only ſigned with a Stamp of his Name; ſo King *Edward* was never enabled, by an Act of Parliament, to diſpoſe of the Crown at all; and ſo neither of theſe Wills ſignified any thing, becauſe the Prince has no Power but what the Law gives him: Whereas, if theſe foreſaid Princes had been Patriarchs, and full of inherent paternal Power, they could have diſinherited without an Act of Parliament: For if a Father cannot diſinherit, much leſs has he Power of Life and Death.

It were endleſs to reckon up all the aukward and wilful Miſtakes which fill up that Sheet of Paper. As where he inſinuates, P. 7. "That the 13th of "*Elizabeth* was owing to the Queen's Conſciouſneſs of the Inſufficiency of "her Title:" It is nothing ſo; but it was made for the Preſervation of her Perſon; and that no-body preſuming upon an unalterable and unforfeitable Title in Reverſion, might immediately deſtroy her. An Act it is which is Law to this Day, and was recited 13 *Car.* II. and there expreſly made a Pattern for the 13th of his Reign. And whereas he ſays, P. 8. "That be-"fore the Queen of *Scots* was taken off, and ſo the Succeſſion pretty well "ſecured againſt Popery, the Church of *England* never perſecuted any of "her Proteſtant Diſſenters; but as ſoon as that Work was done, and the "Court likely to continue on their Side, then out flies the 35th of *Eliz.* "*cap.* 2. againſt Sectaries." In thoſe very few Words there are a great many Blots: For, 1. I hope the 23d of *Elizabeth* was ſeveral Years before the Death of the Queen of *Scots*; and if that Act was not made againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters, they have had the more Wrong done them, in having been ſince proſecuted upon that Act. 2. He words it, as if the 35th of *Elizabeth* came out the next Day, or at leaſt very ſhortly after the Death of the Queen of *Scots*; whereas it was not till many Years after. 3. Whereas the preſent Church of *England* is upbraided with the 35th of *Elizabeth*, it is not

beyond the Memory of Man, ſince in this Church a Bill paſſed both Houſes of Parliament for the Repeal of that Act; but when it came to the Royal Aſſent, the Bill was not to be found; and they ſay, there was foul Play in the loſing of that Bill: But I think the greateſt Blot and Blunder of all is a little above, in the ſame Page, in theſe Words: "After the Queen of *Scots* "Condemnation, the Parliament petitioned for her Execution, each Houſe "apart, and the Biſhops gave their Reaſons why it ought to be." If the Biſhops had Reaſons why it ought to be, then they were no Traitors, nor Rebels, as they are all along branded; then they did not kill the Heir, that the Inheritance might be theirs; for that we are very ſure ought not to be. And if their Reaſons are weak and inſufficient, and in Effect no Reaſons, why then are they not anſwered? For the bare mentioning of them, without anſwering them, will leave a Suſpicion in all Men's Minds, that there is ſomewhat in them which is unanſwerable. And truly, this is juſt ſuch another Piece of Work, as a very young and unſkilful Conjuror uſes to perform, in raiſing what he cannot lay.

In a word, I do not ſee one true and cloſe Thing in this Paper, unleſs it be this, P. 3. "That the Church of *England*-Men themſelves do not obey their "own Canons." Which, if they had obeyed, and particularly the 114th Canon, whereby they are bound to preſent all Popiſh Recuſants, and all that are popiſhly given, every Year; they had not this Day been troubled with new Teſts, and Inſtances of their Loyalty: But failing in that Part of their Loyalty and Obedience, they are now queſtioned for all the reſt. However, it is never too late for Men to return to their Duty.

To conclude, I would adviſe theſe Popiſh Scribblers, to let the Church of *England* alone, which has both the Truth of God, and the Laws of the Land on her Side; and having Heaven and Earth on her Side, all the Powers of Hell cannot prevail againſt her; much leſs is ſhe to be run down by a few impotent Libels, which can never attain their End, nor arrive at their Concluſion, though we ſhould grant them all their own Premiſſes. For ſuppoſing Queen *Anne*'s Confeſſion of a Pre-contract, yet that does not make Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate; and ſuppoſing her illegitimate, and only an Act-of-Parliament-Queen, yet that does not make her an unlawful Queen: And ſuppoſing her an unlawful Queen, and without a legal Title, and only Queen for the Time being, yet the Church of *England* were not Rebels and Traitors for aſſiſting her, but did their true Duty of Allegiance, as is expreſly ſaid in 11 *Hen.* VII. *cap.* 1. which Act was made on Purpoſe to ſave the People's Allegiance in that Caſe, who had like to have been ruined but a little before, by the croſs Pretenſions, and alternately prevailing Titles of *York* and *Lancaſter*. Nay, to go farther, ſuppoſing that Queen *Elizabeth* was an Uſurper, and the Church of *England* over and above Traitors and Rebels; and thereupon all the Laws made in her Time of no Authority; (for that I know is the Point that they would be at, and the only Meaning of all this Scurrility poured forth upon that Queen and her Clergy) yet ſtill they would loſe their Aim; thoſe Laws having been confirmed in ſo many Parliaments ſince, and by ſuch Princes, as

now

ow they liſt not to bark at; though heretofore the Jeſuit *Parſons*, in his Book of the Succeſſion, under the Name of *Doleman*, ſhewed himſelf and his Fraternity to be as much devoted to King *James*'s Title, as this Author is now to Queen *Elizabeth*'s. In ſhort, being nothing is to be gotten by railing againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and by making her illegitimate, they may as well let her reſt in Peace, or paſs for legitimate: And they may ſave the foul Spittle they are daily caſting upon her, which will ſerve much better for the making of their Holy Water.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious SPEECH *to both Houſes of Parliament, with Additions and Explications: Directed to the Houſe of Commons, by the Free-born People of* England.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS Speech you had very lately in the Original; and becauſe it is ſo very gracious, we preſume the Repetition of it, together with ſome few Additions, and Explications, may not be unacceptable to you, nor yet unworthy your Conſideration: And when you come to conſider the Speech, if you pleaſe withal to conſider the reſpective Notes and Explications, we are perſuaded that the whole Kingdom will concur with us, that in ſo doing, you will neither diſhonour your Character, nor act unbecoming your high Station, nor betray the Truſt repoſed in you by the Commons of *England*.

In the firſt Place, Gentlemen, his Majeſty tells you,

" I am very glad to meet you again in Parliament, where I have an Op-
" portunity of thanking you for the great Supplies you have given me for
" the Proſecution of this War; and I hope, by your Advice and Aſſiſtance,
" which has never failed me, to take ſuch Meaſures as may be moſt proper
" for ſupporting our common Intereſt, againſt the exceſſive Power of
" *France*."

Now, Gentlemen, we, as free Deniſons of *England*, crave Leave to obſerve to you, that this Paragraph contains a very great Truth, and confirmed by ample and undoubted Teſtimony; all the People of *England* will, in this Point, be Evidence for the King, that indeed you have given him very great Supplies, and ſuch as never before were given to a King of *England*, what Wars or Occaſions ſoever they had: And, in this Point, the King and all the People are agreed, that you are the moſt liberal Houſe of Commons that ever ſat within theſe Walls: This therefore is no Queſtion, and can never be denied; no, not by the moſt obſtinate. But there is another Queſtion that

immediately follows at the Heels of it; and that is, What is become of theſe great Supplies? To what Uſes have they been put? Have the *Engliſh* Seamen and Soldiers been paid with them? Have they not been diverted into private Channels, or put into Foreigners Pockets? Out of all the vaſt Proviſions you have made, the Land-Forces have ſcarce had Subſiſtence-Money, and the Seamen not ſo much as that, but are left to live upon the Credit of what you will give; and does it not deſerve your Enquiry where is the reſt, and how it hath been diſpoſed? Heretofore *England* hath ſingly waged War with *France*, and the Parliament never gave the twentieth Part of what you have done, and yet the Soldiers were honeſtly paid, and over and above a good Sum remaining in the King's Coffers: But you have *Germany*, *Spain*, *Savoy*, and *Holland* to join with you; and yet your own Quota not paid, but left to clamour and ſtarve, though you have given enough to maintain the whole Army of the Confederates. It is true, the King gives you Thanks for your great Supplies; and, it muſt be confeſſed, that Royal Thanks deſerve a juſt Regard, and, it may be, may be worth ſo much Money: But if the King had been pleaſed to tell you, that you had given him great Supplies, and he had taken care that your own Countrymen were only the better for it, that he had not diſpoſed it to the *Dutch*, or to others, and laid the whole Accounts before you to examine and inſpect; it is probable, this might have given the People more Satisfaction than all the Thanks in the World. The People of *England* indeed love Civility well; but withal, they love to be ſatisfied what becomes of their Money. In the mean time, the King only thanks you for the Money you have given him, as if you deſerved Thanks for nothing elſe. This would not have eſcaped Reflection in the late Reigns, and we ſhould have been told that it ſavoured of arbitrary Power, as if Parliaments were called for nothing elſe but to give Money; and if you deſerve Thanks for nothing elſe, it is plain, that is looked upon as the main End of your Meeting, and that, of all your Proceedings, is only grateful to the Government: Your ſeveral Endeavours about ſecuring Liberty and Property, your Concernments about the *Habeas Corpus*, regulating Trials for Treaſon, and ſome other Things of Advantage to the Subject, (which proved abortive, and you know by whoſe Means) one would think, might have merited ſome Thanks from a Prince who would be thought the great Patron of both, and who in this very Speech tells you, "You cannot be more concerned for the Preſervation of "your Liberties and Properties than I am." But that it ſeems is none of your meritorious Works; and ſome of you can tell what little Thanks you received for being ſo much concerned for it; and your being frowned upon, and turned out of your Places is an Inſtance of it; however, though this be not the Subject of Royal Gratitude, yet your giving of Money is. But here is a Queſtion, whether theſe Thanks be deſigned for the Supplies you have given, or only introductory of what you ſhall give? You may eaſily ſatisfy yourſelves in this Point; do but with-hold your Hands a little, and you will ſoon perceive it: For, when Thanks come with Demands in the Mouth of them, it looks as if you were thanked, not for the good Works you have done, but for thoſe you

ſhall

ſhall do. And if this will do, it is certainly an eaſy Courſe to deal with an *Engliſh* Parliament; and, in a ſhort Time, every Penny in the Nation may be thanked into the *Dutchmen*'s Pockets. And if this will ſerve you inſtead of examining Accounts, and enquiring into the Expence of the Nation's Treaſure, ſurely the Experiment ſhould firſt be made on the Soldiers and Seamen: Let them have the Royal Thanks for their Blood and Fighting, and try if it will ſtop their Mouths, or find Food and Cloathing for themſelves and Families. If Thanks will go inſtead of Pay, by our Conſent they ſhall go for Accounts too; but if they will not operate on the Fleet or Army, neither ought they to charm the Houſe, or hinder you from enquiring into the diſpoſing of thoſe Monies you gave for thoſe very Uſes. And there are other Perſons Thanks you are concerned in beſides the King's, the People you repreſent, and whoſe Purſes you have ſo freely diſpoſed: If you ſhall from Time to Time give immenſe Sums, and in the mean time are very ſlack in enquiring what becomes of them, you may indeed have the Thanks of the King, but you can never expect thoſe of the People.

" We have great Reaſon to rejoice in the happy Victory, which, by the " Bleſſing of God, We obtained at Sea; and I wiſh I could tell you, that the " Succeſs at Land had been anſwerable to it: I am ſure My own Subjects had " ſo remarkable a Share in both, that their Bravery and Courage muſt ever " be remembered to their Honour."

Now, as to the Victory at Sea, all we ſhall obſerve is, That the King is very modeſt; he calls it a happy Victory, rather than a wonderful one, what fulſome, and almoſt blaſphemous Epithets ſoever ſome flattering Divines have put upon it. But the King knows well enough, that when there was more Odds than two to one, ſuch a Victory may be called any thing, rather than a Miracle. As to the Matters at Land, we ſuppoſe we need not obſerve to you, that the King had in his Eye the Loſs of *Namur*, and the Battle at *Steinkirk*; but it is obſervable, that the King does not now tell you, as he did at this Time two Years, to wit, " That he was not enabled to go into the Field ſo ſoon as " he ſhould have done, nor were there Funds raiſed in due Time;" for your Supplies were large and ſeaſonable, and he was at the Head of a great and numerous Army, and more numerous by far than the *French*; and in that Action all the remarkable Part the King and his Army had, was to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the Town taken before their Eyes; and which indeed was very remarkable. But for *Steinkirk*, in that Action the King's Subjects (meaning the *Engliſh*, and excepting the *Dutch*) had a very remarkable Part; for they were moſt remarkably knocked on the Head, to the Number of ſeveral Thouſands; and certainly, it deſerves the Remark of you, and all the People of *England*. 1. By whoſe Care and Conduct your Brethren were placed in a Poſt of ſuch Danger. 2. How it came to paſs that they were never relieved nor ſupported; but were left to be ſlaughtered like ſo many Dogs: As if *Engliſhmen*, in the Confederate Army, were of the ſame Uſe with *Chriſtians* in that of the *Turks* heretofore, to ſet them foremoſt to blunt the Swords of their Enemies. If you have any Regard for the Blood of your Countrymen, theſe Things can never eſcape your Enquiry;

Enquiry: For certainly, the Succeſs of that Action did more immediately concern the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch*, than the *Engliſh*; for the War is flaming at their Doors, but we are more remote; and altho' when a Man's Neighbour's Houſe is on Fire, there is Reaſon for him to look to his own; yet none but a Madman will burn himſelf to ſave his Neighbour's Goods, who will not venture to ſave them himſelf. *Flanders* and *Holland* are the immediate Subjects of Danger, and ſurely *Engliſhmen* perform fairly and honourably their Part of the Confederacy, if they venture as far as they; but to be ſet up as Marks to be ſhot at, to let them ſleep in whole Skins, and to ſkreen their Retreat, and then to ſmooth it over with the Name of *Bravery*, is like ſending Men firſt to a Slaughter-Houſe, and then calling them brave for being manfully butcher'd. And when thoſe wiſe Princes are ſo ſparing of their People, what Reaſon is there that we ſhould be ſo prodigal of ours, except an *Engliſhman* be leſs valued by an *Engliſh* King, than a *Dutchman* by the States and Stadtholder, and than a *Fleming* by the *Spaniard?*

" The *French* are repairing their Loſſes at *Sea* with great Diligence, and do " deſign to augment their Land Forces conſiderably againſt the next Campaign; " which makes it abſolutely neceſſary for our Safety, that at leaſt as great a " Force be maintained at Sea and Land, as we had the laſt Year; and there- " fore I muſt aſk you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, a Supply ſuitable " to ſo great an Occaſion."

If we underſtand the King right in this Paragraph, he demands of you the ſame Supplies you gave him laſt Year; for he tells you, " 'tis abſolutely " neceſſary, that at leaſt as great a Force be maintained as we had laſt Year;" and ſuppoſe you ſhould give them, what Wonders do you expect from them? The King tells you, the *French* are conſiderably augmenting their Forces; and do you think that greater Feats will be done this Year, againſt a more numerous Force, than was the laſt againſt a leſs? Is it worth five Millions for a *Generaliſſimo* and his Army to ſee a great Town taken from them, or to have 10,000 Men kill'd to ſave the Skins of the *Spaniards* and *Dutch?* Or, finally, will the Land and Seamen be better paid? And is it not a thouſand Times better to keep our Money in our Pockets, than to give ſo many Millions, and drain the Heart's Blood of the Nation, and all to have nothing done, but another Year's Arrears added to the publick Debt of the Kingdom? The Soldiers were not paid with the laſt Supplies you gave, how great ſoever they were, nor will they be paid by what you give now, though it ſhould be twice as much; there are Foreigners ready enough to receive it, ſhould you give treble the Value of the whole Kingdom, and in good Truth, it has hitherto been our Money that hath paid their Forces; and yet our Soldiers muſt be expoſed to all the Dangers, and fight their Battles, even without Pay, when they are paid with our Money, to lie ſtill and ſee our Men killed; and if they will not fight to ſave their own Towns, nor yet to help our Men, ſurely (if they were honeſt Soldiers) they ought at leaſt to fight for the Pay you gave them.

And therefore we pray you farther to obſerve upon this Point, that the Princes in Confederacy with us are as thrifty of their Money as their Men.

What

What is the compleat *Quota* of the *German*, the *Spaniard*, the *Savoyard*, and the *Dutch*? And what Supplies have they reſpectively raiſed, or propoſe to raiſe, for the Maintenance of the next Campaign? This ſurely highly deſerves your Enquiry; for the Danger and the War too is primarily theirs; and if the Burthen muſt lie heavy ſomewhere, ſurely it ought to lie upon them. It apparently concerns you to enquire into the State of the War Abroad, and to proportion your Supplies according to the Standard of the reſt of the Confederates; for there is no Reaſon in the World that this Kingdom ſhould be exhauſted and beggar'd, and at the ſame Time *Holland* continue in a State of Opulency and Plenty; there is a Project on Foot, that if the Parliament will give Supplies, (with a Clauſe in the Act of Lending) the *Dutchmen* will lend the Money, and receive the Advantage of the Intereſt, and of the Return to *Flanders*; and if they are ſo able to lend, truly let them give to maintain the War; for their Intereſt in the War is much more than ours; and it is enough in all Conſcience to ſuffer our Men to be killed to ſave their Perſons, and not alſo to ſuffer our People to be impoveriſh'd to ſave their *Purſes*.

" I am very ſenſible how heavy this Charge is upon My People, and it ex-
" tremely afflicts Me, that 'tis not poſſible to be avoided, without expoſing our-
" ſelves to inevitable Ruin and Deſtruction. The Inconvenience of ſending
" out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money for the Payment of the Troops
" Abroad, is indeed very conſiderable, and I ſo much wiſh it could be reme-
" died, that if you can ſuggeſt to Me any Methods for the Support of them,
" which may leſſen this Inconvenience, I ſhall be ready to receive them with
" all the Satisfaction imaginable.

Here the King tells you, that " *he is ſenſible of the Inconveniencies of ſending* " *great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom to pay the Troops Abroad:*" But this is expreſt ambiguouſly; what Troops Abroad does the King mean? The 20th Part of the Money that hath been ſent out of the Kingdom would have paid the *Engliſh* Troops Abroad; and yet they are not paid neither: And certainly there are no great Sums ſent out of the Kingdom to pay Troops that never were paid. You gave great Sums indeed, and the King confeſſes great Sums have been ſent out of the Kingdom to pay Troops Abroad; and it is the Subject of a parliamentary Enquiry, what Troops theſe were; our own Troops were not paid; and if theſe great Sums were ſent out to pay them, then the Money is embezelled, and it ought to be ſearch'd in whoſe Hands it was lodged, that they may refund it, and pay them now, and ſave the Nation ſo much, and ſo much leſs given by the preſent Supplies; and if this be the Caſe, his Majeſty need not long wiſh to have it remedied; for the Methods are very eaſy to ſuggeſt; do but you take care that no Troops Abroad are paid with our Money but our own, and put it into the Hands of Commiſſioners of your own appointing; and then our Troops will be paid, and the remitting Sums to pay them Abroad will be no ſuch mighty Inconvenience; our Merchants will tranſmit a great Part of it in Trade, and the reſt will not be felt; but if Foreigners have the fingering our Money, and it muſt come into the Hands of *Dutch* Pay-maſters; if great Sums muſt be ſent to *Germany*, *Spain*, *Savoy* and *Holland*;

this

this is an Inconvenience, we know no Methods to leſſen, but by ſtopping the Sluices, and keeping our Money within the Kingdom. And it is a ſober and great Truth, that if you do not ſpeedily take care to prevent the prodigious Exportation of our Coin, in a ſhort Time we ſhall neither have Money to pay any Troops Abroad, nor yet for the People to ſubſiſt at Home.

" None can deſire more than I do, that a Deſcent ſhould be made into " *France*; and therefore, notwithſtanding the Diſappointment of that Deſign " this laſt Summer, I intend to attempt it this next Year with a much more " conſiderable Force; and as ſoon as I ſhall be enabled, all poſſible Care " and Application ſhall be uſed towards it."

The Deſcent into *France* this laſt Summer was a Myſtery; but the meaning of propoſing it now is very plain; 'tis to invite you to give Money plentifully; and it muſt needs be a great Encouragement, when *France* ſhall be made to repay it, or elſe to ſmart for it. Now this perhaps might have done with the credulous Mob; but to a grave and wiſe Senate is ſomewhat extraordinary. What an Opinion has the King of your Wiſdoms, if he thinks to make you believe, that with eight or 100,000 Men he can over-run *France*: But perhaps Declarations may do Wonders, and the Pretences of Liberty and Religion may work upon the Subjects and new Converts; this perhaps laſt Year might have prevailed upon eaſy People, but cannot now; for the Experiment hath been made; the Duke of *Savoy*, with a far greater Number of Men than the King is able to ſend, and with all the winning and tempting Declarations to all Sorts of People, new Converts, Papiſts, Popiſh Prieſts, entred *France*, ravaged at his Pleaſure, and had no-body to oppoſe him for ſome Time; and yet few or none of that King's Subjects (oppreſſed Subjects) nor of the new Converts joined him; he carried indeed 15,000 Arms in Expectation of it; but ſoon found he was miſtaken, and ſent them all back into *Piedmont*: And it is not for nothing that the King is ſilent of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Expedition. This ſure might have gone for a happy Victory: The Duke burnt more Towns than our Fleet did Ships, and the Damage *France* ſuſtained in *Dauphin*, was far greater, and will be no longer in repairing, than what they loſt at Sea; but this, though it be the only Thing that can be ſaid to mitigate the terrible Loſſes of the Confederates at Land, yet it muſt be paſſed over with profound Silence, becauſe then it would ſoon be perceived, what a fruitleſs Thing a Deſcent upon *France* would be; and ſo one of the moſt plauſible Pretences for giving Money would be perfectly loſt; however, a Deſcent was deſigned laſt Summer, and the King tells you it was diſappointed, and certainly that Miſcarriage highly deſerves your Inſpection; great Sums were ſpent upon the Preparations, and all loſt for want of Conduct and Management; and ſurely at this Time of Day there is little need to throw away 5 or 600,000 *l.* for no other Purpoſe but to ſail 30 Leagues at Sea, and return.

" And upon this Occaſion I cannot omit taking notice of that ſignal Delive-
" rance, which by the good Providence of God, We received this laſt Spring, to
" the Diſappointment and Confuſion of Our Enemies Deſigns and Expectations.
" This has ſufficiently ſhewn Us how much We are expoſed to the Attempts of
" *France*,

" *France*, while that King is in a Condition to make them; let us therefore im-
" prove the Advantage we have at this Time, of being joined with moſt of the
" Princes and States of *Europe*, againſt ſo dangerous an Enemy. In this ſure
" all Men will agree, who have any Love for their Country, or any Zeal for
" our Religion: I cannot therefore doubt but you will continue to ſupport me in
" this War againſt the declared Enemy of this Nation, and that you will give
" as ſpeedy Diſpatch to the Affairs before you, as the Nature and Importance
" of them will admit, that our Preparations may be timely and effectual for the
" Preſervation of all that is dear and valuable to us."

In this Paragraph, the King adviſes you to lay hold of this Opportunity againſt *France*, becauſe you are joined with moſt of the Princes and States of *Europe*; and yet neither *Denmark*, nor *Swedeland*, nor *Portugal*, nor the *Swiſs Cantons*, nor the States of *Italy*, (except *Savoy*) nor *Venice*, nor *Poland*, are engaged in the Confederacy againſt *France:* And which is yet more remarkable, *Saxony* hath perfectly quitted it. *Brandenburgh* acted ſo coldly laſt *Summer*, that in all Probability he will leave it before next; and *Hanover* was bribed into it by the Hopes of an Electorate; but that failing, he endeavours to put himſelf into a State of Neutrality, and accordingly is already actually negotiating for that Purpoſe in the Court of *France*; ſo that the next Campaign *France* will have fewer Enemies, and more Friends, than ſhe had the laſt; the two Northern Crowns are not only Neuters, but plainly incline to him; not only maintain a Trade with him, and aſſiſt him with Materials for Shipping, but with a conſiderable Number of Ships too, which they have ſold him. *Genoa*, *Tuſcany*, *Mantua* are upon the Point of declaring for him; the *Swiſs* in a Manner have broke the Neutrality, and ſided with *France*; not only by permitting him to levy Men publickly, but by prohibiting the *Germans* a Paſſage through their Country: And *Wertemberg*, if he is not forced to comply with his Terms, is in no Manner of Condition to do him Injury; and put all this together, you will find the Confederacy againſt *France* is nothing near ſo formidable as it was the laſt Campaign: So that the joining of the Princes of *Europe* is no very taking Topick for you to part with Money; for you cannot expect to reap any Advantage from a declining Confederacy, when you have received nothing but Loſs by it, when it was in its utmoſt Vigour, except it be the Advantage of having far greater Sums of your Money ſent to the remaining Part, to ſupply the Places of them that leave it; for if ſo much of our Money was forced to go, when they were united, how much think you will they want of it, when there is neither Men, nor other Aſſiſtance, from *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, *Hanover*, and *Wirtembergh?*

" I am ſure I can have no Intereſt but what is yours; we have the ſame
" Religion to defend; and you cannot be more concerned for the Preſervation
" of your Liberties and Properties, than I am, that you ſhould always remain
" in the full Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of them; for I have no Aim but to
" make you a happy People."

This Paragraph is wholly perſuaſive, and to gain you the more readily to comply with his Demands, the King recommends himſelf to you; as in the firſt

Place, that he can have no Intereſt but what is yours, thereby meaning the *Engliſh* Intereſt. And this is abſolutely neceſſary, and a Point that ought to be firſt ſettled, before any Money be given; for if the Intereſt of the King be divided from that of the People, it cannot be thought fit to truſt him with the Treaſure of the Nation, and to raiſe vaſt Sums, and put them into his Hands, which may be employed to the Advantage of a foreign Intereſt, and to the Prejudice of yours. Now it can never be denied but the King has actually a great Intereſt in *Holland*, and as Stadtholder, his Intereſts are twiſted with thoſe of that Common-wealth; and which is the moſt prevailing Intereſt is beſt diſcerned by ſuch Inſtances as will admit of Compariſon; conſider then what Care and Application was made to have 600,000 *l.* paid to the *Dutch*, as the Expence of the Expedition into *England*; and reflect alſo what little Care is taken to diſcharge the reſpective Debts to the Workmen at the ſeveral Yards, the Tranſport-Veſſels in the Service of the Government, and thoſe who have furniſhed the Navy with Stores and Proviſions; and it is a certain Truth, that thoſe of the laſt Sort are forced to lend great Sums to the Government, to hook in their Debts; 20,000 *l.* muſt be lent to get the Payment of ten, and then Tallies may be received for the whole; when at the ſame Time, the *Dutch* ſhall be punctually paid for all the Materials wherewith they furniſh the Government; ſo that, if the reſpective Intereſts be to be meaſured by the Effects, the *Engliſh* Intereſt comes as far behind that of the *Dutch*, as ſuch kind of Payments do that of ready Money. The *Dutch* Soldiers in the Service of the Government are likewiſe duly paid, and perhaps with double Pay, while the *Engliſh* muſt ſhift as they can, and be hanged beſides, if they grumble for it, though they muſt ſtarve without it, as the late Proceedings at *Chatham* and *Portſmouth* may abundantly inform you. The pendulous and doubtful State of the *Eaſt-India* Company does alſo deſerve Conſideration; the Charter and Incorporation are yet in the King's Breaſt; and what are the ſecret Reaſons that hitherto have prevented its Eſtabliſhment? It is notorious, that the *Eaſt-India* Trade is of mighty Advantage to the *Dutch*, and which they have endeavoured to engroſs to themſelves, and to out the *Engliſh* by all Arts, fair or foul, ever ſince the firſt Beginning of it, and nothing can be more grateful to them than to have the *Engliſh* Trade broken or divided, or to ſtand upon ſuch a precarious and unſettled Bottom, as may diſcourage the Merchants. This is an Advantage they know how to make uſe of; and the unſettled Poſture of our Company here apparently tends to the fortifying and improving their Intereſt, and the Diminution of ours; and that which is more conſiderable than all the reſt, it deſerves Enquiry for whoſe Advantage we have been engaged in this expenſive, and in Truth unneceſſary War; it hath coſt the Kingdom more Treaſure perhaps than all the Wars of *England* ſince the Conqueſt put together; the poſitive Expence of it (taking in all the Loſſes at Sea) have been near 40 Millions already, (beſides the Privative in the Loſs and Decay of Trade) and for what End? If the Matter be narrowly look'd into, it is apparently to ſave the *Dutch* Charges, and to preſerve their Barriers: For had we kept ourſelves in Peace, and preſerved our Trade, our Men, and our Money, it is evident to all the World, that though

the

the *Dutch* indeed muſt have been at a greater Expence, yet *England* by a thouſand Degrees would have been more able to balance the Affairs of *Europe* than now we are: It is apparent enough therefore that this War, and all the Charge we have been at, was purely for the ſake of the *Dutch*. To this add the great Prevalency of *Dutch* Counſels: Have my Ld. *Portland* and Monſr. *Ovirkirk* no other Intereſts but yours? And the Affections of a K. are beſt known by his Miniſters; and when the great Affairs of State ſhall be managed by their Advice, we may be ſure the *Dutch* will be no Loſers. And if all this be put together, 'tis apparent there is *another great Intereſt* beſides that of *England*, and which will turn the Biaſs when theſe Intereſts interfere; and when they come to be put in a Balance againſt each other, the *Stadtholder* will weigh down the K. It appears therefore, to be no Compliment, when the King four Years ſince, in a Letter to the *States General*, acquainted them, that *he accepted the Crown of* England, *that he might be in a better Condition to do them Service.*

The next thing he inſiſts upon is *Religion*, meaning the *Proteſtant Religion*, and he tells you, *We have the ſame Religion to defend*, intimating the War you have been engaged in to be a *religious War*; and yet the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* (both very good Proteſtants themſelves, and Kings of Proteſtant Countries) have another Opinion of it; they can turn the Balance when they pleaſe, and if they thought their Religion at ſtake, they would eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Confederates; but their Neutrality plainly ſpeaks, that they think Religion is not concerned either Way, and that the Poſture of the Proteſtant Religion will be much the ſame, which Side ſoever get the better. Surely we are not to take the Confederacy for a *holy League*; the late *Pope* was at the Bottom of it, and it requires a ſtrong Faith to believe that the *Pope* would form a Confederacy for the *Advantage* and *Defence* of the *Proteſtant Religion*: And the Emperor, who hath ſeverely perſecuted his Proteſtant Subjects in *Hungary*, and the King of *Spain*, under whom the *bloody Inquiſition* reigns, are like to be admirable *Defenders* of the Proteſtant Religion; and yet theſe are the Perſons you muſt court, and you are invited to maintain an expenſive and devouring Alliance with the moſt bigotted Papiſts in the World; and no doubt in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion. The *Sheep* may as well confederate with the *Wolves*, and they will be as hopeful Guardians for their Lambs, as the Inquiſition is for Proteſtant Religion. If the Articles of Alliance were publick, you would ſoon ſee what great Care has been taken of *our* Religion: But theſe muſt be kept as a Secret; and yet you are provoked to empty and exhauſt the Kingdom in Defence of a Confederacy, the Terms of which are a Myſtery, and you muſt by no Means be permitted the Knowledge of. In the mean Time, 'tis plain enough, that the K. in Virtue of it, is obliged to *defend* and protect the Papiſts againſt the Laws; and the large and ſtrange Conceſſions to the Papiſts in *Ireland*, and the great Care taken here to reſcue them from the Laws, and to diſcharge the Proſecution of them, is a Demonſtration of it; ſo that, if the Confederacy muſt be denominated from Religion, 'tis plainly a *Popiſh* Confederacy; for it has ſome Regard to the

Safety and Welfare of that, but none at all to the Proteſtant Religion. And in farther Evidence of this, it need only be aſked, whether the Emperor and K, of *Spain* be obliged by it to tolerate and give Liberty of Conſcience to the Proteſtants in their reſpective Dominions, as the King is here to the Papiſts, and if not, (which no Man can doubt) then 'tis plain, that all the Religion the Confederacy takes care of is *Popery*. And ſo far as Religion is concerned in the Caſe, you are encouraged to give Supplies to maintain the *Inquiſition* in *Spain*, and in the *Empire*, *Perſecution* of *Proteſtants*, and *Toleration* and *Liberty* to *Papiſts* in *England*, *Scotland*, *and Ireland*.

Beſides, it is very obſervable, that thoſe Princes who have already, and are about to *abandon* the *Confederacy*, are of the *Proteſtant Religion*; *Saxony* actually hath, and *Brandenburgh* and *Hanover* are upon the Point of leaving it. Theſe Princes know well the State of the *Confederacy*, having themſelves been engaged in it; and it ſeems they fear no ſuch *Inundation* of Popery, and the Proteſtant Religion is as dear to them as to us: And it is a plain Caſe, that what Advantage ſoever the *Emperor* and *Spaniard* may receive by it, they are ſure the *Proteſtant Religion* will receive none.

Our *Religion* therefore, however ſuggeſted to encourage the giving Supplies, is in Truth foreign to the whole Matter; and the K. of *Spain* may as well deſire his Subjects to give him *Money* to *maintain the Inquiſition*, as you, in the ſame Confederacy, to *ſupport the Proteſtant Religion:* And it ought not to be forgotten, that *Schomberg*, upon his Entrance into *France*, by his Maſter's *Command* and *Authority*, emitted a *Declaration*, wherein, among other Things, he declares to *maintain the Popiſh Religion*, (which hath eſcaped the *Tranſlator*, but is full in the *Original*.) And to this add the *Deſtruction of Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland*, and you muſt needs be ſatisfied, that *all our Money will be expended in Defence of our Religion*.

Next the K. tells, *That you cannot be more concerned for the Preſervation of your Liberties and Properties than he*. If the K. be ſo much concerned for them it is well; but we conceive that ought not to make you *unconcerned*: And however it comes to paſs, there hath been as *great* and *high a Violation* of them in *this*, as in *any Reign*. The principal of all the reſt is the *cloſetting* the Members, and *bribing* their Votes: This poiſons our Liberties in the *Fountain*; and if you can be prevail'd on to *give away*, or to *ſuſpend* our Liberties, or to *connive* at the *Invaſion* of them, we ſhall *derive Slavery* from the *Conſervators* of our Liberties, and are uncapable of Remedy. This was highly complained of in the laſt Reign; and it is multiplied upon us: So as in this Point we are *reformed backwards*; and from the *cloſetting* of *one*, we have reformed ourſelves into the *cloſetting* of *ten*. In like Manner, the foreign Troops conſtantly kept here, the Free-quarter of the Soldiers, the illegal Impriſonment of great and noble Lords, and of Commons, unwarrantable Fines, and exceſſive Bail, and many other Things, in which the *Liberty* of the Subject is *invaded* in a high Manner: And that which deſerves your Care as much as any of the reſt is, that every profligate and perjured Villain ſhall be admitted, if not countenanced, to *accuſe* any Perſon, of what Quality ſoever; and a Man, whoſe *Word*

and

and *Oath* ſhall not paſs for a *Farthing*, ſhall ſwear the greateſt Peer in the Kingdom out of his Liberty, and perhaps out of his Life This is a growing Evil, and if there be not ſome effectual Stop put to it, there is not one of you can be ſecure one Moment, if there be but two Rogues that will agree together, or can be taught to accuſe you, or ſwear againſt you. Theſe are *plain* and *viſible Grievances*, and we humbly repreſent them to you, and apply ourſelves to you for Remedy. You have now an Opportunity before you to remedy all our *Evils*, and to make ſuch *Proviſions* as may effectually ſecure us for the Time to come; and we need not remember you, that it hath always been the Method of wiſe Parliaments, to *have their Grievances redreſſed before they part with their Money*.

" Hitherto I have never ſpared to expoſe my own Perſon for the Good and " Welfare of this Nation, and I am ſo ſenſible of your good Affections to me, " that I ſhall continue to do ſo with great Chearfulneſs, upon all Occaſions, " wherein I may contribute to the Honour and Advantage of *England*."

The King concludes with recommending himſelf to you by his perſonal Merits; we are not willing to ſuſpect the Kings Bravery, eſpecially having it from his *own Mouth*, whatever ſome malicious People have ſaid of his being at the Battel of *Steynkirk*, at the Top of a Hill a great Way off, and out of Danger; and that he commands others into Danger, but keeps out of Harm's Way himſelf: But however we conceive, that this Age is not ſo fruitful of *Heroes* as of *Flatterers*; and this Province might have been ſafely committed to *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to the Dean of St. *Paul's*, and we are ſorry the King lives among bad Neighbours.

A Supplement to His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech. Directed to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, by the Commons of England.

TO add to the Works of the greateſt Men, if the Nature of the Subject permits or requires it, hath never yet been thought an immodeſt Undertaking, nor prejudicial to the Honour of the firſt Author. You are now moſt about the *Ardua Regni*, and indeed more arduous Matters never yet came before your honourable Body. It is not therefore to be conceived, that Things of ſuch a great and various Nature ſhould be all ſumm'd up in a ſhort Speech; nor is there Reaſon to expect, that the King ſhould charge his Memory by a long Recital of Particulars, how important ſoever they may be, and neceſſary for your Inſpection. We therefore, in all Humility, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, make bold to lay before you ſuch additional Matters which ſeem to us to be of the greateſt Weight, and abſolutely require your Con-

Conſideration, and your grave Wiſdoms to apply ſome ſpeedy and effectual Remedy; and which are either but ſlightly touched, or wholly pretermitted by the King.

We confeſs indeed, that the King has laid the Scene very large and wide, when he reckons our Misfortunes, and the Miſcarriages that have been this laſt Year, according to this Diviſion, *ſuch as have been upon Land, and ſuch as have been at Sea.* This Diviſion is comprehenſive, extends to all the Calamities we groan under, and if you pleaſe to examine what hath been acted, or what hath been defective for want of acting on theſe two Elements, according to the full Latitude of theſe Expreſſions, you will not fail to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in you, and to ſee the Cauſe and Occaſion of all our Miſeries.

But however the King hath been ſo large in the general, we conceive he is not ſo expreſs in Particulars; which therefore we humbly crave Leave to ſupply and lay before you, by a juſt and impartial Repreſentation of ſuch Inſtances, which nothing in the World can obſcure, palliate, or excuſe; and out of Deference and Reverence to his Majeſty, we ſhall do it according to the ſame Diviſion, and begin with the latter.

Such Miſcarriages as have been at Sea. Theſe have been ſo terrible, that they make all our Hearts ach; the Merchant feels the immediate Stroke, but the Influence extends all over the Kingdom. The Loſs of the Effects (how great and conſiderable ſoever) is the leaſt of the Evils; the whole Trade is in Danger to be loſt, or mightily diminiſhed; the induſtrious Merchant is exhauſted and diſcouraged; many have not the Ability, and many not the Will, to venture any more their Intereſts under that unfortunate and impolitick Conduct, they have already ſo often, and ſo dreadfully miſcarried. The King calls this a Diſgrace, and indeed it is ſo; but if that was all, it was no great Matter; the Merchants, we ſuppoſe, could bear the Shame well enough, if they had but their Effects; and if ſuch prodigious Loſſes affect only the Modeſty of the Nation, we are pretty well yet; we may bluſh, or ſo, and the Harm is over. If the Merchants interpret that which hath ſucked out their very Hearts Blood, to be only ſome Diſgrace to them, we preſume they are the modeſteſt Men living. However, let the Diſgrace be what it will, that might be repaired again by an honourable Action; but as the Caſe ſtands, this is irreparable, our Honour and Intereſt are both ſunk together; the moſt beneficial Trade we have is almoſt, if not altogether ruined, and that apparently by ill Management. The Winds and the Storms the Merchant bears patiently, and his Loſſes redouble his Vigour and Induſtry; but when he is ruined by his Guard, when he is convoyed into Deſtruction, this admits of neither Remedy nor Hope; and there is not ſo much as Chance or Contingency to encourage him; and every Man will conclude it is Time to give over, and to ſit ſtill, rather than to freight his Ships for the Benefit of Enemies, and run the Riſque of ſuch deſperate Adventures. The King tells you, that *Trade is eſſential to the Welfare of this Kingdom:* Then our Welfare is loſt with our Trade, as being eſſential to it, and the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom in *Europe* is reduced to Barrenneſs and Penury. Our Money is gone Abroad already, and if our Trade, which ſhould ſupply us with more, is gone after it too, we have nothing left

but

but to lament our Miſeries, and with that ſtinging Aggravation, that they are irrecoverable. The Commodiouſneſs of our Ports, the Skill of our Merchants, the Expertneſs of our Seamen, all the Coſt in the World, will ſtand us in no ſtead, but to make us more unhappy; all the Advantages are poiſoned in the Conduct, and made the Inſtruments of our Misfortunes.

But here the King tells you, that *he hath reſented it extreamly*; *and that he will take care that thoſe who have not done their Duty ſhall be puniſhed.* It may be ſo; but here we crave Leave to add this Supplement, that we hope this will not hinder nor abate the Reſentments, nor take off the Care from bringing the Offenders to condign Puniſhment. The King's Reſentments and Cares ought to be a Spur to yours, and thereby yours will do two great Things at once, both imitate the King, and conſult the Safety of the Nation; and in order to this, we humbly propoſe theſe following Things, as highly deſerving your Enquiry.

1. How it came to paſs, and by whoſe Means, that the Merchants, after ſo many Petitions and Addreſſes, were for ſome Months detained, and no Importunity could obtain either Convoy or Leave to proſecute their Voyage; and they were reſerved to that critical Time, when the *French* Fleet were juſt ready and prepared to receive them. If the *French* themſelves had had the Conduct of our Fleet, they could never have timed it better; they are no ſooner got into the *Streights*, but our *Smyrna* Fleet is ſent into their Mouths. Put theſe together, that the Merchants were ready many Months before, and all the Application they could make could never procure Liberty, but they muſt go then, juſt then, when nothing could hinder them from falling into the *French* Hands. And we ſhall leave it with any conſidering Man, whether it be poſſible to believe but there was Treachery in the Caſe, at whoſe Door ſoever it will lie. And it is not for nothing, that our Fleet was ſcarcely out of Sight, but there was a general Report about the Town, that it was in Danger to be taken by the *French*; which evidently proves, that the Contrivers of their going out were privy to the Secret, and knew well enough what would become of them. To this may be added,

2. What was the Reaſon, and who was in the Fault, that our grand Fleet, which ſet out with them, did not ſee them out of Danger? Was the grand Fleet deſigned only to compliment Sir *George Rook* and the Merchantmen, and to bring them ſo far on their Way, and wiſh them a good Voyage? If this were all indeed, they did their Parts, and a Gun at parting would fully execute their Commiſſion; but if it was to protect them from the *French* Fleet, what fair Reaſon can be given that they left them ſo ſoon, or that they left them at all, until they were ſure they were clear of Danger? Was it upon Suppoſition the *French* Fleet was not out? This is a fine Conduct indeed, to leave Matters of this Conſequence to Gueſſes and Suppoſitions. The Merchants had ſtaid long enough, and there were Frigates enough, and to ſpare, to have ſent to *Breſt*, if the Matter had been doubted. And we are in a fine Condition, when Matters of ſuch Importance muſt be managed by uncertain Conjectures; and when our Prime Miniſters neither have good Intelligence, nor will give ſuch Orders

whereby

whereby they cannot fail of it. But we believe this is not the Fault; and any rational Man, who impartially conſiders this Conduct, will conclude, hat the Suppoſition was on the contrary Hand, and it was ſo fatally managed, upon the Suppoſition the *French* were out, rather than upon Suppoſition that they were not.

3. Another Miſcarriage deſerving your Enquiry is, that after this woful Loſs, and the exact Knowledge of it, our grand Fleet again ſet ſail; who was in the Fault that they did not directly ſail to the *Streights*, and repair our loſt Honour upon our Enemies? The *French* Fleet was then foul with their long Voyage, ſome of their Ships diſabled, and the Fleet certainly weakened, ſo as they were in no good Condition to reſiſt the Force of our Fleet, which was freſh, and ſo well prepared. This might have redeemed our Loſs, at leaſt have compenſated it: But inſtead of this, we do nothing but ſail ſome Leagues to Sea, and then return; as if the Buſineſs of our grand Fleet was for nothing elſe but to make a Flouriſh, to ride in Triumph over the Waves, but not to fight with our Enemies. And ſurely it is Matter of Enquiry, whoſe Fault was it that this promiſing Opportunity was loſt? Was it for Want of Orders? Or for not executing them? Or for Want of neceſſary Stores and Proviſions? Each of theſe are unpardonable Miſcarriages, and will lie ſomewhere; and we hope your Wiſdoms will ſearch this to the Bottom. For it is a lamentable Thing, that the Treaſure of the Nation muſt be thus laviſhed away; that our Navy muſt be rigg'd at incredible Expence, and all for nothing elſe but to furl their Sails. If the Buſineſs of the Fleet be only Shew, and not Action, we think a Paſtboard Ship at my Lord Mayor's Shew might do as well as any in the Ports, and ſave the Nation a great deal of Money in their Pockets.

4. Notwithſtanding all this, and that our Fleet hath hardly been from Home, the *French* Privateers have been more buſy and bold than ever; they lie perpetually on our Coaſts, take our Veſſels out of our Harbours, and ſometimes in the very Sight of the Fleet. And what does our Fleet ſignify, that can ſecure us neither at Home nor Abroad? Heretofore we uſed to boaſt of our wooden Caſtles, as the Strength and Defence of our Country; and the Truth is, our Ships and our Seamen are as good as ever; but if they are made unſerviceable and uſeleſs by ill Conduct, it is all one to have no Fleet at all, as none to defend us.

For the Cloſe of this, the King tells you, *It will deſerve your Conſideration, whether we are not defective in the Number of our Shipping*; and intimates his Deſires, that you would ſupply that Defect; but except you ſupply the Defect of Conduct, you may provide as many Ships as will bridle the Ocean, and juſt to as much Purpoſe as thoſe you have already. And the Truth is, we have Ships and Men enough, but our Want is more honeſt and able Miniſters: And if we muſt lay out our Money to ſupply the Defects of the Navy, let us do it where the Need lies, and purchaſe wiſe and faithful Managers. And we know no Reaſon why our Money may not buy faithful Counſellers, as well as the *French* Money can buy treacherous ones. In ſhort, If you make Proviſions for the Navy, we beſeech you to begin at the right End,

End, to provide us juſt and ſkilful Miniſters of State; for let the Ships and Commanders be what they will, while they muſt act under the Direction of corrupt and ſelfiſh Miniſters, we can never hope to be better. This is an Error in the firſt Concoction, and can never be rectified; in vain therefore do you provide Ships and Supplies, if you do not take care of the Helm, and ſee that ſuch honeſt Guides are ſet up, who will mind their Country more than themſelves, and the publick Intereſt more than their own.

The next Branch of the Diviſion, is the Miſcarriages (the King calls them the Diſadvantages) at Land. And theſe indeed are by no Means equal to, becauſe they are far greater than thoſe at Sea. The Loſs of *Heidelberg* and *Roſes*, of *Huy* and *Charleroy*, beſides the terrible Defeats in two pitched Battles, the one in *Flanders*, the other in *Piedmont*: In all which, beſides the Towns and Caſtles, the Artillery and Baggage, the Confederates loſt very few leſs than fifty thouſand Men. But to come to that in which we were more immediately concerned, and that is the Battle at *Landen*; of which the King tells you, That "it was only occaſioned by the great Number of our Ene-"mies, which exceeded ours." Now we cannot deny the Truth of this; for it is unaccountable, that an equal, or leſs Number of Men ſhall ſtorm a Camp, and make ſuch terrible Havock and Slaughter, and take moſt of the heavy Cannon and Baggage. But this notwithſtanding, there are two Things to be added by way of Supplement.

1. How it came to paſs, that at that Battle, the *French* came to exceed ours in Number? The Confederate Army were eighty thouſand Men; and if they had been kept in a Body, or near together, they would have equalled, if not exceeded the *French*: But by a new martial Policy, a great Detachment was ſent away under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and another greater to cover *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*; and then, when our Army was weakened, the *French* fought and beat us; and what better could be expected? 'Tis in vain here to ſay, we did not think the *French* would attack us, but that they would direct their Courſe towards *Liege* or *Maeſtricht*; for that, inſtead of mending the Matter, makes it worſe, and the Miſcarriages greater; for it is inexcuſable in a General to ſay, he did not think of his Enemies; *Non licet in bello bis peccare.* And it is a greater Diſhonour to a General to be ſurpriſed and taken unawares, than to be beaten: For Victory is an Act of Providence, but the other is his own Negligence, or Want of Prudence: The *Engliſh* of this is, *Luxemburg* outwitted us; and we are like to have a fair Account, when our Enemies are ſtronger in their Heads and Arms. The King tells you, it is neceſſary to augment our Forces, and hopes you will accordingly ſupply him; but according to the Meaſures of the laſt Summer's Campaign, it is impoſſible to know what Numbers are neceſſary; for you muſt not only provide a ſufficient Number to fight, but a ſufficient Number alſo to be ſent away. And what Number or Purſe is ſufficient for both theſe Purpoſes, we doubt, will puzzle your Arithmetick, as well as ours.

2. The other Thing we crave Leave to add, is, the unaccountable Conduct of removing our Camp, in ſuch a Juncture, from a ſtrong and well

fortified Place to pitch it in a Plain; one would have imagined, when our Army was ſo much weakened, a little Foreſight would have taught us to keep in the ſtrongeſt Hold; had we continued in our Camp at *Park-Abby*, the *French* would have found it a tough Piece of Work to have forced it; and *Luxemburg* knew it, and therefore enticed us out, and made his Advantage of it. But this is not all; we are not only contented to relinquiſh a Place of Strength, but we muſt encamp ſo aukwardly as to place a River behind us; whereas any Man who had the Experience but of one Year's Campaign, would eaſily have ſeen the Incommodiouſneſs of ſuch an Encampment: And that the River ought to have been before and not behind us; both to hinder the Approaches of the Enemy; and, in caſe of Defeat, to ſecure a ſafer Retreat, and the Event plainly proved it, to our Coſt: For the Situation of our Camp gave far eaſier Acceſs to the *French* than they could have had, if they had been to approach us over a River; and upon the Victory, the River ſerved not only to bar a regular Retreat, but made even the confuſed Flight far more deſperate; and it had theſe two fatal Effects; to keep us longer under our Enemies Swords, and to drown our Men when they fled from them; and, in truth, the River deſtroyed far more of our Army than the *French* did, or could do. There is great Reaſon therefore that you ſhould augment our Forces, that you may be ſure to have enough to make Bridges, to ſecure the Retreat of the reſt.

And thus much we thought good, humbly to add, with reſpect to the martial Miſcarriages: But there are others of a Civil Nature, and God knows theſe are not leſs fatal to the Welfare of our Nation; it deſtroys us at home, as theſe do abroad. We need not go into *Flanders* for our Deſtruction. We have Cankers and Moths in our own Bowels, which conſume us as effectually as our Enemies Swords. There is no doubt, but you will have Complaints enough from all Quarters, and the Miſeries this poor Nation labours under, will reach your Ears from all Parts of the Land, and we hope you will relieve them. We ſhall therefore ſelect a very few, out of that great Number, to repreſent unto you.

And the firſt is, the Miſemployment of our Treaſure; our Money is ſpent contrary to the Ends for which you gave it. This is plain to a Demonſtration; you gave laſt Year five Millions to defray the Expence of this Year's War; a Sum indeed ſufficient, and to ſpare, and more than ever this Kingdom before paid in one Year; and yet, neither our Seamen, nor our Land-Forces, are paid. A Proclamation was iſſued out to continue the Seamen in Pay all the Winter, which is only to multiply an unneceſſary Charge, and without the leaſt Advantage; but this was only to prevent the Murmurings and Complaints of the Seamen, but this will not do; for the Cries of their Families, and their own Want of Bread, makes them deſperate, and their Complaints fill the Ears of the Government, and of all Men beſides. Their Wives and Children live upon Truſt, in hopes of Repayment, when the Summer's Expedition is over; but now their Creditors are weary of truſting, and will give them no more Credit, as having no Proſpect when they ſhall be paid. And this is the State of moſt of our Seamen, and it is diſmally

ſad,

ſad, that they muſt venture their Lives, and themſelves and their Families be ſtarved for their Pains. The Caſe is not one Jot better with the Land-Forces: They have neither Pay nor Subſiſtence-Money: And to give you one Inſtance for all; in the *Tower Hamlets* ſome Hundreds are quartered; and they lived ſo long upon their Hoſts, that they both grumbled, and upon the ſame Reaſon, for Want of Pay; one from the Government, the other from the Soldier; inſomuch that a Fortnight ſince, my Lord *Lucas*, (no doubt by ſuperior Direction) ſent the Officers of the reſpective Pariſhes to all the Publick Houſes, acquainting them, that if they would truſt each Soldier as far as three Shillings a Week, he would be reſponſible, and ſee them paid.

This is Demonſtration that our Forces are not paid; and they muſt either ſubſiſt upon Truſt, or upon Free-quarter, or periſh.

This is not only the Caſe of the Soldiers, but of all other Perſons concerned relative to the War. Thoſe who have furniſhed naval Stores, and Arms; the Work-men who belong to the reſpective Yards, *&c.* they are all in the ſame Condition; and have no Hopes, but the Expectation of what you will give. And now let us aſk, if any mortal Man can believe, that five Millions was not abundantly ſufficient to defray the whole Expence of this Year? Nay, whether the one Half of it be not more than ſufficient? And yet the publick Debts ſtill increaſe upon us, and by a ſtrange State Paradox, the more you give, the more you owe. By this Rule, your Supplies will but ſet us further behind-hand; for, if five Millions have run us ſo much in Debt, what will ten Millions do? In ſhort, you may give what you will, but without ſome effectual Care, and more than hath hitherto been taken, the Iſſue will be always the ſame; for if, when you have given more than enough, the Forces, *&c.* are not paid, neither will they, if you give ten Times more: For, when our Money is once diverted into a wrong Channel, the ſame Stream will carry away all we have, and with the ſame Eaſe and Security. This therefore is an unſufferable Grievance, in whoſe Hands ſoever it lies; and is no leſs than robbing the Nation, and abuſing your Supplies. Give us leave to ſpeak a ſad but a plain Truth; if any Penſioner pockets up any of the publick Monies, he does not only betray his Truſt, and his Country, but he devours the Blood of the Soldiers and Seamen, and feeds upon the Spoils of the People. The Eyes of all the Nation are upon you in this Particular: And if you do not make a ſtrict and impartial Enquiry into this laſt Year's Expence, they will be tempted to think, what ſome do not ſtick to ſay, not only that you do not care what becomes of our Money, but that you dare not dive too deep into the Accounts, leſt your own Names be found there; and you are forced to connive at other Mens Guilts, leſt you diſcover your own. We therefore earneſtly pray you, for your own Sakes, as well as ours, that before you give any more Money, you will carefully examine the publick Accounts, and ſee firſt what is become of the laſt. That you will diligently inſpect through whoſe Hands it paſſed, to whom diſpoſed, and for what Uſes. And we do not doubt, but you will find at the leaſt, the one Half of it embezzled, or miſapplied; and we hope you will not only detect, and puniſh whom you ſhall

find guilty, but make them refund, and reſtore alſo, what, in plain *Engliſh*, they have ſtolen from the Nation.

2. The Exportation of Corn, in a Time of Scarcity, or (which is all one) to make a Time of Scarcity. Wheaten Bread is now in *London* twelve Shillings and eight Pence a Buſhel, and white Bread eighteen Shillings; and Corn all over the Kingdom bears ſome Proportion to this, and riſes in the Price, reſpectively to the different Places; and is three Times dearer than uſual, eſpecially conſidering the ſeaſonable Harveſt. And this is plainly the Effect of Exportation; and we have *Dutch* Factors all over the Nation, raiſing the Markets, and ſtarving the Poor. And we cannot but take notice of a late Proclamation, both here and in *Ireland*, forbidding, under ſtrict Penalties, to tranſport Corn to *France*; which is a pleaſant Buſineſs, when it is already, by Act of Parliament, made Treaſon to correſpond there: But this Proclamation has two Edges; the one was to lay the Odium of the Dearth upon we know not who, *Jacobites*; as if all the Corn had been, by their Means, tranſported into *France*. And this hath been artificially and induſtriouſly ſpread through the Countries; but this had like to have ſpoiled the Project; for the Country took the Alarm, and was glad of any Occaſion to keep their Corn at home, and roſe unanimouſly to defend their Corn from *French* Harpies. But upon ſecond Thoughts, it was judged convenient to ſend ſome Soldiers to the Ports, and other Places, to keep the People in Order, and patiently to ſee their Corn carried away before their Eyes: From whence it is notorious enough, that our Corn goes to *Holland*, and not to *France*.

And accordingly, the other End of the Proclamation is plainly to encourage the tranſporting it to *Holland*. A Prohibition to *France* is a tacit Direction to *Holland*. It had not been very plauſible, nor perhaps ſafe, to have ſent out Orders for the tranſporting Corn to the *Low-Countries*; but this might be done as well by a ſide-Wind; it is but proclaiming that none muſt be ſent to *France*, and then the Inference is obvious, there is no Danger in carrying it to *Holland*; nay, not to leave the Matter to Inference and Collection, there are poſitive and direct Orders, in the Ports of *England* and *Ireland*, not only to permit the Factors for Corn to buy and ſhip it, but are ordered Convoys to guard them to *Holland*. From whence we plainly ſee from what Quarter our Scarcity comes, and what great Compaſſion we bear to the Poor of *England*. Let the *Dutch* have but Plenty, and it is no Matter if our Poor be ſtarved. We need ſay very little in this Particular to awaken your Diligence in examining it; nor what great Care our Laws have taken to preſerve equal the Prices of Corn, by the Proviſions they make againſt Reſtrators, Foreſtallers, and Monopolizers: For if you do not take ſome Care, and that ſpeedily too, the Poor will carve for themſelves, as they have already in ſome Places: *Hunger breaks through Stone Walls*; and if Famine comes on us by your Neglect, you muſt thank yourſelves, if the Poor fill their Bellies at your Coſt, and eat up what you had provided for your own Meals.

3. The corrupt Adminiſtration of Juſtice. This is the worſt Crime in a Commonwealth: A Murderer, or Thief, breaks the Laws; but a corrupt

Judge

Judge both breaks and debauches it, and poiſons the Fountains of Juſtice. Do we not daily ſee the Judges acting under the Directions of the Miniſters of State, as if a Judge was ſworn not to be guided by the Laws, but by the Secretaries. The poor and ſcandalous Acts of picking up, and cheriſhing the moſt profligate Villains to make Evidences of, as in the Caſe of *Fuller*, *Holland*, &c. The intolerable and illegal Fines; when a Man, not worth a Farthing, ſhall be fined two or three hundred Pounds, contrary to the Direction of the Law, which always limits Fines to Mens Abilities, and with a *Salvo contenemento*; of this, every Seſſions gives notorious Inſtances; and particularly the laſt, when one Mr. *Cooke*, upon the ſingle Evidence of a Beggar, and vagabond Papiſt; and that Evidence, not direct to the Fact neither, but only by Hear-ſay; for ſhe ſwears ſhe ſaw him ſet a Seal, and heard Mrs. *M*— ſay, it was the Seal of my Lord *N*——, and this is all that came up to the Indictment; and yet, upon ſuch an Evidence, the Man was found guilty, and fined two hundred Pounds, and Mr. Recorder, by wonderful Eloquence, made him believe the Court did him a Favour in not ſetting him in the Pillory. And is not this, think you, an admirable Courſe of Juſtice, when an Evidence, by Hear-ſay, ſhall be ſufficient to convict a Man? And if you pleaſe to conſult the Records of the Seſſions, you will find a great Number of ſuch ſhameleſs Caſes. Perhaps it may be ſaid here, that the Perſons, convicted, either were, or were ſuſpected to be *Jacobites*, and ſo no Friends to the Government, and no Matter what became of them: But we are not pleading for the *Jacobites*, but for Juſtice; and Juſtice is blind, and knows no Parties. And we preſume, under former Governments (when theſe Things were complained of) the reſpective Perſons, under ſuch Sentences, were not thought to be Friends to the reſpective Governments. If the Adminiſtration of Juſtice is limited to Perſons and Parties, and not to Things, and legal Proofs, it is partial, and corrupt; and we are not governed by the plain Rules of Law, but by Faction and Paſſion.

But if this was the worſt, and ſuch partial diſtributing of Juſtice concerned only the Subject's Liberty and Property, it might be the better borne. But in the very Caſe of Life, it is juſt the ſame; theſe Men make no more to hang a Man contrary to Law, than to fine him. The Caſe of Captain *Aſhton* you all know, and there hath long ſince an Opinion been given of it in the Houſe of Peers: But there is a freſh Inſtance of one *Anderton*, a Printer, who was murdered by the Bench, againſt the plain Words, and expreſs Direction of the Law, in that Caſe made and provided. The Whole is very well worthy your Notice; but we ſhall not take up your Time with mentioning the Want of one, much leſs of two direct Evidences to the Fact charged upon him, (which the Law expreſly requires in the Caſe of Treaſon) nor the indirect Means to induce the Jury to find him guilty, by brow-beating, threatening, and ſuch like; which ſo over-awed the Jury, that moſt of them brought in a Verdict directly contrary to their Judgments. To omit theſe, which deſerve your Enquiry: The ſingle Queſtion is, Whether Printing be Treaſon, according to the Laws of *England?* He was indicted on the Statute of Treaſons,

ſons, 25 *Edw.* III. Now, it is as plain as the Sun, that Printing could not be Treaſon, by the expreſs Words of that Act; for Printing was not in Uſe, nor known, when that Act was made; and it is to be remembered, that that Act limits Treaſons, and expreſly declares, that there ſhall be no Treaſons for the future, but what are there expreſſed, but what ſhall be declared in Parliament. If it be ſaid, though it be not there expreſly, it is virtually, and by Interpretation: But pray, what Kind of Treaſons are thoſe which are virtual, and interpretative Treaſons? Our Laws know no Treaſons by Inference and Conſequence, but what are plain and expreſs in the Law. But whoſe Interpretation is this? The Interpretation of the Judge, or of the Law? The Judge hath interpreted it ſo indeed, and hath hanged a Man upon it; but the Law hath interpreted it quite otherwiſe; and the Law is ſo far from interpreting Printing to be Treaſon, that it hath plainly declared that it is not ſo, and conſequently not within that Act. The Statute 14 *Car.* II. hath made Proviſion for the very Caſe, hath taken notice of, and aſſigned Puniſhments for the printing ſeditious Libels, and ſome of them hath been left to the Diſcretion of the Bench; but with this negative Clauſe expreſly, *not extending to Life.* This is a plain Caſe, that printing ſeditious Libels is not interpreted Treaſon by the Law, but the contrary; and if it be not Treaſon by the Conſtruction of the Law, then, by the ſame Conſtruction, it is not Treaſon within the Statute of Treaſons. For the Fact is not expreſs in that Statute, nor could be; the Queſtion is only concerning the Conſtruction of it; and the Law hath already conſtrued it not to be Treaſon, *as not extending to Life.* So that the Conſtruction of Law, is in direct Oppoſition to the Conſtruction of Judge *Treby*; and he hath hanged a Man in downright Contradiction to the very Words of the Law. Now, it is to be remembered, that this Law of Printing is your own; and you have made it your own Act, by reviving it; and to have your own Laws invaded openly before your Faces, is ſuch an unparallel'd Boldneſs, that no Words can ſufficiently expreſs; and in the Caſe of Life, it is Murder beſides. We are no Patrons of ſeditious Libels; let the Printers of them be puniſhed, but then let them be puniſhed according to Law, and not by arbitrary Conſtructions and Wreſtings, which will ſerve (if the Judge be ſo diſpoſed) to hang any Man in the World: For if he conſtrue one Thing to be Treaſon, contrary to the expreſs Words of Law, he may, by the ſame Reaſon, conſtrue another Thing to be ſo; and ſo at length our Lives and Properties ſhall not be judged by juſt Laws, but by unjuſt Men.

Upon the Whole; if the Current of Juſtice be ſuffered to run in the ſame Channel, no Man is ſafe, yourſelves are as obnoxious as others; for, when once you come to be out of Parliament, and the Seſſions is over, you are equally liable to the Laſh of theſe Men with ourſelves. You may make what Laws you pleaſe; but, if you do not take care that they are more honeſtly executed, your good Laws will ſtand you in as little Stead as they do us. The *Engliſh* Laws, indeed, are the beſt in the World; but if they are adminiſtered by the worſt of Men, we are never the better.

better. There is nothing more merciful and tender, in the Caſe of Life, than our Laws, allowing all the favourable Conſtruction and Latitude that the Caſe can admit of; but, if they ſhall be cramped, and pinched by a corrupt Judge, to the Deſtruction of a Priſoner, what Good does the Equity and Favour of the Laws do him? Our Laws are ſo very averſe to Cruelty and Blood, that they will not permit a Butcher as a Jury-man, to paſs upon Life and Death; but what does that ſignify, if Butchers ſhall be permitted to ſit upon the Bench?

4. The Poſture of Foreigners within this Kingdom. This is a Matter of high Conſequence, and requires a ſtrict and cautious Eye, not only of yourſelves, but of every *Engliſhman* beſides. Foreigners have always a ſeparate Intereſt from that of the Nation; and if for Numbers, or upon any other Conſideration, they become formidable, it is high Time for the Natives to look to themſelves, and to provide for their own Safety and Security. This Kingdom hath already ſmarted under two fatal Inſtances; the one of the *Saxons*, the other of the *Danes*; who being reſpectively called in, upon the Pretence of Aſſiſtance, ſo ſoon as Opportunity was ripe, made themſelves Maſters of the Country, killed our Princes and Nobles, and made the reſt their Slaves and Vaſſals. The Memory of this continues freſh among us, and is proverbially tranſmitted to Poſterity; and ſo long as the Name of Lord *Dane* remains, will never be forgotten. And our own dear-bought Experience, one would think, ſhould teach us Wiſdom in this Caſe, and make us beware of Foreigners, and careful how we truſt them. Now, we need not remind you, that a great Part of the military Force of this Kingdom is in the Hands of Foreigners: Moſt of the Commanders of the Army are Strangers to us, know not our Laws and Conſtitution, nor have any Kindneſs for them; but have, muſt have, Ends of their own, divided from that of the publick Welfare of the Nation, and People. Give us Leave here to wonder, and let all the World wonder with us, that the Eccleſiaſtical Bench, in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould not only vote for this, but make Speeches in Defence of it. It was a ſmart Reply made by a noble Lord, *That he might, in a ſhort Time, ſee* Dutch *Biſhops in that Bench, as well as* Dutch *Officers in the Army:* That our Souls might as ſafely be committed to their Care, as our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates: And in Truth, if we give the Sword into their Hands, which governs all Things, we may ſoon have not only *Dutch* Biſhops, *Dutch* Preſbyters, and *Dutch* Commanders, but *Dutch* Lords, *Dutch* Commons, and *Dutch* every thing; and Lord *Dutch* may become as formidable to us, as Lord *Dane* was to our Anceſtors: For it is as clear as the Light, give them Power to defend us, and they have Power to ruin us; and thoſe who will fight for us, only for their Intereſts, will fight againſt us upon the ſame Inducement; and if they can find their Account in it, we may ſoon feel the Effects of their Valour, in ſubduing us, when they are not able to maſter our Enemies. A fat Morſel is good Prey to a Soldier of Fortune: And if he can make his Fortune at our Coſt, we muſt own ourſelves beholden to him,

if

if he does not carve liberally for himſelf, though it be upon our Bones and Carcaſes.

And if you pleaſe to conſider the Poſture of Foreigners amongſt us, you will find, not only, that moſt of our Troops are compoſed of our old Taſk-maſters the *Danes*, and of the *Dutch*, and the *French Refugees*; but, (which extreamly ſharpens this Conſideration) that there are alſo a great Party of Foreigners in the Heart of the Nation, who may ſoon be, if they are not already prepared to ſecond any Attempt, if not to act in Conjunction with them. This Inference is ſo natural, that nothing but the utmoſt Forgetfulneſs of ourſelves can make us careleſs on that Hand: But if there be violent Preſumptions, nay, apparent Evidences, that ſome great Matter is brewing among them, 'tis no leſs than deſperate Infatuation to lie ſecure and negligent under ſuch threatning Dangers in our own Bowels. It is not unknown to you, how great a Number there are of *French Refugees* in, and about this City, who are in full Union with their Brethren in the Army; nor what military Authority and Power the Duke of *Lemſter*, their Countryman, hath in this Kingdom; nor can it be doubted but he hath great Authority and Influence over them, and manages them according to ſuch Methods and Councils as may beſt anſwer the Ends which are driven at. That accordingly moſt of the *French Refugees*, who are able to bear Arms, are actually arm'd and liſted under diſtinct Officers, and of whom the ſaid Duke is Chief. That there have been ſeveral Sums of Money diſtributed to them, and ſome in particular by the ſaid Duke, in all Probability to ſupply themſelves with Weapons, to uſe upon ſuch Occaſions as they ſhall be called to, when Opportunity ſerves. That, in purſuance of this, ſeveral Thouſands of Arms have been made and bought up by them; and that in particular one Gunſmith in the *Minories* contracted with ſome of the *French Refugees* for 500 Caſe of Piſtols, of a Size ſhorter than Holſter Piſtols, and which he accordingly made, and Half of the Money was paid him beforehand, and the reſt at the Delivery of the Piſtols. And that other Gunſmiths in the *Minories* had full Employment from the ſame Hands, in the ſame Work; and 'tis ſaid, they have not bought up leſs than 8000 of theſe Caſes of Piſtols. It is here Matter of your ſerious Conſideration, what uſe theſe Kind of Piſtols are to be put to? It is certain, they are not for Employment in the *Field*. And it is as certain, they are fitted for the Work they drive at; and we ſhall leave it with you, whether it does not portend ſome ſudden and ſecret Execution of a barbarous Nature? That accordingly ſeveral threatning Speeches have been given out, that ſome Perſons, at a certain Time, ſhould have their *Throats* cut; and ſome of them are grown to that Confidence, as to make particular Threatnings; which ſhews they are almoſt ſure of their Deſign. A *French* Miniſter ſent ſeveral Letters to a very conſiderable Clergy-man, threatning him, that he was a dead Man; that he was to buy a Halter for himſelf; that there was a Gallows prepared for him, which he muſt firſt aſcend and mount. Further yet, that there have been not long ſince 700 Tickets, of myſterious Figures and Characters, ſcatter'd about St. *Ann*'s Pariſh among the Habitations of the

French

French Refugees, and thrown into ſeveral Houſes, which plainly import ſome ſecret and myſterious Deſign. And, to cloſe up all, there are almoſt every Week great Numbers of *French* Refugees, and other Foreigners, brought over hither from beyond the Seas, on Pretence to go and inhabit in *Ireland*, who, notwithſtanding, are kept in *England*, and no doubt to augment their Forces, and ſtrengthen the Confederacy.

And now, Gentlemen, you that are the Truſtees and Repreſentatives of your Country, we intreat you impartially to reflect what theſe Things mean. Is it not apparent that a Deſign is hatching, and a great Storm gathering; which, when it breaks, may overwhelm you and your Poſterities, if not prevented? Is it poſſible for you to believe our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates ſafe in ſuch Circumſtances? Did ever a wiſe Nation ſuffer Foreigners to become formidable in their own Country? Look into the Records of Time, and ſee if there be one ſingle Inſtance in the whole World, where *Strangers* had gain'd Power and Force enough, they did not make uſe of it to advance themſelves, and ruin the *Natives*? Was there no viſible Ground of Jealouſy, the very Nature of the Thing would alarm your uttermoſt Caution: And you have beſides that, the Experience of all Ages, to quicken your Councils in this Caſe. But when Men of ſeparate Councils, Meaſures, and Intereſt from yours, when they are arm'd with Power and Number too; when there is apparently a bold Deſign actually form'd, and run through the whole Party, in ſuch a Caſe, the Danger is brought home to your own Doors; and 'tis high Time to awake out of Sleep, and to apply your utmoſt Wiſdoms to the providing a ſpeedy and effectual Remedy.

5. We have but one Thing more to trouble you with, though it may not ſeem grievous in the Nature of it, yet in the Conſequence it may be a more dreadful Miſcarriage than any of the reſt; and if you do not remedy this, you can remedy none of the other; and that is, the poſtponing the Redreſs of Grievances to the giving Supplies. This is lodg'd in your own Houſe, and you have hitherto fatally laboured under it; you yourſelves know, by the Experience of your former Seſſions, and all the Kingdom knows, that ſo ſoon as you have given our Money, the Court hath done with you; and our Grievances remain the ſame, or grow greater, and you riſe *reinfectâ*; you have done the Buſineſs of the Court indeed, but not that of the Country; and ſo your great Truſt is but half executed, and the leaſt half too. The Queſtion therefore here is not concerning the Nature of Things, or the Preference of one before the other, (though yet we believe the redreſſing our Grievances is every Way as neceſſary to our Welfare as, if not preferuable to, the giving Supplies) but concerning the Order of Time. We pray you let that be done firſt, which otherwiſe will not be done at all. We are ſure the Court will permit you to ſit to give Money: And we are as ſure, you will not ſit to redreſs our Evils, if you give that firſt. Money will be welcome firſt, or laſt; but our Grievances muſt be remedy'd firſt, or never. Let your Time therefore be ſuited to the Occaſions. Firſt examine the State of the Nation; conſider the Miſcarriages

at Sea and Land; and apply effectual Remedies to the reſpective Miſeries we groan under; and then we ſhall more chearfully part with our Money.

And thus we have preſumed to lay before you ſome Part of thoſe manifold Miſcarriages our unhappy Nation hath lately felt, and ſtill feels the Smart of; and which we humbly conceive highly require your Conſideration. We hope this humble Addreſs will not be unacceptable to you; and we are ſure we have herein done our Duty to God, to yourſelves, and to our Country: However, if our humble Supplication will not deſerve the Thanks of the Houſe, we perſwade ourſelves the ſubject Matter of it will deſerve your Care; which is the utmoſt Aim of

Your humble Petitioners,

The Commons of ENGLAND.

An Account of ſome Tranſactions in the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and before the Right Honourable Lords of the Committee of the Kings moſt Honourable Privy Council, relating to the late EAST-INDIA *Company.* 1693.

Sabbati, 6 die Februarii, 1691.

Reſolved,

THAT an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to diſſolve the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company, according to his Power reſerved in their Charter, and to conſtitute another *Eaſt-India* Company, for the better preſerving the *Eaſt-India* Trade to this Kingdom; in ſuch Manner as his Majeſty in his Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit.

Reſolved, That the ſaid Addreſs be preſented by the whole Houſe.

Jovis, 11 die Februarii, 1691.

Mr. *Speaker* reported to the Houſe, That he did yeſterday preſent to his Majeſty their humble Addreſs, touching the *Eaſt-India* Company; and that his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf to this Effect:

That it was a Matter of very great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom; and that it could not be expected that he ſhould give a preſent Anſwer to it; but that he would take Time to conſider of it, and in a ſhort Time give them his poſitive Anſwer.

Upon

Upon which, ſome Time after, the Company having firſt agreed to ſubmit to ſuch Regulations as ſhould be made, and declared their Submiſſion in Writing, the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, to whom that Matter was referred, agreed on theſe following Propoſitions, which were ſent to the Company, (*viz.*)

Propoſitions for regulating the EAST-INDIA *Company, from the Right Honourable the Earl of* Nottingham, *their Majeſties Principal Secretary of State.*

Propoſition I. THE Fund to be made up 1,500,000*l.* at leaſt, and not to exceed two Millions.

Prop. II. The Stock of the preſent Company to be Part of this Fund, and to be rated at 744,000 *l.* if they can give Security, that it ſhall effectually produce that Sum, or elſe at ſo much leſs, as they will engage to make good, after all Debts paid, and Satisfaction made to the Mogul and his Subjects, againſt whoſe Pretenſions, the new Stock to be indemnified by like Security.

Prop. III. That the ſaid Stock of the preſent Company ſhall be brought home any Time within Years, in the Ships abroad, or thoſe to be ſent on Account of the new Stock, paying the ſame Freight, and diſpoſed of at publick Sales, by the Members of the preſent Company, and the nett Proceed thereof to be taken as Part of the 744,000 *l.* as ſhall alſo the Value of their Forts, *&c.* to be eſtimated by indifferent Perſons, and put into the Hands of the Charter Company; but after Day, no Goods to be exported to the *Eaſt-Indies*, on Account of the old Stock.

Prop. IV. That whatever the quick and dead Stock ſhall thus produce more than 744,000 *l.* ſhall be divided wholly between the Members of the preſent Company, proportionably to their reſpective Stocks.

Prop. V. Books to be provided for new Subſcriptions, within and then the Books to be cloſed.

Prop. VI. If the Subſcriptions exceed two Millions, each Subſcriber to be reduced proportionably, till the Whole make but two Millions.

Prop. VII. That every Subſcriber pay in his Money upon Pain ——

Prop. VIII. No one Perſon to have above 10,000 *l.* in this Stock in his own, or others Name, in Truſt for him; and every Subſcriber ſhall make Oath accordingly, and that it is his own Money.

Prop. IX. That every Member of the preſent Company, who hath above 10,000 *l.* Stock, ſhall ſell forthwith the Overplus, at the Rate of 100 *l.* for 100 *l.* but ſo, that if the whole nett Proceed of the preſent Stock exceed 744,000 *l.*

this Overplus ſhall go to the Perſon that hath ſold his Overplus Stock, pro portionably to the Share he had before ſuch Sale.

Prop. X. No Perſon to have a Vote, that hath, in his own Right, and not in Truſt, leſs than 500 *l.* Stock, nor more than one Vote, unleſs he hath 4000 *l.* and then two Votes, and if 6000 *l.* three Votes, 8000 *l.* four Votes, and 10,000 *l.* five Votes.

Prop. XI. All Members of the preſent Company, and new Subſcribers, to be incorporated by the Name of

Prop. XII. All who have, or ſubſcribe 500 *l.* Stock, to meet and chuſe a Governor, Deputy, and twenty-four Committees, to manage the Trade; none to be Governor, or Deputy, who hath, or hath ſubſcribed, leſs than 2000 *l.* Stock, nor Committee 1000 *l.* Stock.

Prop. XIII. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to be choſen every Year; and if any die within the Year, others to be choſen by a general Court.

Prop. XIV. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to take the Oath of Fidelity, *&c.* and alſo an Oath for the faithful Diſcharge of their Truſt.

Prop XV. That every one purchaſing any Stock ſhall take his Freedom, and before his Admittance pay for a Fine, and take the Oaths appointed.

Prop. XVI. That all free of the former Company, or capable to be ſo, and all ſubſcribing to the preſent Stock, ſhall be admitted *gratis*.

Prop. XVII. That the Company hereby eſtabliſhed, may make Bye-Laws for their better Government; that no Bye-Laws ſhall be binding to the Company, but ſuch as are approved by a General Court of Adventurers, and are not repugnant to the Laws of the Land.

Prop. XVIII. That every General Court and Committee be called by the Governor, or Deputy; at all which the Governor, or Deputy, ſhall be preſent, and in caſe of Equality of Voices, ſhall have a caſting Voice.

Prop. XIX. That the Company ſhall enjoy the ſole Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the ſeveral Countries lying and being between the *Cape de Bona Eſperanza*, and the Streights of *Magellan*.

Prop. XX. That it ſhall not be lawful for any, ſave the ſaid Company only, directly or indirectly, to trade within the Limits granted to the ſaid Company, on Pain of forfeiting.

Prop. XXI. That no Licence, or Permiſſion, ſhall be granted to any Perſons, or Ships, to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* on any private Account, and that all ſuch Permiſſions ſhall be void.

Prop. XXII. That there ſhall be no private Contract for the Sale of any Goods, but they ſhall be all ſold in Publick, by Inch of Candle, for the Company's Account.

Prop. XXIII. That no Lot of any Goods to be ſold ſhall exceed the Value of 500 *l.*

Prop. XXIV. Every Year the Company ſhall deliver to their Majeſties Uſe 500 Tons of Salt-Petre, at *per* Ton, if required, the Refraction not exceeding

Prop. XXV. That the Company ſhall yearly export to the *Eaſt-Indies*, not leſs than the Value of 100,000 *l.* in Goods, of the Product and Manufactures of *England*.

Prop. XXVI. That all Dividends be made in Money.

Prop. XXVII. That no Dividend be made without leaving the original Fund, or at leaſt 1,500,000 *l.* beſides what is neceſſary to pay their Debts.

Prop. XXVIII. That the ſaid Company's Accomptant keep a Book to enter the Value of the Stock upon Oath, to lie open for the Peruſal of all Perſons concerned.

Prop. XXIX. That all Transfers of Stock ſhall be regiſtered and entered in a Book, to lie open to all Perſons concerned.

Prop. XXX. That the ſaid Joint-Stock ſhall continue for twenty-one Years, and no longer.

Prop. XXXI. That a Book of new Subſcriptions be laid open for a ſucceeding new general Joint-Stock, before the Expiration of the ſaid twenty-one Years appointed for this Stock.

Prop. XXXII. That the Company be obliged, for the better and more ſecure carrying on of their Trade, to have Ships of their own.

To which Propoſitions the late Company, on the 28th of *May*, 1692, put in their Anſwer in theſe Words, *viz.*

---

*The * humble Anſwer of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Court of Committees of the* EAST-INDIA *Company; to a Paper of Propoſitions for Regulation of the* EAST-INDIA *Company; received from the Right Honourable the Earl of* Nottingham, *their Majeſties Principal Secretary of State.*

Prop. I. THE Fund to be made up 1,500,000 *l.* at leaſt, and not to exceed two Millions.

Anſwer. The Company do humbly aver, and are ready to prove, to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty's Satisfaction, that their preſent quick and dead Stock and Revenue is of more real Value than the ſaid Sum of 1,500,000 *l.*

* Though (as appears by the Stile) it is rather, *The Inſolent Anſwer*, &c.

Prop.

Prop. II. The Stock of the preſent Company to be Part of this Fund, and to be rated at 744,000 *l.* if they can give Security that it ſhall effectually produce that Sum; or elſe at ſo much leſs as they will engage to make good after all Debts paid, and Satisfaction made to the Mogul and his Subjects, againſt whoſe Pretenſions the new Stock to be indemnified by the like Security.

Anſw. The Company recommending their righteous Cauſe to God, and his Majeſty's known and famous Juſtice in the whole Courſe of his happy Life, ſay, That the Value of every thing is what it will ſell for; and their Stock, under all the Calumnies and Perſecutions of their Adverſaries, now currently ſells for 150 *l. per* Hundred; and they know, and can prove it to be intrinſically more worth than that current Price: But they know no Law or Reaſon, why they ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates, at any leſs Value than they are really worth in ready Money, by all the Meaſures any thing is valued in any Part of the World.

They humbly ſay, as to Security, they know no Reaſon why they ſhould give Security for their own Eſtates.

They affirm, That they owe not a Penny to the Great Mogul, or any of his Subjects, other than their running Accounts with their own Banyans and Brokers, which are changing daily, like Merchants running Caſh in a Goldſmith's Hand.

Although the Company owe nothing to the Mogul, as aforeſaid, yet the bare mentioning any ſuch thing by a publick Act of his Majeſty, would be enough to perſwade him to invent Demands upon the Company, for Tranſactions and Pretences done in Ages paſt, before any of the preſent Adventurers were born; and therefore that Part of the Propoſition ſeems manifeſtly impoſſible as well as unjuſt, neither the Mogul nor any of his Subjects having made any Complaint to his Majeſty, of the Company's being in Debt to him or them; that being only a Suggeſtion of the Interlopers and their Adherents, not only now, but for many Years paſt.

As to that Hypotheſis, if they can give Security, it will not become the Company to ſay what they might of their own Ability, or the Ability or Diſability of their Adverſaries; they are on both Sides well known upon the Exchange.

Prop. III. That the ſaid Stock of the preſent Company ſhall be brought Home at any Time within Years in the Ships Abroad, or thoſe to be ſent on account of the new Stock, paying the ſame Freight, and diſpoſed of at publick Sales by the Members of the preſent Company, and the nett proceed thereof to be taken as Part of the 744,000 *l.* as ſhall alſo the Value of their Forts, *&c.* to be eſtimated by indifferent Perſons, and put into the Hands of the New-Charter Company: But after Days, no Goods to be exported to the *Eaſt-Indies* on Account of the old Stock.

Anſw. The Company ſay they have as real a Right to all their Forts, Cities, Towns, and Territories in *India*, to them and their Succeſſors for ever, as they have to their purchaſed Lands and Ware-houſes in *England* belonging

belonging to the Company's Joint-Stock, or other private Lands or Manors belonging to the particular Adventurers: *Rex Dei Gratia* being originally the Title by which very many Manors and Lands, Court-Leets and Court-Barons are held in *England*. And as the Company are not willing to be diſpoſſeſſed of their ſaid real Eſtates, until they are paid for them; which they believe in their Conſciences hath coſt them, at ſeveral Times, above a Million in ready Money Sterling, beſides the Intereſt. But for the Price that ſhould be paid them for their ſaid real Eſtates, if it were to come to that ſingle Point, they would refer themſelves to, and rely upon his Majeſty's Juſtice, as aforeſaid.

Prop. IV. That whatever the quick and dead Stock ſhall thus produce more than 744,000 *l*, ſhall be divided wholly between the Members of the preſent Company, proportionably to their reſpective Stocks.

Prop. V. Books to be provided for new Subſcriptions within, and then the Books to be cloſed.

Prop. VI. If the Subſcriptions exceed two Millions, each Subſcriber to be reduced proportionably, till the Whole make but two Millions.

Prop. VII. That every Subſcriber pay in his Money, upon pain—

To the IV, V, VI, and VII. Propoſitions, the Company humbly anſwer, That they do as little underſtand the new Subſcribers, as they ſuppoſe moſt of thoſe Subſcribers know the Affairs of *India:* But the Company know the late new Way of ſubſcribing, without Authority from his Majeſty, is an old Practice of Interlopers and others, emulous of the Company's Proſperity; and hath formerly been debated upon the like voluntary Subſcriptions ſeveral Times, and many Years ſince, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when ſome of the Lords of his now Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council were preſent: But it always ended in only giving unneceſſary Trouble to his Majeſty and the Company.

Prop. VIII. No one Perſon to have above 10,000 *l.* in this Stock, in his own or others Name, in truſt for him; and every Subſcriber ſhall make Oath accordingly, and that it is his own Money.

Anſw. This Propoſition, in Duty to his Majeſty, and in Love to our Native Country, the Company muſt freely declare againſt, as being notoriouſly prejudicial to the Nation, whoever the Adventurers are; *Firſt*, Becauſe Trade is a free Agent, and muſt not be limited or bounded; if it be ſo in any Nation, it will never proſper. *Secondly*, It is againſt the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, and all Nations upon the Face of the Earth, that any Man that buys a Commodity, and pays honeſtly for it in ready Money, ſhould be compelled to ſwear it his own Money, or whoſe it is; this being only a Trick of the firſt Propoſers, to ſerve their particular Turn, without any national, or other Regard to Right or publick Good. *Thirdly*, If ſuch a Limitation were adviſable, certainly ſome Nation or other would have hit upon the Expedient before this Time; whereas, on the contrary, the wiſe *Dutch* indulge and favour the very *Jews*, and the more for buying the greater Stock; of whom, one Man, by name *Swaſſo*, had at one Time about 75,000 *l.* Stock: The *French* King likewiſe

likewiſe, for the Encouragement of large Subſcriptions in that Stock, propounded many conſiderable Privileges and Immunities, both to Natives and Foreigners, proportionable to the Greatneſs of their ſaid Subſcriptions: The *Danes* likewiſe (it is ſaid) made a Law not long ſince, that ſuch as would not add a certain Proportion to their Stock already wrote, ſhould forfeit their Stock; which was a Conſtraint on the other Hand, and as erroneous as that in the aforeſaid Propoſition. *Fourthly*, Such kind of levelling or limitting perſonal Eſtates, was never known in Common-wealths, much leſs in Monarchies. Our Levellers in *England*, and antiently the Tribunes of *Rome*, never pretended to the Limitation of perſonal Eſtates, but of Poſſeſſions in Land; and not of all Lands, (not in their Provinces) but only the Lands of *Italy*, which was the Seat or Country of the Common-wealth. *Fifthly*, No conſiderable Man of Fortune or Experience will ever endure the Fatigue of continual Study in the *Eaſt-India* Company's arduous Affairs, but he will find his Account ſome Way; and that muſt be either by a great Reward, or by a great Stock; or by other and worſe Ways of paying himſelf. The moſt the *Engliſh* Companies give a Committe-Man is about 50*l. per Ann.* whereas we have heard the *Dutch* allow Mr. *Peter Van Dam* about 800*l.* and about 400*l.* a Year to his Son: But ſuch an able, active Man's having a great Stock of his own, is better for the publick Society than any Reward that can be allowed him; becauſe ſuch a Man, that is obliged by Reward only ſo to attend the Company's Buſineſs, is tied only by one Cord; but he that expects all Satisfaction to ariſe from the Profit of his own Stock, is tied with the two great Cords, which do almoſt the whole Buſineſs of the World, *viz.* Reward, by the Profit of his own great Stock, and Fear of great Loſs, if his own Stock ſhould miſcarry by ill Conduct.

Prop. IX. That every Member of the preſent Company, who hath above 10,000*l.* Stock, ſhall ſell forthwith the Overplus at the Rate of 100*l.* for 100*l.* but ſo that if the whole nett Proceed of the preſent Stock exceeds 744,000*l.* this Overplus ſhall go to the Perſon that hath ſold his Overplus Stock, proportionably to the Stock he had before ſuch Sale.

Anſw. The Company can ſee no Shadow of Reaſon or Equity in this Propoſition; but a direct Contradiction to common Right, and the admirable Laws of this Kingdom for Preſervation of Property.

Prop. X. No Perſon to have a Vote, that hath in his own Right, and not in Truſt, leſs than 500*l.* Stock; nor more than one Vote, unleſs he hath 4000*l.* three Votes, 8000*l.* four Votes, and 10,000*l.* five Votes.

Anſw. The Company are humbly of Opinion, this is more juſtly and equally provided for already in their preſent Charter; this Propoſal of giving Advantage to the ſmall Stock, being but a Hyſteron Proteron, never known before in any Part of the World in Merchants Affairs; wherein as far as the Sun ſhines all Men vote according to their proper Shares in Shipping, or as they are intereſted more or leſs, and not otherwiſe.

Prop. XI. All Members of the preſent Company, and new Subſcribers, to be incorporated by the Name of

Prop. XII. All who have, or ſubſcribe 500*l.* Stock, to meet and chuſe a Governor, Deputy, and 24 Committees, to manage the Trade; none to be

Governor

Governor or Deputy, who hath ſubſcribed leſs than 2000 *l.* Stock, nor Committee 1000 *l.* Stock.

Prop. XIII. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to be choſen every Year; and if any die within the Year, others to be choſen by a General Court.

Prop. XIV. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to take the Oaths of Fidelity; and alſo an Oath for the faithful Diſcharge of their Truſt.

Prop. XV. That every one purchaſing any Stock, ſhall take his Freedom, and before his Admittance pay for a Fine, and take the Oaths appointed.

Anſw. In the XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XVth Propoſitions, the Company can ſee nothing new, but all is already provided for in the ſame Manner, or better, by their preſent Charters.

Prop. XVI. That all free of the former Company, or capable to be ſo, and all ſubſcribing to the preſent Stock, ſhall be admitted *gratis*.

Anſw. In this there is but a trivial Difference from the Company's preſent Charter, which enjoins all new Adventurers, except the Sons and Servants of Freemen, to pay 5 *l.* each, for their firſt Admittance. The old Adventurers have paid their reſpective 5 *l.* and we can ſee no Reaſon, if new Men be admitted, why they ſhould not pay the ſame.

Prop. XVII. That the Company hereby eſtabliſh'd, may make By-Laws for their better Government. That no By-Laws ſhall be binding to the Company, but ſuch as are approved by a General Court of Adventurers, and are not repugnant to the Laws of the Land.

Prop. XVIII. That every General Court and Committee be called by the Governor or Deputy, at all which the Governor or Deputy ſhall be preſent, and in Caſe of Equality of Voices, ſhall have a caſting Voice.

Prop. XIX. That the Company ſhall enjoy the ſole Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* in the ſeveral Countries lying between the *Cape de Bona Eſperanza*, and the Streights of *Magellan*.

Prop. XX. That it ſhall not be lawful for any, ſave the ſaid Company only, directly or indirectly to trade within the Limits granted to the ſaid Company, on Pain of forfeiting ——

Anſw. As to the 17, 18, 19, and 20th Propoſitions, the Company can obſerve Nothing in them that is not already in the ſame Manner in their Charters.

Prop. XXI. That no Licence or Permiſſion ſhall be granted to any Perſons or Ships, to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* on any private Account, and that all ſuch Permiſſions ſhall be void.

Anſw. This is an unreaſonable Propoſition, and againſt the Senſe of all Charters, and ought for the publick Good to be left to the Company's Diſcretion for ſome Time, (as in the late War with the Mogul) permiſſive Ships have been of great Uſe and publick Benefit, at this Time now Peace is reſtored they are of no Uſe, except in ſome particular Inſtances, which might be given, and in ſettling of new Plantations, which the Company beſt know when and how to effect; and no *Eaſt-India* Company in any Part of *Europe* have any ſuch Shackles impoſed upon them, which would but hinder their Progreſs for the publick Good and Honour of their Country in many Caſes.

Prop. XXII. That there ſhall be no private Contract for the Sale of any Goods, but they ſhall be all ſold in publick, by Inch of Candle, for the Company's Account.

Prop. XXIII. That no Lot of any Goods to be ſold, ſhall exceed the Value of 500 *l.*

Anſw. Theſe two are Novelties, and ſuch as were never impoſed upon any *Eaſt-India* Company in *Europe*, and are againſt natural Right, and if eſtabliſh'd, would tend to the National Prejudice of *England*, as the Company doubt not to make evident to his Majeſty by irrefragable Inſtances and Examples; Trade muſt be free, for the publick Good, otherwiſe it will die, or fly away.

Prop. XXIV. Every Year the Company ſhall deliver to their Majeſties Uſe 500 Tuns of Salt-Petre at per Tun if required, the Refraction not exceeding

Anſw. The Company will always ſerve their Majeſties with Salt-Petre as cheap as they can afford it, and doubt not but to pleaſe their Majeſties therein, as they have done all their Royal Predeceſſors; but to be limited to a certain Price, or Quantity, or Refraction, is a Novelty that was never impoſed upon this, or any *Eaſt-India* Company, and it had been an unhappy Accident for *England*, if ſuch an Impoſition or Conſtraint had been laid upon the Company 10 or 20 Years paſt; for if that had been done there could not have been one fourth Part of the Petre in *England* as the Company had in Store, (which was about 3000 Tuns) when this War with *France* begun. There is a famous Story confirming the Truth of this, in the Reign of King *James* I. There was at that Time a great Dearth of Corn, which occaſioned his Majeſty to ſend for the *Eaſt-Land* Company, and his Majeſty told them, that in regard of the preſent Dearth of Corn, and for Relief of the Poor, they muſt load all their Ships homeward bound with Corn, which they promiſed faithfully to do, and were ſo diſmiſſed; but one of the Lords of the Council told his Majeſty ſuch a Promiſe ſignified nothing; becauſe they had not promiſed at what Rate they would ſell their Wheat when it came, on which they were called in again, and told the King was not ſatisfied with that Anſwer; to which the Deputy, who was a famous Hunter, replied, "Sir, we will freight our Ships, "and buy our Corn as cheap as we can, and ſell it here as cheap as we can afford "it; but to be confined to any certain Price we cannot," That Lord preſſed the Deputy for a more certain Anſwer, on which the Deputy ſaid further to the King, "Sir, Your Majeſty is a Lover of the noble Sport of Hunting, and ſo "am I; and I keep a few Dogs, but if my Dogs do not love the Sport as well "as I, I might as well hunt with Hogs, as with Dogs." The King replied, "Say no more, Man, thou art in the right; go, and do as well as you can, but "be ſure bring Corn."

Prop. XXV. That the Company ſhall yearly export to the *Eaſt-Indies*, not leſs than the Value of 100,000 *l.* in Goods, of the Product and Manufactures of *England*.

Anſw. The Company may do this in ſome Years, and ſometimes more, and ſometimes not ſo much, when their Cloth lies unſold, and is eaten up with Moths

Moths and white Ants in *India:* This ought for the publick Good to be left to the Company's Diſcretion.

Prop. XXVI. That all Dividends be made in Money.

Anſw. This is commonly done here and beyond Sea, in other Companies; but ſome Inſtances may be given, wherein it would be highly prejudical to make this Confinement of the Company's Liberty. So it ought to be left to Diſcretion, as it is now here, and in all other Nations.

Prop. XXVII. That no Dividend be made without leaving the original Fund, or at leaſt 1,500,000 *l.* beſides what is neceſſary to pay their Debts.

Anſw. This is a diſcretionary Rule the Company do now obſerve; but was never injoyned them by any Charter, neither is there any Company in the World ſo circumſcribed, nor ought to be, for the publick Good. It is againſt natural Right, that any Men ſhould be barr'd from doing what they think fit with their own Eſtates.

Prop. XXVIII. That the ſaid Company's Accomptant keep a Book to enter the Value of the Stock upon Oath, to lie open for the Peruſal of all Perſons concerned.

Prop. XXIX. That all Transfers of Stock ſhall be regiſtred and entered in a Book to lie open to all Perſons concerned.

Anſw. The XXVIII and XXIXth Propoſitions are provided for in the ſame Manner already by the Company.

Prop. XXX. That the ſaid Joint-Stock ſhall continue for 21 Years and no longer.

Prop. XXXI. That a Book of new Subſcriptions be laid open for a ſucceeding new General Joint-Stock, before the Expiration of the ſaid 21 Years, appointed for this Stock.

Anſw. This is ſo ſtrange, that if it ſhould be admitted, would make the Company ridiculous all the World over; and is as much as to ſay, a Man ſhall be obliged to plant a great Orchard, and remove his Trees, or depart from his Poſſeſſion at the End of 21 Years; or to build a famous Manſion-Houſe, a Town, or City upon ſuch Terms. The *Dutch* Company have ſpent within 30 or 40 Years paſt, above 700,000 *l.* upon *Ceylon*, and have not yet ſeen their Principal, by about 400,000 *l.* to this Day; this Company have been building and fortifying at *Bencolen* about ten or 11 Years, and they muſt proceed in building and fortifying there for 20 or 30 Years to come; and in that chargeable and dangerous Work, they have ſpent near 250 *l.* to 300,000 *l.* Sterling. And though indeed by that neceſſary Work they have preſerved the Pepper-Trade to this Nation, yet they have not received any Thing towards the Charge of theſe Diſburſements; and that Place will coſt the Company 200,000 *l.* more, before it can be made a compleat, ſecure, (and morally ſpeaking) an impregnable *Aſylum* to the *Engliſh* Nation. It is a moſt impolitick Notion, that any Company can thrive by frequent Change of Conduct and Council, any more than a Nation, by often changing the fundamental Laws. The *Dutch* Company ſtands as it did from the Beginning, and the *Engliſh* hath never been changed, that the Company knows of, but once in *Oliver Cromwel*'s Time; and then it was done

with their own Conſent. The Company, by the true Rules of Policy, ought never to alter, nor any Man be forced to ſell his Stock, any more than he can be forced to buy a Stock that hath none; or any Gentleman that hath an over-grown Eſtate in Land in any Country, can be forced to ſell Part, to make Way for ſome Purchaſers, that pretend they will buy Land in that Country.

Prop. XXXII. That the Company be obliged for the better and more ſecure carrying on of this Trade to have Ships of their own.

Anſw. This is ſuch a conſtraining Propoſition as was never made to any Company; all Companies having Ships of their own, and hired Ships, and beſt known when to uſe the one or the other; and there are few Merchants conſiderable in *Europe*, that have not both; and it was never thought or found political, to put Trade into ſuch ſtrait-laced Bodies, which inſtead of making it grow upright and proſper, will either kill it, or force it to grow awry.

This was the Language with which the late Company treated thoſe Honourable Lords, calling ſome of their Propoſitions impoſſible as well as unjuſt; others, notoriouſly prejudicial to the Nation; one, without any Shadow of Reaſon or Equity; another, a Trick; another, a moſt impolitick Notion, *&c.*

Having anſwered the aforeſaid Propoſitions, the Company humbly deſire that the following Propoſitions may be conſidered.

FIRST, If any Alteration ſhould be made of the preſent Conſtitution by his Majeſty, the ſame Men, *viz.* Interlopers and their Adherents, and ſuch as have ſold their Stock at high Rates, and then cry down the Company to fright the Adventurers, and come in again at low Rates; whether ſuch Sort of Men, after his Majeſty hath granted a new Charter, will not, to ſerve another Turn, exclaim againſt it, in Defamation of his Majeſty's juſt Prerogative.

Secondly, Whether any Thing ſuch Men have ſaid, that carries any Appearance of Truth, be not the ſame again which was ſaid above twenty Years paſt, and many Times ſince in the two laſt Reigns, and as often anſwered and confuted.

Thirdly, Whether the Spirit of Clamour and Oppoſition againſt the Company, which centers in ſome few known Perſons, whether thoſe Perſons be Men of better Fortune, or more regular Lives, or greater Prudence, or otherwiſe preferable to the preſent Adventurers in the *Eaſt-India* Company-Stock.

Fourthly, Whether, conſidering the two Wars, this Company have grappled with in *India*, and a worſe Kind of civil Broil the Interlopers forced them to, more pernicious to the Company than both the Wars in *India*; whether the Company, notwithſtanding their ſaid Preſſures, hath not managed their Affairs to as much national Advantage, and Profit to their Fellow-Adventurers, as any *Eaſt-India* Company in *Europe*.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That without Reſtraint, cramping, or taking care for Rotations or Changes in the *Eaſt-India* Company, the whole Stock, without ſuch forc'd political Reſtrictment or Limitation, is in a kindly, natural, and continual changing Motion; inſomuch that the Value of the Stock, once in two Years, or thereabout, changes Owners; and there is not now in the preſent Committee three Men that were of the Committee above twenty Years paſt.

Sixthly, That the preſent Governor, Sir *Thomas Cook*, about nine Years paſt, had no Stock at all; nor Sir *Joſeph Herne*, the late Governor, about twenty Years paſt; nor Sir *William Langhorne*, now one of the greateſt Adventurers, four Years ſince; and ſeveral other conſiderable Adventurers, not above two Years paſt; they came in by ſeveral Purchaſes, and many at much dearer Rates than the preſent Price current of the Stock; and there is now of the preſent Committee five worthy Perſons, very late Purchaſers, which were never of the Committee before this Year.

Seventhly, If it be thought by any that envy the Company's good Fortune, that ſome few of the Company are too rich and powerful in the Committee, the Company anſwer, that to cure that, if it be a Fault, there needs no new Laws nor Articles in any Charter; for a very few Years will cure that without ſuch preternatural Force; for that the Sons of ſuch Men were never known to ſucceed their Fathers in the painful Fatigue of the Company's Affairs, but did always ſettle themſelves upon an eaſier Courſe of Life by a Revenue in Land.

Eighthly, If there be ſome of the preſent Adventurers that had Courage enough to keep their Stock, and never ſold any Part thereof during all thoſe violent and unreaſonable Attempts that have been made againſt the Company, whether ſuch Perſons do not rather deſerve the Thanks which the *Roman* Senate gave *Terentius Varro*, *Quod non deſperâſſet de Republicâ*, than any Blame.

Ninthly, The Company, nor peradventure, any great Buſineſs in the World, did ever thrive where ſome one or two Men, or very few did not arrive at ſo much Reputation (as *Machiavel* calls it) as to be able to moderate the Councils of the Commonwealth or Society; ſo it is now in the *Netherlands Eaſt-India* Company, and ſo it was ever in the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company, except for the firſt ſeven Years after the laſt Change; in which ſeven Years the Stock and the Company's Affairs dwindled almoſt to nothing, until Sir *William Thompſon*, deceaſed, (a Gentleman of famous Prudence and Integrity) arrived at that Reputation, that in effect he governed the whole Affair of the Company until the Day of his Death; and under his ſaid Conduct the Company's Affairs did revive and proſper, and have ſince his Death more increaſed by happy Methods derived from his Wiſdom originally: His worthy Son and Poſterity are now ſettled upon Eſtates in Land, and have no Concern in the Company.

Signed, by Order of the Court of Committees,

Eaſt-India Houſe,
May 20, 1692.

Rob. Blackborne.

Where-

Whereupon the next Seſſion, *viz. Lunæ* 14 *Die Novembris*, 1692,

Sir *Edward Seymour* acquaints the Houſe, that he had a Meſſage from his Majeſty in Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe the laſt Seſſion, in relation to the *Eaſt-India* Company; the which he delivered in Writing at the Table, where the ſame was read, —— in theſe Words; *viz.*

THE Houſe of Commons having preſented an Addreſs to the King, to diſſolve the preſent *Eaſt-India* Company, according to the Power reſerved in their Charter, and to conſtitute a new one, his Majeſty took into Conſideration the proper Methods of complying with their Deſires, and of ſecuring effectually this advantageous Trade to the Nation.

But his Majeſty, upon Examination of the Charter, and conſulting his Judges and learned Council, found, that he could not legally diſſolve the Company, but upon three Years Warning; and that during the three Years after Warning, the Company muſt ſubſiſt, and might continue to trade; and that though the King might conſtitute a new Company, yet he could not empower ſuch new Company to trade till after three Years; the Crown having expreſly covenanted not to grant any ſuch Liberties.

Hereupon his Majeſty was very apprehenſive of the ill Conſequences of giving warning to the Company, becauſe they would be then leſs ſolicitous of promoting the true Intereſt and Advantage of the Trade, whereof they could not long reap the Fruits; and that no new Company could be immediately admitted to it: So that this very beneficial Trade, which is already ſo much impaired, might be in Danger of being entirely loſt to the Nation.

His Majeſty, very deſirous to prevent ſo great a Miſchief, and to gratify the Houſe of Commons in the End, ſince he could not do it without great Hazard, in the Manner they propoſed, required the *Eaſt-India* Company to anſwer directly, whether they would ſubmit to ſuch Regulations as his Majeſty ſhould judge proper, and moſt likely to advance the Trade: And the Company having fully agreed to it, and declared their Reſolution in writing, his Majeſty commanded a Committee of his Privy Council to prepare Regulations; which they did, and offered them to the Company; but the Company, notwithſtanding their Declaration of Submiſſion, rejected almoſt all the material Particulars.

So that his Majeſty finding, that what poſſibly the Houſe of Commons might have expected, and indeed was neceſſary to preſerve this Trade, could not be perfected by his own Authority alone; and that the Company could not be induced to conſent to any ſuch Regulations as might have anſwered the Intentions of the Houſe of Commons; and that the Concurrence of the Parliament is requiſite to make a compleat and uſeful Settlement of this Trade, has directed all the Proceedings in this Matter to be laid before them; and recommends to them the preparing of ſuch a Bill, in order to paſs into an Act of Parliament, as may eſtabliſh this Trade on ſuch Foundations as are moſt likely to preſerve and advance it.

Upon

Upon this Meſſage, the Honourable Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration the Settlement of the ſaid Trade; but finding the ſame obſtructed by the then Company's great Oppoſition, toward the End of the Seſſion, *viz.*

Sabbati, 25 Die Februarii, 1692.

Reſolved,

That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will diſſolve the *Eaſt-India* Company, upon three Years Warning to the ſaid Company, according to the Power reſerved in their Charter.

Reſolved,

That the ſaid Addreſs be preſented by the whole Houſe.

Veneris, 30 Die Martis, 1692.

Mr. Speaker reported to the Houſe, That he did Yeſterday preſent to his Majeſty their Addreſs touching the *Eaſt-India* Company, and that his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf to this Effect; *viz.*

Gentlemen,

I will always do all the Good in my Power for this Kingdom; and I will conſider your Addreſs.

Notwithſtanding the aforeſaid Propoſitions, ſome Time after ſeveral other Regulations were agreed on, to eſtabliſh the ſaid Company by adding new Subſcriptions to their Stock, without any Security to be given to make that Stock worth any thing at all.——But thoſe Regulations did not paſs into a Charter, the late Company having made Default in paying in the firſt Quarterly Payment of the Tax charged on their Joint-Stock, according to the Tenor of the Act of Parliament; whereby their former Charters became abſolutely void in Law.

However, the late Company, by their induſtrious Application, have ſince procured a new Charter, (for reſtoring and confirming all their former Grants) which paſſed under the Great Seal the Seventh Day of *October*, 1693.

[Which New Charter follows in theſe Words, *viz.*]

WILLIAM and *MARY*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, *&c.* To all, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, greeting: Whereas the Governor, and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, have been, of long Time, to the Honour and Profit of this Nation, a Corporation, and have enjoyed divers Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities, by Force of ſeveral Charters and Letters Patents, heretofore granted to them, by ſeveral of our late Royal Predeceſſors; more particularly by Letters-Patents of our late Royal Uncle King *Charles* II. under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the 3d Day of *April*, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign; and by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents of the ſaid King *Charles* II. under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date, at *Weſtminſter*, the 27th Day of *March*, in the 20th Year of his Reign; and by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the ſaid King *Charles* II. bearing Date, at *Weſtminſter*, the 16th Day of *December*, in the 25th Year of his Reign: And by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the ſaid late King *Charles* II. bearing Date, the 9th Day of *Auguſt*, in the thirty-fifth Year of his Reign; and alſo by a Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the late King *James* II. bearing Date, at *Weſtminſter*, the twelfth Day of *April*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign. And, whereas ſome Doubt, or Queſtion, hath of late been made, touching the Validity of the Charters of the ſaid Company; and whether the ſame be not, in Strictneſs of Law, void, by the not actual Payment into the Receipt of our *Exchequer*, of the firſt Quarterly Payment of the Tax of *5 l. per Cent.* charged on the General Joint-Stock of the ſaid Company, according to an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of this preſent Parliament, entitled, *An Act for continuing certain Acts therein mentioned, and for charging ſeveral Joint-Stocks*. Now know ye, That We, taking the Premiſſes into Our Royal Conſideration, and well weighing what Diſorders and Inconveniences would befall the ſaid Company, and other Perſons concerned and employed in their Trade and Adventures, eſpecially in the remote Parts of the World, if We ſhould take Advantage of the Forfeiture aforeſaid, (if any be) and We, being willing, that the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and their Succeſſors, ſhould have and enjoy *all ſuch, and the like lawful Powers, Privileges, Advantages, and Immunities*; and in as ample Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid firſt Quarterly Payment of the ſaid Tax had been duly and regularly

Recital of ſeveral of their former Charters.

regularly made, according to the ſaid Act: *Of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion*; have made, ordained, conſtituted, declared, and appointed; and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do make, ordain, conſtitute, declare, and appoint, That Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*, *Francis Tyſſen*, Eſq; *George*, Earl of *Berkley*; Sir *John Fleet*, Knight, Lord-Mayor of Our City of *London*; Sir *Joſiah Child*, Baronet; Sir *William Langhorne*, Baronet; Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Knight; Sir *John Moore*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Edward Des Bouvery*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Rawlinſon*, Knt. Sir *William Gore*, Knt. and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Joſeph Herne*, Knight; Sir *Rowland Aynſworth*, Knight; *John Perry*, Eſq; *George Boune*, Eſq; *Richard Hutchinſon*, jun. Eſq; *Frederick Herne*, Eſq; *Ralph Marſhall*, Eſq; *Richard Acton*, *John Cooke*, of *Hackney*; *Francis Gosfright*, *John Dubois*, *Iſaac Houblon*, *Samuel Ongley*, and *Nathaniel Mounteney*, Gentlemen; and all and every other Perſon, and Perſons, who were Members of the ſaid Company, or late Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, on the 24th Day of *March* now laſt paſt, who have not ſince parted with their Stocks in the ſaid Company: *And all, and every other Perſon and Perſons, who, ſince the 24th Day of* March *laſt paſt, by buying Stock, or otherwiſe, have come into, and remain in a Capacity of being Members of the ſaid Company*, be, and ſhall be, one Body, corporate and politick, in Deed, and in Name, by the Name of *the Governor, and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies; and them by the Name of *the Governor and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, one Body, corporate and politick, in Deed and in Name, really and fully *for ever*, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors; We do make, declare, eſtabliſh, and confirm, by theſe Preſents, under, and ſubject to the Proviſoes and Conditions, and upon the Terms hereafter, in theſe Preſents mentioned; and that, by the ſame Name of *the Governor and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, they ſhall have *perpetual Succeſſion*; and that they, and their Succeſſors, by the Name of *the Governor and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, be, and at all Times, ſhall be Perſons able, and a Body corporate and politick, capable in Law, to have, purchaſe, receive, poſſeſs, enjoy, and retain Lands, Rents, Privileges, Liberties, Juriſdictions, Franchiſes, and Hereditaments, of what Kind, Nature, or Quality ſoever they be, to them and their Succeſſors; and alſo to give, grant, demiſe, alien, aſſign, and diſpoſe Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and to

Their Majeſties Grant, that the Member of the late Company

(Together with all Perſons come into the Company ſince the 24th of *March* 1693) be incorporated by the Name of the Governor and Company, *&c.*

And that they ſhall be capable to purchaſe Lands, *&c.*

do and execute all and ſingular other Things, by the ſame Name, that to them ſhall or may appertain to do: And that they, and their Succeſſors, by the Name of *the Governor and Company of Merchants of* London *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, may plead and be impleaded, anſwer, and be anſwered, defend, and be defended, in whatſoever Courts and Places, and before whatſoever Judges and Juſtices, and other Perſons and Officers, in all and ſingular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Cauſes, and Demands whatſoever, of whatſoever Kind, Nature, or Sort, in ſuch Manner and Form, as any other our Liege People, of this our Realm of *England*, being Perſons able and capable in Law, may, or can have, purchaſe, receive, poſſeſs, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demiſe, alien, aſſign, diſpoſe, plead, defend, and be defended, releaſe, and be releaſed, do, permit and execute. And that the ſaid *Governor and Company of Merchants of* London *trading into the* Eaſt-Indies, and their Succeſſors, may have a Common Seal, to ſerve for all the Cauſes Buſineſſes of them and their Succeſſors: And that it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, the ſame Seal, from Time to Time, at their Will and Pleaſure, to break, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient. And further, We will, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do ordain, that there ſhall be one of the ſame Company, who ſhall be, and ſhall be called the Governor of the ſaid Company, and alſo one other of the ſaid Company, who ſhall be, and ſhall be called, the Deputy-Governor of the ſaid Company; and that there ſhall likewiſe be twenty-four of the ſaid Company, who ſhall be, and ſhall be called the Committees of the ſaid Company, who, together with the Governor of the ſaid Company for the Time being, ſhall have the Direction of the Voyages of or for the ſaid Company, and the Proviſion of the Shipping and Merchandizes thereunto belonging, and alſo the Sale of all Merchandizes, Goods, and other Things, returned in all, or any of the Voyages, or Ships, of or for the ſaid Company, and the managing and handling of all other Buſineſs, Affairs, and Things, belonging to the ſaid Company: And, for the better Execution of Our ſaid Will and Grant in this Behalf, we have aſſigned, nominated, conſtituted, made, and confirmed; and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do aſſign, nominate, conſtitute, make, and confirm the ſaid Sir *Thomas Cooke* to be the preſent Governor of the ſaid Company, and to continue in the ſaid Office from the Date of theſe Preſents, until the 10th Day of *April* now next following, if the ſaid Sir *Thomas Cooke* ſhall ſo long live, or until a new Governor be choſen by the ſaid Company, as heretofore hath been uſed and accuſtomed. And We have alſo nominated, conſtituted, made, and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents,

To anſwer, and be anſwered, defend, and be defended, &c.

To have a Common Seal.

To have one Governor, one Deputy-Governor, and twenty-four Committees.

And that Sir *Thomas Cooke* be the firſt Governor.

Francis Tyſſen the firſt Deputy-Governor.

ſents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do aſſign, nominate, conſtitute, make, and confirm the ſaid *Francis Tyſſen* to be the preſent Deputy-Governor of the ſaid Company, and to continue in the ſaid Office from the Date of theſe Preſents, until the ſaid 10th Day of *April* now next following, if the ſaid *Francis Tyſſen* ſhall ſo long live, or until a new Deputy-Governor be choſen by the ſaid Company, as heretofore hath been uſed and accuſtomed: And We have alſo nominated, conſtituted, made, and confirmed; and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do nominate, conſtitute, make, and confirm the ſaid *George*, Earl of *Berkley*, Sir *John Fleet*, Sir *Joſiah Child*, Sir *William Langhorne*, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, Sir *John Moore*, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, Sir *Edward Des Bouvery*, Sir *Thomas Rawlinſon*, Sir *William Gore*, Sir *Joſeph Herne*, Sir *Rowland Ainſworth*, *John Perry*, *George Boune*, *Richard Hutchinſon*, junior; *Frederick Herne*, *Ralph Marſhall*, *Richard Acton*, *John Cooke* of *Hackney*, *Francis Gosfright*, *John Dubois*, *Iſaac Houblon*, *Samuel Ongley*, and *Nathaniel Mounteney*, to be the twenty-four preſent Committees of the ſaid Company from the Date of theſe Preſents, until the ſaid tenth Day of *April* next following; or until a new Committee ſhall be choſen by the ſaid Company, as in that Caſe hath been alſo formerly uſed and accuſtomed. Provided always, and we do hereby require and command, that the Governor herein before-named, ſhall, before he be admitted to the Execution of the ſaid Office, take the Oaths appointed to be taken by a late Act of Parliament, made in the firſt Year of our Reign, entitled, *An Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths*: And alſo a corporal Oath, That he ſhall, and will, from Time to Time, well and truly execute the Office of Governor of the ſaid Company, before the ſaid Deputy-Governor, and any five or more of the Committees herein before-named: To whom we do hereby give full Power and Authority, to give and adminiſter the ſaid Oaths to the ſaid Governor accordingly. —— And alſo, that the Deputy-Governor, and twenty-four Committees herein before named and conſtituted, ſhall reſpectively take the ſaid Oaths, appointed by the ſaid late Act of Parliament; and alſo a corporal Oath, That they will faithfully and truly execute their ſaid ſeveral and reſpective Offices of Deputy-Governor, and Committees of the ſaid Company, before the ſaid Sir *Thomas Cooke*, herein before-named and conſtituted to be the preſent Governor of the ſaid Company: To whom we do hereby give full Power and Authority, to give and adminiſter the ſaid Oaths to the ſaid Deputy-Governor and Committees accordingly. And of Our further eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have ratified and confirmed, and do, by theſe Preſents, ratify and confirm, all

George Earl of *Berkley*, Sir *John Fleet*, &c. the firſt Committees.

Provided they ſeverally take the Oaths appointed, inſtead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and alſo the Oaths of their reſpective Offices.

That all Acts done by and to the late

Company, ſince the 24th of *March*, 1693, be ratified and confirmed.

Acts done by, and unto the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, ſince the ſaid 24th Day of *March* laſt, by Virtue or Colour of their ſaid former Charters, or any of them, to be as valid and effectual as if the ſaid firſt Quarterly Payment of the ſaid Tax had been duly made, according to the ſaid Act, and the ſaid former Charters had not been forfeited, or made void: And we have alſo given, granted, reſtored, and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give, grant, reſtore, and confirm, unto the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, hereby conſtituted and confirmed, and their Succeſſors; all and every the Ports, Iſlands, Plantations, Territories, Caſtles, Forts, Fortifications, Ordnance, Armour, Artillery, Munition, Arms, Guns, Powder, Shot, Victuals, Magazines, Stores, Ammunition, and Proviſions of War, Ships, Junks, Veſſels, Boats, Joint-Stock, Manors, Lordſhips, Meſſuages, Houſes, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Cattel, Chattels real and perſonal, Debts, Dues, Duties, Right of Actions, and Demand in Law, or Equity, Powers, Privileges, Liberties, Franchiſes, Juriſdictions, Cuſtoms, Rights, Royalties, Immunities, and Advantages whatſoever; and all other Things, *which were lawfully held, received, uſed, exerciſed, or enjoyed; or might, or ought to have been lawfully held, received, uſed, exerciſed, or enjoyed* by the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, on or before the ſaid twenty-fourth Day of *March* now laſt; or at any Time ſince, by Force, or Virtue of any Grants, Charters, or Letters-Patents whatſoever, heretofore granted unto them, or mentioned to be granted, or confirmed to them, by any of Our late Royal Predeceſſors, Kings, or Queens of *England*, by any Stile or Title of Incorporation whatſoever, or otherwiſe howſoever; and under and ſubject to the ſeveral and reſpective Proviſoes, Limitations, Clauſes, and Reſtrictions herein, and in the ſaid former Grants, Charters, and Letters-Patents, or any of them, contained; to have, hold, uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſaid Ports, Iſlands, Plantations, Territories, Caſtles, Powers, Privileges, and all and ſingular other the Premiſſes herein before-mentioned; and intended to be hereby granted and reſtored, and every of them, unto the ſaid Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and their Succeſſors; in ſuch and the ſame Manner, and to and for ſuch and the ſame Intents and Purpoſes in all Things, as the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, *might, or ought lawfully to have held, uſed, exerciſed, or enjoyed the ſame*, on, or at any Time before the ſaid 24th Day of *March* now laſt paſt;

That all their Plantations, Joint-Stock, Goods and Chattels, Powers, Privileges, and all other Things be reſtored and confirmed to the ſaid Company; which were, or might be lawfully uſed, or enjoyed.

To have and to hold the ſaid Powers, *&c.* in ſuch Manner, as they might, or ought lawfully to have, held, and enjoyed the ſame, as if the ſaid Powers were at large recited.

paſt; as if the ſame Powers, Privileges, and Immunities, and other the Premiſſes were hereby particularly granted, and the Letters-Patents concerning the ſame at large recited: Under and ſubject nevertheleſs to the Proviſoes, Reſtrictions, and Limitations contained in theſe Preſents, and in the former Charters, to the ſaid Company. Provided always, and upon Condition nevertheleſs, and Our expreſs Will and Meaning is, that if the ſaid Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and their Succeſſors, *do not accept of*; and from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, act according to, and put in due and effectual Execution, and *ſubmit and conform in all Things, unto ſuch Orders, Directions, Additions, Alterations, Reſtrictions, and Qualifications relating to the Conſtitution, Continuance, Determination*, Rights, Powers, or Privileges of the ſaid Company, or the Government thereof; or of the ſaid Governor and Company; or the Encouragement, Management, Regulation, or Advancement of Trade; or of the preſent or future Joint-Stock of the ſaid Company; or concerning any future Subſcriptions, to be made by way of Increaſe, or Addition to the Joint-Stock; or for aſcertaining the true Values of the ſaid Joint-Stock, at, and during the Times of any ſuch future Subſcriptions; which, and as We, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, by the Advice of Our or Their Privy Council, ſhall, from Time to Time, at any Time before the 29th Day of *September*, which ſhall be in the Year 1694, think fit to make, inſert, limit, direct, appoint, or expreſs, in, or by any further or other Charter, Letters-Patents, or other Writing, or Inſtrument, under Our or Their Great Seal of *England*, then, and in each and every of the Caſes aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, by Letters-Patents, under Our or Their Great Seal of *England*, to determine, revoke, and make void theſe Preſents, and the Grant hereby made: And from and immediately after the paſſing of ſuch Letters-Patents of Revocation, or Determination under the Great Seal of *England*; theſe Preſents, and all the Powers, Privileges, Grants, and other Things herein contained, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be abſolutely void, to all Intents and Purpoſes, any Thing to the contrary notwithſtanding. And further, We have given, granted, and reſtored, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give, grant, and reſtore unto the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, all and every ſuch Debts, Sums of Money, Duties, and Demands whatſoever, in Law or Equity, which, to the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, were grown due, or payable, at any Time before, or on the twenty-fourth Day of *March* now laſt paſt; or

Provided, that if the ſaid Company do not ſubmit, and conform to ſuch Alterations, Reſtrictions, and Qualifications as the King ſhall make before the 29th of *September* next, it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty to revoke this Charter.

That the ſaid Company's Debts be reſtored to them.

or which are ſince grown due, or payable, or ſhall hereafter grow due, or payable, by any Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever; as well our natural-born Subjects, as Aliens and Strangers. Giving, and by theſe Preſents, granting unto the ſaid Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, full Power and Authority to aſk, ſue for, and recover the ſame, by all lawful Ways and Means whatſoever; either in the Name of Us, Our Heirs or Succeſſors, or in the Name of the ſaid Company, or otherwiſe, as Law or Equity ſhall require or admit of; and to retain the ſame to their own Uſe and Benefit, upon, under, and ſubject to the Truſts, Intents, and Purpoſes herein after mentioned, as fully and amply, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid firſt Quarterly Payment of the ſaid Tax had been duly and regularly made into our *Exchequer*, according to the ſaid late Act of Parliament in that Behalf. Provided always, and it is intended and agreed, and Our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, that the ſaid Governor and Company hereby conſtituted, and their Succeſſors, and all the Manors, Lands, Tenements, Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Chattels real, Chattels perſonal, and other the Premiſſes hereby granted and confirmed, or mentioned to be granted and confirmed, and every of them, and every Part and Parcel thereof, ſhall be, and are hereby made ſubject and liable to, and charged and chargeable with, all and every ſuch Debts, and Sums of Money, Duties, and Demands whatſoever, in Law or Equity, which the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, do now owe, or are indebted, or ſubject, or liable to, or which at any Time before, or on the ſaid 24th Day of *March* now laſt paſt, or ſince, did owe, or were indebted, or ſubject, or liable to any Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever, as well our natural-born Subjects, and Perſons endenized or naturalized, as Aliens and Strangers; and that the ſame ſhall and may be ſued for, and recovered in ſuch and the like Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid firſt Quarterly Payment of the ſaid Tax had been duly and regularly made into our *Exchequer*, according to the ſaid late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and as if the ſaid former Charters had not been forfeited, or made void. And our further Will and Pleaſure is, and we do by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, grant unto the ſaid Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and their Succeſſors, that theſe Our Letters Patents, and all and ſingular the Powers, Clauſes, and Grants therein contained, ſhall be, and continue ſufficient and available in Law, and ſhall be conſtrued and taken, as well to the Meaning and Intent, as to the general Words of the ſame, moſt beneficially, and for the beſt Advantage of the ſaid Governor and Company, or late

With a Power to ſue for, and recover the ſame.

Provided, that all the Manors, Lands, Goods, and Eſtate of the ſaid Company ſhall be, and are made ſubject and chargeable, with all their Debts to any Perſons, as well Subjects as Strangers.

late Governor and Company, and their Succeſſors, under and ſubject to the Proviſoes, Reſtrictions, and Limitations herein, and in the ſaid former Letters-Patents contained; notwithſtanding the not mentioning, or not true reciting of any former Grants, Charters, or Letters-Patents, heretofore granted to the ſaid late Governor and Company, or any of their Predeceſſors, by any of the late Kings or Queens of *England*, or any other Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever; or the not mentioning, or reciting of any Caſtles, Forts, Plantations, Lands, Powers, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, or other Matters, or Things, in the ſaid Grants, or Letters-Patents, or any of them; granted, or mentioned to be granted and confirmed. Provided always, and theſe Preſents are, and ſhall be upon this Condition, that if the ſaid Governor and Company, hereby conſtituted, ſhall not pay into the Receipt of Our *Exchequer* at *Weſtminſter*, for Our Uſe, upon the 25th Day of *December* next enſuing the Date hereof, the full Sum of nine thouſand three hundred Pounds, of good and lawful Money of *England*; in Lieu and Satisfaction for the laſt of the four Quarterly Payments appointed to be paid unto Us by the late *Eaſt-India* Company, by Virtue of the Act of Parliament herein before-mentioned, for charging of Joint-Stocks: Then, and from thenceforth, theſe Preſents, and all Things herein contained, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be utterly void, to all Intents and Purpoſes, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding. In Witneſs whereof, We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents.

Provided, if the ſaid Company do not, on the 25th of *December* next, pay 93,000 *l.* into the *Exchequer*, for the laſt Quarterly Payment of their Tax, this Charter ſhall be void.

Witneſs Ourſelves at *Weſtminſter*, the ſeventh Day of *October*, in the fifth Year of Our Reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

PIGOTT.

A Diſ-

A Diſcourſe concerning the EAST-INDIA *Trade. Wherein is ſhewed, by Arguments taken from a Treatiſe written by Sir* JOSIAH CHILD, *that the ſaid Trade may be carried on by a Regulated Company, to much greater Advantage of the Publick, than by a Company with a Joint-Stock.*

THE many and great Advantages which all Kingdoms and Countries receive by Trade are ſo obvious, that it is what no Man denies; and there needs no Arguments to prove a Thing ſo generally admitted; and therefore it is, that the wiſeſt and juſteſt Governments have made it one of their chiefeſt Cares, to diſcover and eſtabliſh thoſe Ways and Methods that do beſt preſerve and improve it: And this being the Meaſure obſerved for Trade in general, it is ſo likewiſe in particular Trades, eſpecially ſuch as bear a great Proportion in the Value and Influence of the Trade of any Nation or Country, and which, by an ill Foundation and a worſe Management, are like to be loſt, if not to the whole, yet to the greater Part of the Subjects of that Country.

Among other Trades, that to the *Eaſt-Indies* is become one of the greateſt that is in *England*, and therefore well befitting the Care of our Repreſentatives in Parliament, to declare and eſtabliſh the Right thereunto, as well as the Methods of its Management; this being likewiſe one of the greateſt and moſt beneficial Trade of all the Trades of *Holland* as that Author obſerves in Page 144. of his ingenious Treatiſe. "The *Dutch*, *ſays he*, with good Reaſon eſteem the "Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* more profitable to them than are the Mines of "Gold and Silver in *America* to the King of *Spain*." Therefore, as of all others, it is that wherein the *Dutch* are moſt emulous of any Competitors; ſo we are under the more abſolute Neceſſity to have a Share in it, and are the more concerned to ſecure and encreaſe it: One of the chief Deſigns of Sir *Joſiah Child*, in that Treatiſe, ſeems to be, the ſhewing the Neceſſity and Advantage of encreaſing the Trade of this Kingdom, ſo as to enable us to cope therein, with our Neighbours in general, and particularly with the *Dutch*, which is a Subject of very great Importance; and well worthy ſo great a Pen. And the Nation is much indebted to him for thoſe many ingenious Maxims and Obſervations he has made publick, which were never more neceſſary to be conſidered than at preſent.

There are many of his Propoſitions, which may be made extreamly uſeful and advntageous to the Trade of this Kingdom in general, and particularly in the Settlement of the *Eaſt-India Trade*, by an eaſy Admiſſion into it, under the

the Government of a regulated Company of Merchants, which is the Method the Author propoſes as moſt beneficial to the Kingdom for all other Trades which are managed by Companies; and the *Eaſt-India* Trade being that wherein of all others, he has had a greater Share of Intereſt and Experience, it might reaſonably have been expected he ſhould have laid down ſuch Rules and Methods for the future Conduct and Improvement of it, as might effectually have anſwered the aforeſaid End of his Treatiſe.

But as the greateſt Men are ſubject to human Frailties, ſo herein that Gentleman has given an Inſtance of it, for he has been moſt ſilent as to the Methods of the Government of that Trade; and though it be of ſo great Importance as well to this Kingdom as the *Dutch*; he has treated of it in the ſlighteſt Manner of moſt others, and given neither Rules nor Reaſons worth mentioning either for the preſent or future Management of it. But yet in that little which he has obſerved concerning it, his private Intereſt has led him to contradict himſelf and his own Propoſitions, by which he has given a very great Blemiſh to that noble Undertaking, and ſhewed the World how difficult a Thing it is for ſome Men to be impartial, where private Intereſt comes to ſtand in Competition with the publick.

I ſhall, in order to the treating this Matter, conſider theſe four Things.

I. The Propoſitions laid down by the Author, as his Opinion concerning Trade in general.

II. The Reaſons which he has offered for the Management of the *Eaſt-India* Trade in the preſent Method.

III. Shew how inconſiſtent the preſent Conſtitution of the *Eaſt-India* Company, is with the Author's Propoſitions and Opinion, laid down as to Trade in general.

IV. I ſhall anſwer ſome of the moſt popular Objections which are made againſt the Determination of this Company, and the Management of that Trade, in any other Manner than by a Joint-Stock.

I might add likewiſe a Fifth, to ſhew how contradictory the preſent Conſtitution of the *Eaſt-India* Trade is to the Law of Nature, and the Liberty of a free-born People, and to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land. But of this I ſhall ſay nothing, it is a Subject which would deſerve a particular Conſideration; if the learned Arguments which have been made upon the Occaſion of its Conteſt, together with the Opinions of moſt of the Judges which have been given upon this Matter, had not ſufficiently proved it.

I. The Propoſitions laid down by the Author, and his Opinion as to Trade in general.

The great Deſign of the Author being to lay down Rules and Methods for the Encreaſe and Improvement of the Trade of this Kingdom in general, and for enabling us to cope therein with our Neighbours, and eſpecially the *Dutch*, he has propoſed ſeveral, as neceſſary to the attaining that End; and principally the Encouragement of Induſtry and Ingenuity, and the Abatement of Intereſt, as mainly conducing to it, the Advantages of which are largely handled, and take up a great Part of that Treatiſe. And in Page 153, ſpeaking of the Balance of Trade, he aſks "What is to be done in *England* to improve the "Trade thereof to ſuch a Degree, as to equalize or over-balance our Neigh-"bours in our national Profit by our Foreign Trade?"

"The Method I propoſe, *ſays he*, for the anſwering this great Queſtion, is "(following my own Principle, that if Trade be great, and much *Engliſh* "Shipping employed, it will be good for the Nation in general, whatever it "may be for private Merchants.) Firſt, to lay down ſome general Rules for "the Enlargement of Trade in *England*, and then ſome Ways of reducing "thoſe general Rules into Uſe and Practice: The general Rules for the En-"largement of Trade are not many.

"1. Encreaſe of Hands in Trade.
"2. Encreaſe of Stock in Trade.
"3. Make Trade eaſy and neceſſary, *i. e.* make it our Intereſt to trade.
"4. To make it the Intereſt of other Nations to trade with us."

And after in *Fol.* 159, ſpeaking of the 4th general Rule, to reduce it to Practice, *viz.* to make it the Intereſt of other Nations to trade with us. "We "muſt be ſure, *ſays he*, to furniſh them at as cheap, or cheaper Rates than any "other Nation can or doth; and this I affirm can never be done, without "ſubduing Uſury eſpecially, and doing thoſe other Things before-mentioned, "that will conduce to the Increaſe of our Hands and Stock; for our being in "a Condition to ſell our Neighbours cheaper than others, muſt be principally, "when it is an Effect of many Hands, and much Stock."

Object. "But it may be ſaid (*ſays the Author*) how ſhall we profit by this "Rule of ſelling cheap to Foreigners, whereas the contrary is ſaid to be the "Way to Riches, *viz.* to ſell dear, and buy cheap?"

To which he anſwers, "That in a ſtrick Senſe it may be ſo for the private "Merchants; but in this Diſcourſe, *ſays he*, I am deſigning to ſhew how our "publick national Trade may be ſo managed, that other Nations who are in "Competition for the ſame may not wreſt it from us, but that ours may con-"tinue and increaſe, to the Diminution of theirs; if there were no others to "wage with us, we might, as the Proverb ſays, make our own Markets; but "as the Caſe now ſtands, that all the World are ſtriving to engroſs all the "Trade they can, that other Proverb is very true and applicable, *All covet, "all loſe.*"

And

And to avoid Miſtakes which may be made in the Conſideration of theſe Matters, the Author, in his *Preface* to that Treatiſe, adviſes the Reader, "That "in all his Meditations on theſe Principles, he ſhould warily diſtinguiſh between "the Profit of the Merchant, and the Gain of the Kingdom, which are ſo far "from being always Parallels, that frequently they run counter one to the "other; almoſt all Men by their Education, and Buſineſs, having fixed their "Eye and Aim wholly upon the former, do uſually confound thoſe two, "in their Thoughts and Diſcourſes of Trade."

And ſpeaking of Companies of Merchants, *Fol.* 81, 82, he ſays, "It "hath been a Moot-Caſe, whether any incorporating of Merchants be for "publick Good or Hurt; for my own Part, *ſays he*, I am of Opinion,

"1. That for Countries with which his Majeſty hath no Alliance, nor can "have any by Reaſon of their Diſtance or Barbarity, or Non-communication "with the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, *&c.* where there is a Neceſſity of maintain-"ing Forces and Forts (ſuch as the *Eaſt-India* and *Guinea*) Companies of "Merchants are abſolutely neceſſary.

"2. It ſeems evident to me, that the greateſt Part of theſe two Trades, "ought for publick Good to be managed by Joint-Stocks.

"3. Its queſtionable to me, whether any other Company of Merchants are "for publick Good or Hurt.

"4. I conclude, however, that all Reſtrictions of Trade are naught, and "conſequently, that no Company whatſoever can be for publick Good, except "it be eaſy for all or any of his Majeſty's Subjects to be admitted, *&c.*

"I. Becauſe the *Dutch*, who thrive beſt, and have the ſureſt Rules to "thrive by, admit not only any of their own People, but even *Jews* and all "kind of Aliens, to be free of any of their Societies of Merchants, or any of "their Cities, or Towns corporate.

"II. Nothing in the World can enable us to cope with the *Dutch* in any "Trade, but Increaſe of Hands and Stock, which a general Admiſſion will "do, many Hands and much Stock being as neceſſary to the Proſperity of any "Trade, as Men and Money to Warfare.

"III. There is no Pretence of any Good to the Nation by Companies of "Merchants, but only Order and Regulation of Trade; and if that be pre-"ſerved (which the Admiſſion of all that will come in, and ſubmit to the "Regulation, will not prejudice) all the Good to the Nation that can be hoped "for by Companies, is obtained."

And a little after, *Fol.* 83, making Inferences from what he had been obſerve-ing concerning regulated Companies of Merchants, he reduces them to four, *viz.*

"1. That reſtrained and limited Companies are not alone ſufficient to pre-"ſerve and encreaſe a Trade.

"2. That limited Companies, though eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, "may loſe a Trade.

"3. That a Trade may be carried on to any Part of *Chriſtendom*, and "encreaſed without Companies.

" 4. That we have declined more, at leaſt have encreaſed leſs in thoſe " Trades limited to Companies, than in others, where all his Majeſty's Sub- " jects have had equal Freedom of Trade."

Theſe being the Propoſitions which are laid down by the Author for his Opinion as to Trade in general, I ſhall conſider the ſecond Thing propoſed, *viz.*

II. The Reaſons offered by him for the Management of the *Eaſt-India* Trade in the preſent Method.

The *Eaſt-India* Trade, under the preſent Conſtitution, ſtanding upon ſuch a Foundation as contradicts the Author's Propoſitions for the Conduct of all other Trades, and which is accounted by him to be prejudicial to the publick Good, and deſtructive to Induſtry and Ingenuity; and conſidering what he ſays from the Conſiderations he had made of Companies of Merchants in general, Page 84. " That all the Trade to any Part of *Chriſtendom* might be carried on, " and increaſed, without Companies;" it might rationally have been expected, that ſuch Reaſons ſhould have been propoſed for the Management of that Trade in the preſent Method, as ſhould not have been liable to any Objection, and that he would have ſhewed wherein it differs ſo much from all the Trades of *Chriſtendom*, that it ought to ſtand on ſo different a Conſtitution.

But he has not attempted to prove any ſuch Thing, nor ſhewn a Neceſſity of having any Company of Merchants at all for that Trade; much leſs one with a Joint-Stock excluſive: For what he ſays in Page 81. " That for " Countries with which his Majeſty hath no Alliance, nor can have any by " reaſon of their Diſtance or Barbarity, or Non-communication with the " Princes of *Chriſtendom*, *&c.* where there is a Neceſſity of maintaining Forces " and Forts, (ſuch as the *Eaſt-India* and *Guiney* Companies of Merchants " are abſolutely neceſſary;" is a perfect Begging the Queſtion: But it does not make appear, that Forces and Forts are neceſſary for the carrying on of that Trade; nor if they were, that they could not be provided for without a Company with a Joint-Stock; which, if he had proved, it might have ſeemed as evident to others, as he ſays it does to him; that the *Eaſt-India* and *Guinea* Trades ought to be ſo managed; but as he only mentions thoſe Things as Arguments for a Company of Merchants; ſo, if they were neceſſary, they make nothing at all to his Purpoſe, as to a Company with Joint-Stock; for I will admit, that a Company of Merchants is neceſſary for thoſe Trades: —And yet I doubt not, but it will appear very plain by the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, that if Forces and Forts were neceſſary, they might be maintained by a regulated Company of Merchants, as well as by a Company with a Joint-Stock; for the Author allows, that Order and Regulation may be had in a Company of Merchants without a Joint-Stock, and declares, that there is no other Pretence of any Good to the Nation by any Company of Merchants, than only Order and Regulation — And in Page 88. he confeſſes, that the *Turkey*-Company maintain Ambaſſadors, Conſuls, *&c.* ſo that 'twill naturally follow, and he himſelf muſt admit it, that the *Eaſt-India* and *Guinea* Trades may be carried on by a Company of Merchants without a Joint-Stock; and that if

Forces,

Forces, Forts, *&c.* were neceſſary for the Good and Security of thoſe Trades, they might be maintained by ſuch a regulared Company, as well as by a Joint-Stock; and of this their own Permiſſion-Trade is a ſufficient Demonſtration; for which Licence to Trade they have exacted from their Fellow-Subjects 30, 40, and 50 *l. per Cent.* a much greater Tax than what is neceſſary to be levied by a regulated Company, for the Support of their Charge. And it cannot be ſuppoſed, if the Author had not been fully convinced of his being upon a wrong Foundation, but that a Perſon of his great Parts and Ingenuity would have given ſome better Reaſons to the World, why thoſe Trades ought, as he ſays, for the publick Good, to be managed by a Joint-Stock; than barely his own aſſerting, that ſo it ſeems evident to him. The Reader may well be ſurprized, how the Author ſhould come to draw ſuch a Concluſion from thoſe Premiſſes: And as it has been already obſerved, he has given no Reaſon for this his Opinion, although it be ſo contrary to his own Maxims; ſo that it's plain, nothing but his own Intereſt in the *Eaſt-India* Stock could make that ſeem evident to him to be beſt in this Trade; of which the direct contrary, in his Opinion, is moſt for the publick Good in all other Trades. And as it would not have been decent in him, to tell the World for a Reaſon, how great his Concern was in the Joint-Stock of the *Eaſt-India* Company; ſo it would not have convinced any other, who had not the ſame Reaſon as the Author, to have it ſeem evident to him, by having ſo large, or at leaſt ſome Share therein. Yet it muſt be allowed to be a convincing Argument, and of a very great Weight, as to the Author, but of no Weight at all, as to the Publick; and it ſhews, how neceſſary the Author's Advice is, in the *Preface* of his Treatiſe, to diſtinguiſh between the Profit of the Merchant, and the Gain of the Kingdom.

As for the Barbarity of the *Indians*, the contrary thereof is ſo well known, that it will not paſs for any Argument, there being no People in the World more civilized: Our late Carriage towards them has indeed given them too much Occaſion to account us barbarous; but they have not by their Behaviour ever given us any Cauſe to eſteem them ſo.

Having thus conſidered the Author's Reaſons, which he has offered for managing the *Eaſt-India* Trade in this Method, I ſhall conſider the third Thing which I propoſed; which is,

III. To ſhew how inconſiſtent the preſent Conſtitution of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Trade is with the Author's own Propoſitions.

I think there needs no other Argument to prove this, than only what I have already obſerved, and taken from the Author's ſaid Treatiſe; but becauſe ſomething more particular may be expected, I ſhall do it briefly.

It is plain, by the Author's Opinion, *Fol.* 81. that all Reſtraints in Trade are naught: "I conclude, however, ſays he, That all Reſtrictions of Trade are "naught, and conſequently, that no Company whatſoever can be for the pub-"lick Good, except it be eaſy for all, or any of his Majeſty's Subjects, to be "admitted, *&c.*" Joint-Stocks, eſpecially excluſive ones, are Monopolies, and are effectual Reſtraints in Trade; ſo that they perfectly contradict the Author's

Author's Principles, being ſo many Shackles to Trade, and Curbs to Induſtry and Ingenuity; which hinder the Increaſe of Hands and Stock in Trade, and give moſt of the Advantage that is made thereby to Men of great Eſtates; who, though they are never ſuch idle Drones and Sluggards, lazily reap and enjoy the Benefit of the Labour and Pains of others, who having ſmaller Eſtates, are more active and induſtrious; and they are inconſiſtent with one of the chief Rules laid down by the Author for the Enlargement of our Trade, Page 154, *viz.* "To make it the Intereſt of other Nations, to trade with "us;"— they making Goods dear, inſtead of making them cheap; and ſo force us to trade with other Nations, to ſupply ourſelves; inſtead of making it their Intereſt to trade with us; as is viſible by the exceſſive Prices of all *Eaſt-India* Goods, above what they would have been, if all their Majeſties Subjects had enjoyed an equal Freedom in the Trade, and the vaſt Quantities which have been of late imported hither by Stealth from *Holland*.

If all the Trade of this Kingdom were carried on by ſuch excluſive Joint-Stocks, as thoſe of the *Eaſt-India* and *Guinea* Companies, this Nation might produce half a Dozen Men, of Eſtates equal with moſt Dukes; and all other Traders muſt remain their Slaves, their Vaſſals. —— And therefore what the Author ſays of Uſurers, Pag. 24, 25, may, with very little Variation, properly be applied to thoſe who are ſo earneſt and ſolicitous for the Continuance of this Company, and oppoſe the carrying on of this Trade in a regulated Company.

"The Sufferers, I know none, but idle Perſons, that live with little "Labour, not working with their Hands or Heads, to bring either Wax or "Honey to the common Hive of the Kingdom; but ſwelling their own "Purſes by the Sweat of other Mens Brows, and Contrivance of other Mens "Brains; and how unprofitable it is for a Nation, to ſuffer Idleneſs to ſuck the "Breaſts of Induſtry, needs no Demonſtration."

In a regulated Company of Merchants, there is a conſtant and eaſy Admiſſion for all Men; which is the increaſing of Hands and Stock in Trade, ſo much commended by the Author; and which he declares to be as eſſentially neceſſary to the Proſperity of any Trade, as Men and Money are to Warfare.

Yet the Author magnifies the Admiſſion into the *Eaſt-India* Company, and finds Fault with the Narrowneſs of that into the other Companies of Merchants: Whereas, the Charge thereof is generally ſmall, and the Privilege great; for any one, who is once admitted into a regulated Company, may drive as great a Trade as he pleaſes, without Limitation; and 'tis ſuch an Admiſſion, which increaſes Hands and Stock in Trade; two of the general Rules, which the Author lays down in *Fol.* 154, —for the enlarging our Trade. And though all the Reſtraints that are in moſt other Trades, under regulated Companies, may eaſily be removed; and thoſe may properly be ſaid to reſtrain themſelves, who are not admitted, becauſe they do not think it worth their while; yet the Author is of Opinion, that even thoſe Reſtraints ought to be taken away, and the Freedom of Trade made more eaſy; and in the Author's Anſwer made in the Company's Name, to the Regulations propoſed by the Lords of the Council, he

he ſays, " Trade is a free Agent, and muſt not be limited or bounded; if it " be ſo in any Nation, it will never proſper." And in another Place of the ſame Anſwer; " Trade muſt be free for the publick Good; otherwiſe it " will die or flie away." Yet he approves of the Reſtraint in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, as neceſſary for the publick Good; though that be ſuch a Reſtraint as is in effect a total Prohibition of all others but themſelves; however, the Admiſſion into the *Eaſt-India* Company for 5 *l.* is what he ſpeaks of in Pag. 89, 90. as one of the main Cauſes of all their Succeſs.

" Undeniable Experience, *ſays he*, hath convinced all Gain-ſayers in this " Matter, that the *Eaſt-India* Company, ſince its having had ſo large and " national a Foundation, having likewiſe had a Succeſſion of better Governors, " Deputies, and Aſſiſtants, than ever it had upon that narrow Bottom it ſtood " formerly, when none could be admitted to the Freedom of that Company, " for leſs than a Fine of 50 *l.* and the Succeſs hath been anſwerable. For the " firſt Company, ſettled upon that narrow limited Intereſt, although their " Stock was larger than this, decayed, and finally came to Ruin and De- " ſtruction. Whereas, on the contrary, this being ſettled on more rational, and " conſequently more juſt, as well as more profitable Principles, hath, through " God's Goodneſs, thriven and increaſed to the trebling of their firſt Stock."

But here I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the great Succeſs of this Company's Trade, ſo far exceeding the former, is not owing to the Admiſſion of any one for 5 *l.* as the Author would inſinuate, but to ſome ſuch Cauſes, as theſe, *viz.*

I. The great and general Uſe and Eſteem of Callicoes and *Eaſt-India* Commodities, of which the Conſumption has been above ten times more than it was formerly.

II. The War in which *France* and *Holland* were engaged for ſo many Years, when we enjoyed Peace, which gave us an Opportunity to furniſh not only thoſe Countries, but all the World, with moſt Sorts of *Eaſt-India* Goods; which, together with the low Duties formerly paid, have been the chief Reaſons of this Company's great Succeſs.

Nor are the Advantages which the Nation received by the *Eaſt-India* Trade owing to the Management of it by a Company with a Joint-Stock; for the ſame might be had under a regulated Company, and much greater. Thoſe which the Author mentions chiefly, are in 144, 145, and 146.

" I. That Trade, *ſays he*, employs twenty-five or thirty Sail of the moſt " warlike Ships in *England*, with ſixty or an hundred Men in each Ship, and " may, in two or three Years more, employ a greater Number, *&c.*

" II. It ſupplies the Nation conſtantly and duly with that (in this Age) "neceſſary Material of Salt-petre.

" III.

" III. It ſupplies the Nation for its Conſumption with Pepper, Indigo, Cal-
" licoes, and ſeveral uſeful Drugs, near the Value of 150,000 or 180,000 *l.*
" *per Annum.*

" IV. It furniſhes us with the Pepper, Cowries, Long Cloth, and other
" Callicoes and painted Stuffs, proper for the Trade of *Turkey*, *Italy*, *Spain*,
" *France*, and *Guiney*, to the Amount of 2 or 300,000 *l. per Annum.*

" Now, if not only the aforeſaid Advantages be ſeriouſly conſidered, but
" alſo what Detriment the Nation would ſuſtain, if we were deprived of thoſe
" Supplies, both in Point of Strength and warlike Proviſions, in regard of
" Shipping and Salt-petre, but alſo in reſpect of the Furtherance it gives to
" many other Trades before-mentioned, it will eaſily appear, that this Trade,
" though its Imports exceed its Exports, is the moſt advantageous Trade to
" *England*, and deſerves all Encouragements; for were we to buy all our Pepper
" and Callicoes of the *Dutch*, they would raiſe our Pepper (which now ſtands
" but about 3 *d. per* Pound in *India*) to, or near the Proportion which they
" have advanced on Nutmegs, Cloves, and Mace, (which coſt the *Dutch* not
" much more *per* Pound in *India* than Pepper) ſince they engroſſed the Trade
" for thoſe Commodities, and the Uſe of Callicoes in *England*, would be
" ſupplied with foreign Linnen at greater Prices; ſo that what may be ſecur'd
" for this Nation's Conſumption would, in all Probability, coſt them at leaſt
" 400,000 *l. per Annum* more than now it doth, and our foreign Trades for
" *Italy* and *Guiney* would in part decay for want of the aforeſaid Supplies."

Moſt of which Advantages the Nation has now loſt, by having this Trade managed by a Joint-Stock, and is never like to recover them again, unleſs by the Cheapneſs of *Eaſt-India* Goods, which may be procured by an open Trade, and can ſcarce ever be attained by any other Method. The *French*, by their high Duties, had perfectly prohibited all Callicoes, and other *Eaſt-India* Goods before the War, but what comes directly from thence on their own Ships; the *Dutch* import ſo large Quantities, that they do not only ſupply themſelves, and thoſe other Countries which we formerly ſupplied, but even the Conſumption of this Kingdom; and beſides them, the *Danes*, *Portugueſe*, and *Genoeſe* are all courting this Trade.

This Company, inſtead of employing twenty-five or thirty of the moſt warlike Ships, and of importing 180,000 *l. per Annum* in Pepper and Drugs, and exporting again 200,000 or 300,000 *l.* in Callicoes, and other Commodities for *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. have not had home, in three or four Years Time, that Value in all Manner of Goods; though moſt Sorts of *Eaſt-India* Commodities are, and have been ſold for double, ſome treble, and four times as much as formerly; and for Salt-petre, they have ſcarce had any home of late; ſo that for want thereof, a Bill is now brought into Parliament to licenſe the importing of it from *Holland*, that Commodity being now ſold at about 8 *l. per Cent.* which was formerly ſold for little more than 40 *s. per Cent.* And it is obſervable, that the Want of *Eaſt-India* Goods is not occaſioned by the preſent War, or a

Want

Want of Leave to ſend out Ships, but for Want of Stock to lade home thoſe Ships which they had; ſo that the reſtraining the *Eaſt-India* Trade to this Company, and not permitting others to trade thither, has hindred the Improvement of it, and in a Manner wholly given it to the *Dutch*, who never had ſo great Cargoes from thence, as they have had now of late.

What remains to be conſidered is,

IV. To anſwer ſome popular Objections which are made againſt the Determination of this Company, and the managing the *Eaſt-India* Trade, in any other Manner than by a Company with a Joint-Stock.

In conſidering which Objections, I ſhall reduce them into four Particulars.

I. The Trade will be ſpoiled by paying dear for our native Commodities here, and ſelling them cheap abroad, and buying foreign Commodities dear abroad, and ſelling them for leſs than they coſt, to the Ruin of thoſe who trade, and Deſtruction of the Trade itſelf; as was experienced by the open Trade formerly, when the *Indians* were the only Gainers; and beſides, the *Dutch* will run away with all the Trade.

II. Private Merchants will only look to their private Gain, whereas Companies with Joint-Stocks lay out great Sums of Money, without any preſent Profit, only upon the Proſpect of future Improvements and Advantage.

III. If Joint-Stocks excluſive are ſo prejudicial to the Publick, and ſuch Diſcouragements to Induſtry and Ingenuity, how came any Joint-Stocks ever to be eſtabliſhed, and the *Dutch* to manage their *Eaſt-India* Trade in that Method?

IV. Forts and Caſtles are neceſſary, and the Trade cannot be carried on without them, and they cannot be maintained without a Joint-Stock; they have coſt the Company above a Million of Money, and are their Property; and they cannot be forced to part with them; and if they ſhould, how could they be paid for them?

Theſe ſeem to be the moſt conſiderable Objections which have occurred to me, to have been offered againſt the carrying on the *Eaſt-India* Trade by a regulated Company; and if, upon Examination, they ſhould appear to be of no Weight, it will then doubtleſs be admitted, that, for the publick Good, the *Eaſt-India* Trade ought not to be carried on by a Joint-Stock, (and eſpecially an excluſive one) but in an open Trade by a Company of Merchants, like the *Turkey*, or other regulated Companies.

First Objection. *The Trade will be ſpoiled*, &c.

The Author himſelf anſwers this Objection, in Pag. 84, 85.—"Caveat "Emptor, *ſays he*, Let particular Men look to themſelves, and ſo doubtleſs "they will, in thoſe Trades for which there are now Companies, as well as "they do in others, for which there are no Companies. It is the Care of "Law-makers, firſt and principally to provide for the People in groſs, not "Particulars; and if the Conſequence of ſo eaſy an Admiſſion, ſhould be to "make our Manufactures cheap abroad, and foreign Commodities cheap here, "(as is alledged) our Nation in general would have the Advantage both "Ways."

If in an open Trade People will ruin themſelves by trading to Loſs, it is an Argument the Trade will be drove; and then it will not be in Danger, by being open, to fall into the Hands of the *Dutch*, which it is very likely to do, if it continues in this Company; the *Dutch* do not deſire to have their *Eaſt-India* Goods ſold ſo cheap here to ruin us; for they will get little by that Way of trading, the Charge of their Trade ſo much exceeding ours, by reaſon of the great Garriſons which they are forced to maintain to ſecure their Cinnamon and Spice-Trade; and it is undeniably certain, that the *Dutch* deſire nothing ſo much as the Continuance of this Company, nor fear any thing more than a regulated Company for this Trade.

This Objection may as well be made againſt all Trades which are not drove by Joint-Stocks. It may probably happen, that thoſe who may trade in a free and open Trade, under a regulated Company, may not get two or three for one, on the Goods which they may import, as the Company now do, by reaſon of the exceſſive Prices they ſell at, by being engroſſed into one Hand, and their having ſtarved the Trade; but in Time of Peace may get 20 or 30 *per Cent.* only, and they will be very well contented to get no more; which ſmall Profit muſt, in a little Time, quite beat the *Dutch* out of all, (except the Spice-Trade;) for it is very well known they dealt but very little in Callicoes, and other Manufactures, till the Prices of *Eaſt-India* Goods were inhanced to ſuch extravagant Rates as they have been of late. Nor did they or we get ſo much on thoſe Goods formerly, when a larger Trade was drove; nor can the Profit be ſo great on that Trade hereafter, which Way ſoever it ſhall be managed. But it is better for the Nation to have 10 *l. per Cent.* gained on 300 *l.* employed in Trade, than to have but 100 *l.* employed, by which the Merchant ſhall get 30 *l. per Cent.* The making a great Profit on a particular Trade may be fit for particular Men to conſider that drive that Trade, but was never yet thought a Conſideration worthy the Legiſlators providing for, ſo as the Nation in general got by the Trade; for the great Profit which particular Men may make, is for the moſt Part directly oppoſite to the Intereſt of the Publick; and it is contrary to the Author's Maxims, laid down in Pag. 84, 85, and in his *Preface*, as is already obſerved.

"For

" For we muſt diſtinguiſh, *ſays he*, between the Profit of the Merchant and " the Gain of the Kingdom; which are ſo far from being always Parallels, " that frequently they run counter the one to the other."

The more Traders there are, the better it is for the Publick, though perhaps it may be worſe for the private Merchants that drive thoſe Trades. The more Goods are exported and imported, the more Ships employed, the more Cuſtom paid, the cheaper our Manufactures are abroad, and the greater the Conſumption of our own Goods, the Nation in general will have the Advantage, tho' the Traders may not; and the cheaper *Eaſt-India* Goods are, the Subject will pay the leſs for what is conſumed at home, and the more of them will be again exported abroad, for other Nations and Countries, who will thereby be encouraged to trade with us.

But it may very well ſeem ſtrange, that the Cheapneſs of Commodities ſhould be made an Argument againſt that Method of Trade which will make them ſo, ſeeing it is what the Author chiefly aims at in his Treatiſe, in reſpect of all other Trades, by the lowering Intereſt, and making Ingenuity and Induſtry neceſſary; and is what he lays down as an eſſential Maxim to be obſerved, which will enable us to cope in Trade with our Neighbours, and eſpecially the *Dutch*; and yet this is the main Objection againſt an open Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* by a regulated Company, without a Joint-Stock. But this, when it is conſidered, is ſo far from being an Objection againſt it, that it is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments which can be uſed for it; and it is one of thoſe general Rules which the Author lays down for the Enlargement of the Trade of *England*, in *Fol.* 159.

" To make it the Intereſt of other Nations to trade with us, we muſt be " ſure, *ſays he*, to furniſh them as cheap, or cheaper than any other Nation " can or doth, *&c.*"

As for the Inſtance, that it has already been found by Experience, that when this Trade was formerly open People ruined themſelves by trading to Loſs; there was not one tenth Part of the Callicoes and other *Eaſt-India* Goods conſumed that there is now, and has been of late Years; and if that be an Objection allowed againſt an open Trade for the *Eaſt-Indies*, it will likewiſe hold againſt any Trade at all being drove thither, becauſe that there was formerly a Loſs by it, even whilſt the Trade was managed by a Joint-Stock, as well as there was when it was open; as may appear in *Fol.* 41 of that Treatiſe. " There are, *ſays the Author*, ſome Men yet living, who do remember a " greater Trade to *Eaſt-India*, and a far greater Stock employed therein " than we have now; and yet we were ſo far from thriving upon it, that we " loſt by it, and could never ſee our principal Money again."

Yet it is evident, by the Author's Opinion, Pag. 148, 150, and 154, that the Merchant may loſe in a Trade, and the Nation ſtill gain; and that there is a great Difference between the Gain of the Kingdom, and that of the private Merchant.

Pag. 148. Says he, " If our Trade and Shipping encreaſe, how ſmall or " ſlow ſoever the Profits are to private Men, it is an infallible Indication that " the Nation in general thrives; for I dare affirm, that categorically in all Parts

" of the whole World, wherever Trade is great, and continues ſo, and grows " daily more great, and increaſes in Shipping, and that for a Succeſſion, not of " Years, but of Ages, that Trade muſt be nationally profitable."

Page 150, the Author ſays further, " Where a great Trade is driven, eſpe- " cially where much Shipping is employed, whatever becomes of the poor " Merchant that drives the Trade, Multitudes of People will be certain Gain- " ers, as his Majeſty, and his Officers of Cuſtoms, beſides Shipwrights, Butch- " ers, Brewers, Bakers, Rope-makers, Porters, Seamen, Manufacturers, Carmen, " Lightermen, and all other Artificers, and People that depend on Trade or " Shipping, which indeed, more or leſs, the whole Kingdom doth."

And Page 154, as has been already obſerved, he calls it, " The following " his own Principle, that if Trade be great, and much *Engliſh* Shipping em- " ployed, it will be good for the Nation in general, whatever it may be for " the private Merchants."

But to anſwer this Objection more fully; It is very obſervable, that there is a far greater Trade drove from Port to Port in *India*, and from thence for the *Red Sea*, *Perſia*, the *South-Sea*, *China*, and the *Manillas*, which goes from thence to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, than what is drove to *Europe*; and the particular Merchants buy their Goods in all thoſe Trades without any Joint-Stock, and yet they do not ruin themſelves, nor do they loſe the Trade, or give away all the Profit to the Natives; ſometimes they get more, ſometimes leſs, as there is a greater or leſs Quantity of Goods at the Market, and as there is more or leſs Demand for them in like Manner, as in all other Trades: And it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that they have neither Forces, Forts, nor Caſtles in *India* to drive their Trade. I ſhall only add, that many of the Members of this Company do publickly declare themſelves in favour of an open Trade by a regulated Company, if the preſent Company ſhould be diſſolved; which ſhews plainly, that it is nothing but private Intereſt which makes them now againſt it.

Second Objection. *Private Merchants will only look to their preſent Gain*, &c.

This Joint-Stock Company, inſtead of diſcovering any new Trades, has loſt ſeveral Trades which the *Engliſh* Nation had formerly; they have given the *Dutch* the whole Spice-Trade; we had the Iſlands of *Polleroon* and *Amboyna*, and a Factory at *Maccaſſar*, which if they had recovered back from the *Dutch*, according to the Treaty of Peace, would have furniſhed us with Spice enough for ourſelves, and wherewithal to ſupply other Countries; and they have likewiſe loſt the Trade of *Bantam*, and thereby given the *Dutch* an Opportunity to engroſs not only the Pepper-Trade, but likewiſe in time to ſhut us quite out of the *South-Sea* and *China* Trade; which laſt, though it has been in a Manner wholly neglected by them, might be made more beneficial to this Kingdom, than moſt of their other Trades.

They have in a Manner loſt all other Trades, excepting only their Trade in the Mogul's Dominions, which, if it had been poſſible to loſe, and for the *Dutch* to have

have engroſſed, the Company have taken a great deal of Pains to give them an Opportunity to do it; all the new Trade which they have diſcovered, inſtead of thoſe which they have loſt, is our Settlement at *Bencoolen*, a Place which finds a great Vent for our Manufacture, if the Lives of poor *Engliſhmen* may be called a Manufacture, as they have been accounted by ſome of the great Men of that Company, upon the Occaſion of our firſt ſettling there; that Place has proved a *Golgotha* to our *Engliſhmen*, and let it coſt what it will the fortifying, that is all the (morally ſpeaking) impregnable Aſylum, as they call it, to the *Engliſh* Nation, which it is ever like to be. If this be all the Improvement which has been made by a Joint-Stock in the *Eaſt-India* Trade, during thirty-ſix Years, it had been well for *England* there had been no Joint-Stock in that Trade, or none of this Improvement; we had ſaved ſeveral hundred poor *Engliſhmen*'s Lives, which have been ſent thither to die like Dogs.

Third Objection. *If Joint-Stocks are ſo prejudicial to the Publick*, &c.

For Reply thereunto, it is to be obſerved, that in the Infancy of Trade, and eſpecially of ſuch as are remote, where particular Perſons would not adventure, for fear of the Diſappointments that commonly attend the firſt Undertakings, Joint-Stocks have been thought neceſſary; but are not ſo when a Trade is fully diſcovered and ſettled, and when it can be carried on as well, or better, by particular Men, without a Joint-Stock; for as Joint-Stocks may be uſeful in making the firſt Diſcoveries and Settlements of Trades, and eſpecially of ſuch as are remote; ſo they have always been prejudicial to the future Improvements and Increaſe of thoſe very Trades after their firſt Settlement, by not leaving a full Scope to Induſtry and Ingenuity; as may plainly appear by the ſlow Progreſs, little Improvements, and leſs Diſcoveries which have been made in the *Eaſt-India* and *Guinea* Trades, ſince their being firſt frequented, if compared with the Improvements of moſt others ſince that Time, where Induſtry and Ingenuity have had their full Courſe, and been freed from theſe Shackles; of which there needs no other Demonſtration, than thoſe vaſt Improvements that have been made in our own *Weſt-India* Plantations; which could have been in no Manner of Proportion ſo conſiderable, if they had been managed by a Company, and eſpecially a Company with an excluſive Joint-Stock. And this the Author acknowledges, *Fol.* 84. "We have, *ſays he*, declined more, at leaſt "have increaſed leſs in thoſe Trades limited to Companies, than in others, "where all his Majeſty's Subjects have had equal Freedom to trade." And it is very remarkable, how great Enemies Reſtraints are to Diſcoveries and Improvements, by the great Countries and People which are yet unknown to us, towards the *South Pole*, compared with thoſe towards the *North Pole*; which Countries being as remote from the Sun, might doubtleſs afford a great Conſumption to our Woollen Manufactures, and ſupply us with ſome uſeful Commodities in lieu of them: And the Want of theſe Diſcoveries can be imputed to nothing but the Reſtraint of Trade, occaſioned by the *Engliſh* and

Dutch

Dutch Eaſt-India Companies, and the Severity of the *Spaniards*, in prohibiting Trade into their *Weſt-Indies*.

And though it be acknowledged, that the *Dutch* carry on their *Eaſt-India* Trade by a Joint-Stock, yet that is no Rule for this Nation to do the like, if it may be managed to more publick Advantage in ſome other Method: For the Queſtion is not, how the *Dutch* manage this Trade, but, how the *Engliſh* may do it, ſo as to be the moſt beneficial to this Kingdom, and to enable us beſt to cope with the *Dutch*; and whether that may not be done better without a Joint-Stock, than with one?

The *Dutch*, it is true, began their Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* by a Company with a Joint-Stock; and they firſt ſettled themſelves by Conqueſt, purſuing Dominion and Empire; and are under a Neceſſity of continuing their Trade in that Manner, though the Charge of their Garriſons and Governments is ſo exceſſive, that nothing but the Spice-Trade, and the confining our *Eaſt-India* Trade to an excluſive Joint-Stock, could have hindered them from being ruined long ſince.

Our firſt Settlement in the *Eaſt-Indies* was by Trade, as Merchants; and muſt ſubſiſt by a fair and upright Dealing with the Natives; a juſt and punctual Compliance in our Bargains and Payments; thereby preſerving a mutual Intercourſe, and good Underſtanding with them; for we have no Territories, Garriſons, or Caſtles, which afford, or ſecure us any Trade, but ſuch as we might as well, nay better, be without.

The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Trade, and their Government, are ſo interwoven, that what leſſens the one, affects the other; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that they ſhould be ſo ſolicitous to preſerve and increaſe it, and to oppoſe any thing which might ſeem to leſſen it.

Fourth Objection. *Forts and Caſtles are ſo neceſſary, that the Trade cannot be carried on without them*, &c.

Their Forts, *&c.* are ſuch as are to be regarded, either for the Revenue, ariſing by them to the Company, or as they are neceſſary to carry on the Trade, and all the Charges which have been diſburſed on them, are not to be reckoned as their Coſt; for they have had the Uſe of them, and the annual Charge ought to be placed to the Trade. If the *Turkey*, *Hamburgh*, *Eaſt-Land*, or any other regulated Company of Merchants, ſhould make an Account of all the Charges of their Ambaſſadors, Reſidents, and Factories, ſince their firſt Foundation, it might probably, in ſome of thoſe Companies, exceed the Charge of the *Eaſt-India* Company's Forts, *&c.* But the annual Trade has borne the annual Charge; and they do not, upon that Score, increaſe the Charge of the Admiſſion of any one into their Company and Trade.

If their Forts are ſo great a Revenue as they pretend, they need not part with them, but may keep them, and have home the annual Revenue from thence.

And

And if they are neceſſary to carry on the Trade, thoſe who ſucceed them in the Trade, will conſider the Neceſſity which they have of them, and in ſuch Caſe cannot be without them; and their Value may be adjuſted by Perſons indifferently choſen, as has been always formerly practiſed upon the like Occaſions; and the Money may be raiſed to pay for them, either on the Trade, as all Impoſitions are in the *Turkey*, and other regulated Companies, or paid by the Government out of the Cuſtoms ariſing by the Trade, which would ſoon more than compenſate that Charge by their Increaſe.

The Forts and Iſlands have hitherto gone along with the Trade, and the Company's Succeſſors have been accounted thoſe who have ſucceeded them in the Trade; and therefore they cannot properly be called their Freehold, becauſe of their national Property in them; nor can they, if they would, ſell them to the *French*, or *Dutch*, as they pretend, *Bombay* and *St. Helena* being annexed to the Crown, and holden of the Manor of *Eaſt-Greenwich* at a certain Quit-Rent; neither would the *French* or *Dutch* buy them (becauſe they would be of no Uſe to them) though the Company had as good a Power as they might have a Will, to ſell them to any who they thought might prejudice *England* moſt in buying them; but it ſhews a great deal of Confidence, as well as Ill-nature in them, to pretend to do it if they could. If they are not willing to part with their Forts, let them ſee who they will hurt moſt; for it is plain, the Trade may be as well, and better carried on without them. At *Bengal*, the Flower of all the Trade of *India*, we never had a Fort, nor any thing like it; and yet the greateſt and moſt profitable Part of the *Eaſt-India* Trade has been from thence. We trade in all Parts of the Mogul's Dominions with as much Security as any Foreigners do in *London*; and this is demonſtrated by their own, and private Ships trading in many other Places where they have no Forts; for they have no Garriſons in any Place where they have a Trade but *Fort. St. George*, and our new Acquiſition of *Fort St. David's*; and there they might have the ſame Trade without them, and be freed of the Charge of maintaining them.

Bombay is a good Harbour for our Ships, but affords no Trade, and we ſhould have the ſame Benefit of that Harbour, although the Iſland were under the Mogul's Dominion.

If we have Peace with the Natives, we want no Forts; and if we are encouraged by our Forts to make War, we ſhall ſoon repent, as the Company may, that they ever had any; and, on that Conſideration, as well as the neceſſary Charge of keeping them, it had been well for this Nation the Company had never had any. In Time of War with the Natives, we may perhaps with Difficulty keep our Forts, but we cannot drive our Trade; the War we had with the Mogul has been a ſufficient Proof of this Aſſertion.

Their Forts are of ſo little Uſe, that after the Company have been paid for them, the beſt Thing which could be done for the Advantage of that Trade, would be to demoliſh them; following therein the Example of the wiſe *Dutch*, who have lately demoliſhed *Pollicate*, a Fortification which they had near *Fort St. George*, and of greater Strength than any we have in *India*, and which was the

the only Fort they had in all the Mogul's Dominions, and thereby our Trade would be freed of all the great and unneceſſary Charge of maintaining them, and we ſhould be better ſecured by an intire Dependence on the Mogul's Protection.

If Forts and Caſtles were of any Uſe in *India*, it could only be in the Countries of ſmall Princes; but they can never be of any Uſe in the Mogul's Dominions, who is one of the greateſt Princes in all the World. And if Forts, *&c.* were neceſſary, they might be maintained by a regulated Company of Merchants, as well as by a Company with a Joint-Stock.

What I have already obſerved, I hope may ſuffice to ſhew, that the *Eaſt-India* Trade may be carried on by a regulated Company, like the *Turkey* and *Hamburgh* Companies; and that ſuch a Conſtitution would tend moſt to the encreaſing Hands and Stock in Trade; and the encouraging Induſtry and Ingenuity would be the moſt advantageous to the Publick; and which, according to the Author's own Opinion, is beſt in all other Trades, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to be ſo in this, and is the likelieſt Method to enable this Nation to cope therein with our Neighbours, and eſpecially the *Dutch*, and to hinder their engroſſing that whole Trade. And the Author muſt either diſapprove the preſent Method of managing the *Eaſt-India* Trade, with a Joint-Stock excluſive, or muſt give better Reaſons for it, than barely his own aſſerting, "That it ſeems evident to him, that it ought for the publick "Good to be carried on in that Manner;" or elſe he muſt proclaim to the World, that, where his private Intereſt is concerned, he can and will contradict himſelf.

As the Deſign of this Diſcourſe was only to ſhew, that the *Eaſt-India* Trade might be managed to much greater Advantage to the Publick, by a regulated Company of Merchants, than by a Company with a Joint-Stock; ſo, what I have mentioned of the *Guinea* Trade, has only been occaſional, becauſe the Author has joined the *Eaſt-India* Trade and that together, when he ſays, *Fol.* 81. "It ſeems evident to me, that the moſt Part of thoſe Trades "ought, for the publick Good, to be managed by Joint-Stocks:" If it had been the Subject of this Diſcourſe, to have ſhewn, that the *Guinea* Trade ought, for the publick Good, to be managed by a regulated Company of Merchants, rather than by a Company with a Joint-Stock, there might have been much more ſaid to prove it. But what has been obſerved concerning the *Eaſt-India* Trade, may, I ſuppoſe, convince any unprejudiced Perſon, whoſe Judgment is not biaſſed by his own private Intereſt.

If a regulated Company ſhall be thought, by the Wiſdom of the Parliament, beſt for the Management of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, it is not doubted but it will be ſettled in that Method; and that ſome Proviſion will be made, in ſuch Manner as ſhall be thought moſt proper to prevent the Company's dividing all or more than their Eſtates, until they have paid the Debts they owe in *India*, that ſo the *Engliſh* Nation may not hereafter ſuffer for their Embroils.

Conſidering how ſmall a Trade the *Eaſt-India* Company have driven for ſeveral Years, and how great the *Dutch*, there is a Neceſſity of ſome ſpeedy Reſolution

Reſolution in this Matter.—— I ſhall conclude therefore this Diſcourſe, as the Author does his Preface, with a very ſmall Alteration: "I think no true "*Engliſhman* will deny, that the Seaſon cries aloud to us to be up and doing, "before our Fields become unoccupied, and before the *Dutch* get too much "the Whip-hand of us, whom (in ſuch a Caſe were they freed from their "*French* Fears, which they labour under at preſent) I fear we ſhould find as "ſevere Taſk-maſters, as ever the *Athenians* were to the leſſer trading Cities of "*Greece*.

"Neither are the *Dutch* the only Neighbours we have for Co-rivals in "Trade, but the *French* King, and King of *Sweden*, are now as active, cir- "cumſpect, induſtrious, and perſpective too in this Affair; and have, and "are ordering Things as prudently for promoting thereof, as the *Dutch* "themſelves.

"There is nothing can be ſaid for publick Good, but will croſs the parti- "cular Ends, as well as Opinions, of many private Perſons; and ſtill the "more is ſaid, the more are diſobliged; but my Duty to my Country, over- "coming thoſe Conſiderations, I have adventured this ſecond Time to expoſe "my Conceptions to publick Cenſure, with this Confidence, that after theſe "Principles have ſuffered the accuſtomary Perſecution of Tongues and Pens, "naturally and conſtantly accompanying all new Propoſals, they will at length, "or ſomething very like them, come to be generally received, and honoured "with the publick Sanction, concerning the Time whereof I am not careful; "but for my Country's Sake I could wiſh it might be ſhortened."

Remarks upon the LONDON GAZETTE, *relating to the* Streights *Fleet, and the Battle of* Landen *in* Flanders.

THE Penner of this Intelligence has, for ſome Time, written with ſuch an unuſual Range of Fancy, as if his Deſign was rather to entertain and amuſe, than inform his Reader. To do him Juſtice, he ſeems to be not only a Maſter of Style, but of the Matter he treats about; for he makes no Difficulty to conceal, diſplace, and perplex Things at Diſcretion: So that an ordinary Obſerver muſt be oftentimes at a Loſs to know how the World goes. His peculiar Talent is to leſſen a Diſadvantage, and make it inviſible. It may be, he appears with this ſanguine Air, becauſe he is unwilling to put us to Pain with unacceptable Truths. But how much ſoever he may be commended for his Temper, it would in all Likelihood be better for us, if we were plainly dealt with. To ſkin over a Wound before it has been ſufficiently probed and laid open, is the Way to mortify the Part, and often kills inſtead of curing. When a Man's Fortune is ſinking, he ſhould be made ſenſible of his Condi-

tion; that if he deſpairs of ſtopping the Leak, he may quit the Bottom. The *Engliſh* and Confederates have lately received two Blows at Sea and in *Flanders*, which, it is feared, will take ſome Time to recover. Theſe the *Gazetteer* runs over ſo lightly, and deſcribes with ſuch a handſome Neglect, as if the Loſs, if any, was inconſiderable.

That he does not deal clearly with us in this Caſe, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, by bringing the fore-mentioned Accidents under a ſhort Review. And here it may not be improper to acquaint the Reader, that I intend to keep within the Verge of the Confederacy, and to bring no Evidence againſt the *Gazetteer*, but what is either drawn from himſelf, or from ſome other Authority, which he is equally obliged to acknowledge; and if I mention any *French* Proof, it ſhall be when it agrees with his own.

I ſhall begin with the Loſs of the *Streights* Fleet; and here I ſhall,

1*ſt*, Very briefly ſhew the *Gazetteer*'s Account of this Accident to be perplexed, and diſagreeing with itſelf.

2*dly*, That it is imperfect, and far ſhort of Matter of Fact.

1. His Account is dark and inconſiſtent. His Buſineſs here is to let us know the Fortune of the *Engliſh*. Now, had he been diſpoſed to inform us of what had paſſed, he would (after the Liſt of thoſe which eſcaped with the Admiral) have immediately mentioned the others which gained the Ports of *Spain*, and diſtinguiſhed the *Engliſh* from the reſt. This Account had been eaſy and intelligible. But his Deſign, it ſeems, was not to be underſtood. To this Purpoſe he gives you the Number of thoſe with Admiral *Rooke:* Then tells you how many were miſſing; and, at laſt, ſets down thoſe which were got into *Cadiz* and *St. Lucar*, and intermixeth them with *Dutch*, *Danes*, &c. and with Part of his latter Liſt: And by this confuſed Relation, he has conveyed himſelf out of Sight. But, upon Enquiry, I believe it will appear, he has loſt himſelf, as well as his Reader.

Let us compare his Liſt from the *Gazette*, *July* 17.

His firſt Liſt contains thoſe *Engliſh* Merchants-Ships which were with Admiral *Rooke*. The Number of theſe is ſixteen, beginning with the *George*, and ending with the *Fidelity*. His ſecond Liſt conſiſts of thoſe *Engliſh* Merchantmen which were miſſing; this begins with the *Chandois*, and ends with the *Mary Flower*; and in all makes twenty-four Ships.

His third Account is of thoſe Ships which eſcaped into *Cadiz* and *St. Lucar*; which, though it does not reach the Number of what was miſſing, yet it brings in nine *Engliſh*, ſeven in *Cadiz*, and two in *St. Lucar*, which were unmentioned in the former Liſts. Their Names are

The *Johanna* and *Anne*, the *Succeſs*, commanded by *Iſaac Stonebam*, and therefore different from the *Succeſs* in the miſſing Liſt, whoſe Maſter was *David Biſhop*.

The *Sarah* and *Elizabeth*, the *Sarah*, *Marmaduke Raydon*; the *Sarah*, commanded by *Lawſon*; the *John*, commanded by *Ware*; the *Tetuan Merchant*; Captain *Cooper*, his Ship not named; the *Malaga Factor*, Captain *Newland*; and therefore different from that Ship of the ſame Name in his ſecond Liſt, which was commanded by *Richard Love*. Now, where a Man pretends

pretends to be particular in naming the Ships which were ſafe, and thoſe which are miſſing, one would think, the joining theſe two Numbers ſhould comprehend the whole Fleet: But beſides that, he is far ſhort in the Sum Total, as will appear by and by. There is an unuſual Accident happened to the Computation; for he has brought in nine Merchant-men, ſeven to *Cadiz*, and two to *St. Lucar*, which were unmentioned in the former Liſts: So that, by his Account, we have nine Sail, which were neither ſafe nor miſſing, neither in the Enemies Hands, nor in their own, which I confeſs is ſomething extraordinary.

I am now, in the ſecond Place, to prove his Account far ſhort of Matter of Fact.

We muſt go back to his former Liſts. The Number with Admiral *Rooke* is ſixteen, the Liſt of thoſe miſſing is twenty-four; ſo that it ſeems the whole Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchant-men bound (as himſelf tells us, *Gaz. July* 17,) to *Smyrna*, *Scanderoon*, *Meſſina*, *Galipoli*, *Alicant*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, *Venice*, *Tunis*, *Malaga*, and *Leghorn*, conſiſted but of forty Sail. But this is a great Miſtake, for it is granted by all the Merchants of *London* (and by many of them too much felt) that the *Engliſh*, when they fell in with the *French* at *Lagos-Bay*, were about eighty Sail of Merchant-men.

This Number the *Gazetteer* ventures to abridge to forty, to conceal the Loſs of the reſt. And here we may obſerve, that the Fleet bound to *Smyrna* conſiſted of eight *Dutch*, and eleven *Engliſh*; the *Dutch* were all taken and deſtroyed at *Lagos*; and two of the *Engliſh* were then deſtroyed, and four ſince at *Gibraltar*, making above two Thirds of the Value of the eleven; the *Suſſex*, worth above 50,000 *l.* was likewiſe burnt at *Lagos*. The *Gazetteer* owns the Misfortune at *Gibraltar*, (and that at *Malaga*) but as for the reſt, he knows not of one *Engliſhman* taken, except the *Friendſhip*, a ſmall Veſſel of about ſeventy Tons. (*Gaz. July* 17.) This Relation he afterwards repeats with more Aſſurance. "Of the *Engliſh* (ſays he) there is not one Ship taken, either Man "of War, or Merchant-man, except a ſmall Veſſel called the *Friendſhip*." (*Gaz. Aug.* 3.) Now, by this Account, one would imagine all was well; but if we obſerve him a little cloſer, we ſhall find he is not ſo hardy as to affirm, that none of the *Engliſh* were burnt or ſunk at *Lagos-Bay*. This he durſt not ſay. Now, if they are deſtroyed this Way, they are as much loſt as if they were taken, though not with the ſame Advantage to the Enemy: But the *Gazetteer* hoped to conceal the Matter, by ſaying they were not taken. And ſince the *Confederacy* is deeply concerned in this Misfortune, I ſhall juſt mention the Whole from the *Dutch* Prints. The *Recueil*, *Aug.* 6. informs us, that the *French* took two *Dutch* Men of War, one of 66, the other of 68 Guns, and burnt a rich Pinnace, and an *Engliſh* Man of War of 56 Guns. Beſides theſe, the *French* took 25 Merchant-men, and burnt 45, which in all make 74. All this was done at the Bay of *Lagos*. The ſame Intelligence (*Recueil*, *Aug.* 13.) continues the Narration of this Misfortune, and ſays, that the Sieur *Coetlogon* burnt four *Engliſh Smyrna* Ships, and one *Dutchman* at *Gibraltar*, and took ſeven; that Count *d'Eſtrée* took four, and burnt ſome; ſo that here are ſixteen more loſt, which, added to the former Number of

ſeventy-four, makes ninety, beſides thoſe burnt by Count *d'Eſtrée*. And if the Ships deſtroyed at *Malaga* are not included, the Misfortune riſes ſtill higher.

Having ſhewn what an untoward Account the *Gazetteer* has given of the *Streights*-Fleet, I ſhall now proceed to the late great Battle in *Flanders*. Here, if we enquire of the *Gazette*, *July* 27, we ſhall find that the Enemy was beaten back in all their Attempts, and the Advantage on the Confederate Side, till four in the Afternoon.

This Account is contradicted by a Paper, publiſhed by Authority, and called, *A Relation of the Battle at* Landen.

For here we are told, "that though the Enemy had been beaten at the Left, "they had nevertheleſs kept a Part of the Village of *Winden*, and made themſelves Maſters of the Hedges of the riſing Ground, which laid the Flank "of our Retrenchment open to them, *&c.*" Now, this is a flat Contradiction to the *Gazette*. For, if the *French* kept Part of the Village of *Winden*, and continued poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Poſt, through which they broke into the Confederate Army, and forced them to quit their Camp, as this *Relation* affirms; then 'tis plain, they were not beaten back in all their Attempts, as the *Gazette* pretends. So that we have two Relations, both publiſhed by Order of the Court, directly claſhing in their Narrative: Now, he that can ſwallow Contradictions, and believe an Evidence who convicts himſelf, may be a good-natured Man, but I am ſure can be no wiſe one.

Farther, *Gazette*, *Aug.* 3d. tells us, that when the Left-wing went off, which ſtood after the Right was routed; this Left, ſays the *Gazette*, retreated towards *Lewe*, without being attacked by the *French*; who had already ſuffered ſo much, that they were willing to part with us. This Story is not only incredible in itſelf, but plainly contradicted by the Relation of the Battle, *&c.* which was printed but a Day or two before this *Gazette*, and about a Week after the firſt News of the Battle; ſo that there was Time enough for a full Information. This Print makes no ſcruple to ſay, "that when the Left-wing were "ordered to retire to *Lewe*, the Enemy, whoſe Horſe were drawn up in two "Lines upon the riſing Ground, adventured to attack them in their Retreat." Now, what is to be done in this Caſe; here are two *White-Hall* Papers, both of them poſitive and peremptory in their Stories, and yet fall foul upon each other. The Relation, *&c.* frankly owns, that the Confederates were attacked in their Retreat: The *Gazetteer* (I ſuppoſe) finding this Relation grated a little upon the People's Stomachs, tells us very roundly, that the *French* were willing to part with the Confederates, and let them retire without Diſturbance. Thus to pleaſe the People, the *Gazetteer* ventures upon a deſperate Expedient. For by contradicting a Paper, which ſtands upon the ſame Authority with his own, he ſinks the Credit of the Court, and brings a Suſpicion upon that he writes himſelf. Well! when two Witneſſes diſagree in their Evidence, we are ſure one of them muſt be in the wrong; and that the *Gazetteer* is out, will plainly appear, if we conſider, that when the ſame Party gives a different Account of any Diſadvantage, we may be aſſured, that Relation which makes the Misfortune greateſt has moſt of Truth in it. For, as a Man who trades upon Reputation,

Reputation, will not magnify his Loſſes beyond Reality, for fear of being blown up; ſo a State-Faction, which is ſunk in its proper Strength, and lives only upon Art, will be ſure not to make Things worſe than they are. So that, if at any Time their Memories happen to fail them, or they preſume upon the Eaſineſs of the Reader, or the Greatneſs of a Misfortune makes them drop a Secret, and diſorders them into Contradictions, we are then to believe that Part of the Account which is leaſt favourable to the Reporters; for no Man in his Wits will tell an Untruth to his Diſadvantage. To apply this Remark, we may conclude the *Gazetteer* a Miſrepreſenter, and that the Confederates were purſued, as the Relation of the Battle, *&c.* affirms, and that the Relater gives us the Truth, though not the whole Truth, will appear farther, if we obſerve,

2. The Condition of both Armies, when the Confederates were ſaid to be purſued. How Things went, I ſhall deſcribe from the *London Gazette*, and Relation of, *&c.* above mentioned, which may be both drawn up by the ſame Hand for ought I know. 'Tis certain, they both come from *White-Hall*, and paſs the Nation for Intelligence of equal Authority. The *Gazette* tells us in theſe Words: "That the *French* broke into us (*i. e.* our Camp) at the Head "of our Retrenchment, which our Men were no longer able to maintain: "That the Enemies Numbers prevailed: That upon this Occaſion, we were "forced to remove, and change the Form of our Lines of Horſe, who were "thereby put into Diſorder. The *Engliſh* Horſe and Guards were ſent for from "the Left, but before they came up, the Enemy had poured in ſo many Squa-"drons, that they had neither Time, nor Ground to put themſelves into regu-"lar Lines. At length, when it was found impoſſible to remedy this Diſorder, "and the Enemy advancing with freſh Forces, the Foot of our Left, as alſo "the Dragoons, *&c.* were ordered to retire towards *Lewe:* The reſt of the "Army retreated towards *Tirlemont.*" Thus far the *Gazette*, the Relation, *&c.* give much the ſame Account, only ſomewhat plainer; particularly, it tells us, that the *French* Cavalry forced the *Hanover*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Spaniſh* Troops to retire; that is, they beat them. That to remedy this Diſorder, Part of the Left-wing was ordered to advance, but before they could form themſelves, the *Dutch* Horſe retired, and the Right-wing were forced to paſs the River, and the *Engliſh* were quite encompaſſed. And then it follows, that the Left-wing were ordered to retire to *Lewe*, and that the General himſelf paſſed the Bridge at *Neer-Heſpen* with great Difficulty.

And when Matters were come to this Paſs, when the *French* had fought up to the Mouth of the Confederate Cannon, forced their Retrenchments, and broke into a fortified Camp: When they were ſuperior in Number, Order, and Succeſs, and had ſurmounted all the Difficulties of the Enterprize: When the *Hanover*, *Brandenburgh*, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch* Troops were beaten: When the laſt Reſerve of *Engliſh* had neither Time nor Ground to draw up in, but were encompaſſed by the Enemy: In fine, when all the Nations were broken and routed, the Right-wing forced to fly through a River, and the Left ordered to ſhift for themſelves: When Affairs were in this Poſture, does

any

any Perſon of common Senſe imagine that the *French* would not puſh the Advantage, and purſue the Confederates? Were they too generous to ſet upon an Enemy, who was in no Condition to reſiſt? Had they no Inclination to revenge the Loſs of their Friends? Were they afraid of making the Victory too abſolute, and of over-loading themſelves with Glory and Spoil? Few Men, one would think, would impoſe ſuch Stuff as this upon the Belief of the Nation. 'Tis true, the *Gazette* was hard ſet; for all the publick Accounts owned, that the *French* forced the Camp at four in the Afternoon, and that the Confederates were broken and ruined from that Time. The *Gazetteer* was aware, that allowing a conquering Army four Hours of Day to trample and ſlaughter in, muſt needs give the People a horrid Notion of the Defeat. And therefore to prevent the Impreſſion of Truth, he denies what had been publickly owned before, contradicts the Paper publiſhed by Authority, and that with ſuch wretched incredible Reaſons, as cannot be put upon Men without the greateſt Affront to their Underſtandings.

I ſhall go on with the *Gazette* to compute the Loſs of the Battle, which may be reduced to two Heads, the Men, and the Baggage and Cannon.

1. With reſpect to the Men.

The firſt *Gazette* of *July* 27, ſays, 'tis certain, they have loſt double the Number of Men we have. The *Gazette* of *Auguſt* 3, is ſtill more hardy, and tells us, that 'tis certain, that our Loſs is not ſo great as that at *Steenkirk*; and that the *French*, according to their own Account, had loſt more than double the Number. One would think by this Relation, the *French* had printed an Account of their Loſs; but upon Enquiry we ſhall find no ſuch Matter: For this very *Gazette* has the ill Luck to tell us, in the *Paris* Article of *Auguſt* 2, that the Liſt of the Killed and Wounded is not yet made public.

What does the *Gazetteer* mean then by their own Account? Why, he will inform you in another Part of his Works.

The *Gazette*, *July* 31, is clear in the Point. For there a nameleſs Captain, who came Expreſs about his own Buſineſs, who neither ſaw the Fight himſelf, nor pretends to be informed by any who did. There this Gentleman affirms, that the Relation that was printed at *Liſle* (in *Flanders*) the *Sunday* after the Fight, owns they have loſt 16,000 Men.

Very well! I'm afraid this Relation will miſcarry for want of a little Geography; for the Battle being fought upon the 29th of *July*, *N. S.* the *Sunday* after falls upon the 2d. of *Auguſt*. At which very Day the *London Gazetteer* has the Misfortune to tell us, that then there was no Liſt of the Killed or Wounded publiſhed at *Paris*.

And can we imagine, there ſhould be a Liſt printed at *Liſle*, when there was none at *Paris*? Durſt any Subject in *Flanders* publiſh an Account of ſo great a Battle, without Authority, and Inſtructions from the Court of *France*? Does any Government, much leſs the *French*, allow ſo wild a Liberty as this? And as for the *French* King's Leave, it could not be ſent at the Time the Captain pretends. For the *London Gazette*, *Auguſt* 31, ſays, that M. *D'Artagnan* arrived at *Paris* upon the 31ſt at Night, *N. S.* with the News of the Battle. By this

this Account, the Journey from the Camp to *Paris*, which we may imagine was made with Speed, coſt the Expreſs two Nights and two Days, *i. e.* from *Wedneſday* at Night till *Friday* at Night, for that was the 31ſt. Now, if the Court had been at *Paris*, and a Diſpatch immediately ſent to the Governor of *Liſle* to publiſh the News, there would remain but one Day and two Summer's Nights to perform the Journey, and print the Narrative; for from *Friday* at Night to *Sunday* is no longer, which makes the Story impoſſible. Thus far the *London Gazette*; but by that of *Paris*, *Auguſt* 8. we are aſſured, that Mr. *D'Artagnan* did not arrive at the *French* Court, which was then at *Marli*, till *Auguſt* 1, which, if there be any Degrees in Impoſſibilities, makes the Relation ſtill more incomprehenſible. Beſides, to what Purpoſe was this romantic Haſte? To none that I know of, except to oblige the *Liſle*-Men with a Favour which it ſeems the *Pariſians* were not vouchſafed, and to furniſh out the *Gazetteer*'s Captain for his Voyage to *England*. To proceed, the *Gazette*, *July* 31, ſays, "We are aſſured, that our Loſs does not exceed 9 or 10,000 Men, "including the Priſoners and Wounded." The Relation of the Battle, *&c.* which came out a Day or two after, ſeems to have none of the *Gazette*'s Aſſurance but tells us, that our Forces being not yet all of them come together, we cannot give a certain Account what Loſs we have had. The *Gazette*, *Auguſt* 3, ſays the ſame Thing, adding withal, this remarkable Paſſage; that 'tis certain, our Loſs is not ſo great as that at *Steenkirk*; which, according to the laſt Year's *Gazettes*, did not amount to 3000 Men. *Gazette Auguſt*, 4, 1692. This is ſtill more myſtical; therefore we muſt try if we can inform ourſelves other Ways: Now in order to the ſatisfying this Queſtion. We muſt,

1. Know how ſtrong the Confederates were before the Battle: How far they are, or expect to be reinforced, and to what Number the Army will amount after the Reinforcement. Theſe three Things will give us a true State of the Loſs. Now the *Gazette*, *Auguſt* 3, confeſſes the Army, when they fought, to be about 45,000; which Expreſſion ought rather to be interpreted above the Letter than otherwiſe, it being the Intereſt of the *Gazetteer*, after a Defeat, to diminiſh the Confederate Forces. However, we will be ſo fair as to take him at his acknowledged Number of 45,000.

The 2d Thing to be enquired, is the Number of the Recruits, which we may learn from the *Gazette* of *July* 27, in theſe Words: "Our Army will "be ſpeedily reinforced with 25 Battalions, and 40 Squadrons, who are with "the Duke of *Wittenburgh*; beſides which, there are 30 Battalions at *Leige*." The *Gazetteer* muſt mean, that the Battalions at *Liege* were to make Part of the Reinforcement, otherwiſe to what Purpoſe were they mentioned? If this were not his Meaning, he might as well have ſaid, "Beſides the Reinforce-"ment, which we expect from the Duke of *Wittenberg*, there are 30 "Battalions in *New Batavia* in the *Eaſt-Indies*; which, though true, would "be horribly impertinent." We may obſerve farther, that theſe Forces the *Gazette* mentions at *Liege*, were not long ſince detached thither, ten Battalions being ſent but eight Days before the Fight. (*Relation of the Battle*, &c.) 'Tis no Wonder therefore, if they ſhould be drawn back after ſo great an Accident.

And

And if this Point were not ſufficiently proved, Mr. *Dyckvelt*'s Letter to the States-General would put it beyond Diſpute. This Gentleman, who had a publick Character in the *Dutch* Army, gives his Maſters a ſhort Account of the Action in a Letter of *July* 30, which is inſerted in the Slip of *Auguſt* 4. At the End of the Letter we have theſe Words. "Our Army will be very "numerous in a ſhort Time; for beſides 25 Battalions and 40 Squadrons, "with which the Duke of *Wittenberg* forced the Lines, there are moreover "30 Battalions at *Liege*."

Taking therefore theſe *Liege*-Battalions into the Reinforcement, as we evidently muſt, let us ſee what it will amount to. There are 25 and 30 Battalions, which make 55. Now, reckoning 500 to a Battalion, which is no extraordinary Computation, and the Number will be 27,500 Men. Add to theſe the 40 Squadrons of Horſe at 150 in a Squadron, and the Cavalry makes 6000; which, added to the former, mounts the Reinforcements to 33,500. If you pleaſe, we will cut off 6,500 of this Number, and ſtate the Recruits but at 27,000, and then the Reckoning will be made upon a low Foot. Having done this, let us ſee how numerous the Confederates will be after the Reinforcement. For Satisfaction in this Enquiry, I ſhall as formerly apply to the *London Gazette*. That of *Auguſt* 3, affirms, that the Confederates, after the Duke of *Wittenberg*, &c. has joined them, will have an Army of 50,000 Men. Let us caſt up the Whole. The Confederates were 45,000 before the Fight: They have, and expect a Reinforcement of 27,000, which, added to the other, makes 72,000. After which Reinforcement, they pretend no higher than 50,000 Men. Now, if we ſubſtract 50 out of 72, there remains 22, which Number contains the Loſs of the Confederates. So that, even by the *Gazetteer*'s Reckoning, the Battle has coſt the Confederates 22,000 Men. This Account agrees with ſeveral Letters of good Intelligence from *Flanders*, and with the *Paris Gazette*, which mentions the Killed and Wounded to amount to above 20,000. To this the *Recueil*, a *Dutch* Print, *Auguſt* 13, adds 1500 Priſoners, of which 200 are Officers of Note.

I mention the *Paris Gazette*, becauſe it concurs with our *Gazetteer*. Beſides, this *Gazette* is a Paper of Reputation, and is more relied on, even in the Confederacy itſelf, than that of *London*. To give one Inſtance, we may remember the laſt Summer, that the *Paris Gazette* gave us as fair an Account of their Loſs at Sea, as we received at Home from Admiral *Ruſſel*'s Journal; as may be ſeen by comparing the two Papers. Now, thoſe who give a juſt Relation of their Misfortunes, cannot in Reaſon be ſuſpected of Art, when they report any remarkable Succeſs. In ſuch Caſes, there is ſcarce any Temptation to reſtrain Truth; for the naked Repreſentation of Fact is a ſufficient Advantage. Indeed, great Kings ſcorn to embaſe their publick Intelligence with ſuch incredible Alloy. For in ſoft Language, to deceive and miſrepreſent, to maim and murther Truth, are mean and inglorious Practices. I wonder any thing that pretends to be a Government can ſtoop ſo low. But we gained ſo much by romancing in 88, that I'm afraid we ſhall never leave it. Then the *French* League, and the Impoſtor-Prince, and the Handful of

Iriſh,

Iriſh, who, after they were routed and diſbanded, were to maſſacre the whole Nation, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Armies, and all: Theſe, and a great many other Bull-beggars worked beyond Expectation in that *Annus Mirabilis*. But if they think to keep the People under the ſame Vaſſalage of Belief, and always ready to ſwallow the ſame Abſurdities, I hope they may be miſtaken. To return to our *Gazetteer*; ſome of whoſe ſcattered Sentences being tacked together, we ſee, make it evident, that the Confederates have loſt above 20,000 Men. However, the *Gazetteer* gives us to underſtand, that our Loſs is not ſo great as that at *Steinkirk*. Did we then in Earneſt loſe 20,000 Men at *Steinkirk*, and could we not find in our Hearts to own above 3000? This is a Diſcovery would never have come out, had it not been upon this Occaſion. In ſhort, either our Loſs was greater at *Steinkirk* than in the late Battle, or it was not; if it was, then we may perceive what an exact Hiſtory we had of that Action the laſt Year; if it was not, then this Summer's *Gazette* endeavours to impoſe very unfairly upon the Nation. Now, though it is pretty plain, the *London Gazettes* did not give us much above a third Part of the *Steinkirk* Misfortune, yet it was, in reality, far ſhort of the preſent Accident: For I deſire to know of the *Gazetteer*, whether more than one Third of the Army was engaged at *Steinkirk?* Did the Confederates then loſe their Cannon, and great Part of their Baggage? Was the General's Plate taken at *Steinkirk*, and his Tent left to the Duke of *Luxemburg* to write his Letters in? Did the whole Army go off routed, and broken into little Bodies at *Steinkirk*, or did Mr. *Harcourt* come in, and defeat ſeveral Thouſands in their Retreat? But, after all, *'Tis certain the* French *have loſt double the Number we have*, *Gazette*, *Aug.* 27. Pray how is this certain? Did we remain upon the Field to count the Slain? No, we were forced to retire. Have we muſtered ſince the Battle? We don't pretend to this neither, I ſupppoſe, becauſe our Forces are not all of them come together. (*Relation of the Battle*, &c.) Have we received an Account from the *French?* That cannot be; for this *Gazetteer*, *Aug.* 3, tells you, they have publiſhed none; and the *Paris Gazette* ſays the ſame. How then are we certain? No Doubt by Inſtinct, as we are certain of every Thing elſe. For I perceive the *Gazetteer* does not pretend to come by his Knowledge the ſame Way with other Mortals. Moſt People, I believe, would be ſo far from thinking the *Gazetteer*'s Relation certain, that they would ſcarce imagine it poſſible. Indeed how ſhould it? For the *French* were granted to be almoſt two to one. This gives them the Advantage of fighting freſh Men againſt thoſe who were fatigued. Farther, they forced the Camp, and had three or four almoſt unreſiſting Hours to ſlaughter in; and to compleat the Misfortune of the Confederates, ſeveral Thouſands of them were ſet upon, and purſued into a River, by a freſh Enemy. (*Recueil*, *Aug.* 13.) I ſhall now,

In the ſecond Place, examine the *Gazetteer*'s Relation concerning the Cannon and Baggage, *&c.* and here the firſt *Gaz. July* 27, ſays nothing of the Matter, which is a plain Confeſſion that all was loſt (and thus we muſt conſtrue the *Gazette* in like Caſes.) The *Gazetteer* was apprehenſive of this Inference; and therefore, in his next of *July* 31, he brings in his Captain, who

ſecures all into a Trifle. And ſince he has put this Captain upon the Nation for an Intelligencer, he muſt be anſwerable for him. Now this Gentleman aſſures us, " That we have loſt none of our great Cannon, but only ſeven or " eight Field-Pieces." I confeſs this looks ſo like a Jeſt to all Men who can diſtinguiſh between a Cannon and a Piſtol, that I was ſome Time before I could believe the *Gazetteer* would put it upon us. I could not at firſt imagine he would give his Paſs to ſuch a ridiculous Story to travel the Nation: I was willing, for the Credit of the *Gazette*, to ſuppoſe an Error in the Preſs; and that inſtead of *we have* loſt *none of our great Cannon*, &c. it ſhould have been ſaid, *We have* ſaved *none of our great Cannon, but ſeven or eight Field-Pieces*. That this was the true Reading, I thought I had Reaſon to conclude, both from particular Relations of this Circumſtance, and from the general Iſſue of the Battle. However, conſidering the *Gazetteer*'s Cuſtom, I believe the Print may be much more correct than the Story. Let us examine which Way the Cannon could be ſaved, to bring the Point to a ſhort Iſſue. If the Artillery was ſaved, it muſt be ſent off either before, in, or after the Fight. That it was not ſent away before the Fight is unqueſtionable; for, would the Confederates part with their Cannon, when the *French* were in Sight; when they expected an immediate Attack, and deſigned to keep within their Intrenchments? Would they unfortify their Camp, and lay themſelves open to the Enemy? We may as well ſuppoſe they would ſend away their Pikes and Muſkets, as their Cannon, upon ſuch an Occaſion. Farther, to ſuppoſe the Artillery ſent away during the Fight, is as unaccountable as the former Scheme: For, can we ſuppoſe they would part with their principal Defence at the Time they were uſing it? We may as well imagine they detached half their Men, and choſe to fight with the Remainder: From hence it appears, that unleſs the Cannon was ſaved in the Retreat, we muſt give it for loſt. Now, I appeal to any one of common Senſe, whether this was not impoſſible, when the Defeat was ſo intire, and the Flight made with ſuch Haſte and Precipitation? Could the Horſe lodge the Artillery in their Holſters, or did the Foot run away with it under their Arms, as St. *Dennis* is ſaid to carry off his Head? I deſire not to be miſunderſtood, I am far from being pleaſed with the Misfortune of any Party; I lament the Loſs of the *Engliſh*, and heartily wiſh we might have Peace and Juſtice, without the Expence of an Ounce of Blood; but ſuch a Reporter as the *Gazetteer* cannot be too much expoſed. To be ſhort, the Loſs was ſo viſible, that the *Dutch*, deſpairing to hide it, have frankly owned a great Part of it in their *Recueil* of *Aug.* 10. where we are told, " That after the Camp was forced, the *French* took ſixty Pieces of Cannon, " and cut off eight or ten *Engliſh* Battalions, who were poſted to guard it." And their next *Recueil*, *Aug.* 13, owns the loſing of ſome Mortars. It is now Time to look after the Baggage, if there is any. The *Gazette*, *Aug.* 31, aſſures us, " it was all ſaved, being ſent away the Day before the Fight." Under Favour, not all ſent away; for, no Doubt, they left Ammunition to fight with; they left Proviſion and their Tent too, unleſs they intended never to eat, or lodge there more. Now, to put their Men, after they were fatigued with fighting, and embarraſſed with the Wounded, upon a March of ſeveral Miles

Miles for Lodging and Refreſhment, is a Strain of Diſcipline ſomewhat extraordinary. I think the *Gazetteer* is too free with the Confederates; for, as he repreſents the Matter, they ſeemed to deſpair at the Approach of the Enemy, and reſolved before-hand to quit their Camp. But to ſay this, is Injuſtice to the Confederates, who behaved themſelves with Bravery and Reſolution, and were far from making ſuch an ignoble Proviſion as the *Gazetteer*'s Account ſuppoſes.

This Relation, together with that of Count *Tilly*'s taking the *French* Baggage, ſixty Pieces of Cannon, *&c.* was ſo ſuperlatively extravagant, that I thought it had been calculated only for the Meridian of *England*, and that the *Gazetteer* would never have ſent it beyond Sea in his *French* Tranſlation; but upon Enquiry, I find he has Courage in all Languages; I ſuppoſe he might preſent the Allies with this Narrative by way of Triumph, to ſhew to what Degree we may be practiſed upon, and how far he is Maſter of our Underſtandings.

But if we are thus far out of our Wits, he does unkindly to expoſe us in foreign Countries, eſpecially conſidering from what Quarter the Diſtemper began. Upon this Occaſion, it may not be improper to obſerve one ſurpriſing Paſſage from the Relation of the Battle, *&c.* This Relater does not ſtick to affirm, *That we have loſt ſome Standards, and taken as many.* Taken as many! That, conſidering the Event of the Day, ſeems very ſtrange; pray let us hear the *Holland* Prints in this Matter; for the *Dutch* are both well planted for Information, and, without Doubt, inclined to do Right to their Allies and themſelves; we have no Reaſon therefore to ſuſpect their Teſtimony, to their own Diſadvantage. Now they (*Recueil, Aug.* 13.) are ſo candid as to acknowledge, that the Confederates had taken but ſeven Standards and Colours, and loſt above eighty. The Whole is thus: In the Beginning of the Day, the Confederates are ſaid to have taken about twenty-ſix Standards, *&c.* (which, though far ſhort of the Number poſſeſſed by the Enemy) yet even theſe were all regained to the ſeven above-named. And after they were loſt, to what Purpoſe ſhould they be mentioned? This was ſo mean an Equivocation, that the *Holland* Print was aſhamed to uſe it. However, it is the only Shelter to which the *Engliſh* Relater can pretend; and thus we have taken as many Standards as we loſt. That the *Dutch* ſhould have ſo much more Modeſty than we have! Into what Declenſions of Honour and Conſcience are we fallen! Thus I have ſhewn what an excellent Account of Fact we are likely to receive from the *London* Intelligencers; I have ſhewn in what material Points the *Relation, &c.* and the *Gazetteer* claſh with each other, how the latter contradicts himſelf and the Confederate Prints abroad, how he turns Defeats into a Kind of Victory, charges through Impoſſibilities, and even exceeds the Liberties of a Romance. Theſe are bleſſed Memoirs to tranſcribe into Hiſtory: Truth muſt be handed to Poſterity in a noble Light at this Rate, and the Chronicle obliged for ever. And if he treats us in this Manner juſt at home, what Diſcoveries may we not expect from more diſtant Places? What admirable Return of News we make from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, from *Moſcow*

and *Conſtantinople?* And can any *Engliſhman* ſee his Country thus uſed without Reſentment? Is it not enough to have our Ships burnt and taken to a prodigious Value, to loſe our Trade by Sea, and our Armies by Land, without being bantered into the Bargain? To bear us down, that all theſe Accidents are inſignificant, is like cutting a Man's Throat, and then ſwearing to him he ails nothing? To imagine ſuch wretched Stories as theſe will paſs Muſter, is to treat the Nation with the utmoſt Scorn and Contempt, and, in effect, to proclaim them Fools in Print.

One would think the *Gazetteer* might have moved with a more moderate Compaſs: Had he only flouriſhed an Advantage, and leſſened a Misfortune; had he called running away, retiring, and broken the Loſs, by the Softneſs and Diſtance of his Stile, this had not been ſo ſurpriſing; ſuch Strokes of Breeding and Rhetorick are expected from him. Farther, had he publiſhed the gaining a Penny, and concealed the Loſs of a Pound: Had his Expreſſion been perplexed upon Occaſion, and his Meaning myſtical and two-handed; this Freedom might have been, in ſome Meaſure, charged upon the preſent Service, and pleaded off by the Privilege of an Heathen Oracle. But to make us believe we have no Senſes; to run a-tilt at notorious Fact, and attempt the extinguiſhing the Sun, is too much in all Conſcience.

I thought this Gentleman had finiſhed the Battle, by his intermitting *Gazette* of *Aug.* 7. But I perceive I am miſtaken; for *Aug.* 10. he invokes his Muſe afreſh, and runs a great Length of Poetry. I hope the Key I have given to interpret his Flights, will make him better underſtood, and more admired for the future.

As for the other little News-Papers, they are below Notice; I ſhall therefore diſmiſs the Argument. *Aug.* 1693.

The Dear Bargain, or, A true Repreſentation of the State of the ENGLISH *Nation under the* DUTCH. *In a Letter to a Friend.*

YOURS of the firſt of *May* came ſafe, by which you have exacted a Taſk from me, which I fear I ſhall not be able to perform anſwerable to your Expectation. However, I will not decline giving you the beſt Satisfaction I am able; and this ſo much the rather, becauſe I have of late had ſome Conferences with the moſt judicious Men of the Nation, and ſome Opportunity of entring into the very Secrets of the Cabal, which have been ſo induſtriouſly concealed even from our Repreſentatives.

As to the firſt Queſtion, what was the Deſign of the late Parliament, begun *Feb.* 23, 1688, to vote a taking into Conſideration the State of the Nation, and what

what obſtructed their Proceedings thereupon; and how it comes to paſs that nothing hath been propoſed, till of late, on that Head, in this Parliament, I ſhall anſwer it in few Words.

As to the Deſign of the Houſe, many honeſt Men, no Doubt, intended (what you mention) an impartial Enquiry into the Tranſactions of the laſt Summer, and the preſent Grievances we lie under, but the major Part intended nothing leſs; all their Deſign was to get Money to ſupport the preſent Government, that it might ſupport them; and therefore to induce the Country more readily to ſubmit to the moſt heavy Burthen of Taxes, they were pleaſed to ſeem to allow, that an Enquiry ſhould be made into the publick Revenue, how it had been expended, and who were chargeable with the ill Conduct and Succeſs of our Affairs, both by Sea, and in *Ireland*; but neither the Government, nor they, as I ſaid, ever intended either.

For as to the Expences; the Accounts were given in ſo general, ſo extravagant, and ſo uncircumſtantiated, that a very judicious Member of the Houſe told me, he bluſhed to ſee their Impudence in offering them. A further Scrutiny was expected, but to divert that, ſome Miſcarriages were acknowledged, and Sir *Richard Haddock*, and Commiſſary *Shalos* were expoſed, but without Intention, as we ſee, of ever letting them come to a fair Trial; and when the Money-Bills were perfected, and it was but whiſpered in Parliament, that other Perſons and Miſcarriages were to be inquired into, there followed a precipitate Prorogation, to ſhew that Money had been the ſole Buſineſs to be effected; and the queſtioning ſome great Men (amongſt whom the State *Gaviſton* in *Holland* might have been one) was a galling Sore, which was not by any Means to be touched.

It is now obvious, that the getting of more Money was the primary Inducement to the diſſolving of that Parliament; for it being found that no more Milk coud be got from that Teat, a topping Lord adviſed the Trial of another, and undertook that a Church of *England* Parliament would give down afreſh, as much as could be expected; and it appears that his Lordſhip was not miſtaken.

As to the other Part of the Queſtion, how it comes to paſs that there hath been no farther Progreſs made in that Affair by this Parliament; all the Reaſon I can give is, becauſe they are more intent upon ſecuring their King, ſince he appears cordial to our Church's Intereſt, than they are for the Eaſe of the Subjects.

However, after they have voted the bleeding of the Nation, even to its ſwooning, they are pleaſed to caſt ſome cold Water upon it, by a Vote of *April*, for a Bill to *enable Commiſſioners to take an Account of all publick Monies ſince the 5th of* November, 1688. But ſince they had ſo near finiſhed the Supplies before this was moved, it looks like giving a Cordial after a mortal Wound, and can be of little Uſe now, but to haſten their Diſmiſſion into the Country, to be the Executioners of thoſe they have ſentenced to bleed almoſt to the laſt Ounce.

As

As to your ſecond Deſire, of having my Senſe of the Condition of the Nation; ſince neither of our Repreſentatives (through a timorous, or time-ſerving Spirit, have entered upon a Diſquiſition of the true State of the Nation, whilſt they might have done it, that is, before their Money-Bills were paſſed, I ſhall, with as much Brevity as a Matter of ſuch Importance will allow, give you ſuch a Repreſentation of it as may ſerve to awaken us out of this wonderful Lethargy, with which we are ſo oppreſſed, that we ſeem to have no Senſe of the preſent, or infinitely greater Miſeries which are rolling down upon us.

The Matters I ſhall treat of ſhall be reduced to theſe following Heads:

Firſt, *The State of our Trade.*

Secondly, *The Condition of our Country.*

Thirdly, *The Poſture of our Military Forces both by Sea and Land.*

Fourthly, *The uncertain State of our Religion.*

Laſtly, *Some Conſiderations about the Government.*

In ſetting down the State of the Nation in theſe Particulars, I ſhall, with all Plainneſs and Impartiality, ſhew in what Condition we were before this Revolution, to what this Government hath brought us, and to what it is yet likely to bring us farther, if it goes on as hitherto it hath done.

Firſt then, *As to Trade.*

I call to witneſs the whole trading Part of the Nation, however affected, and particularly that of this great City, both at the *Exchange*, *Cuſtom-houſe*, and, with their Lordſhips Leave, at the *Treaſury* too, if, to the very laſt Year of the laſt Reign, there was not more Merchandize exported and imported, than had been in the Memory of Man; for the verieſt Enemies of King *James* confeſs, that he was more intent upon the Advancement of Trade than any of his Predeceſſors: To this he had the greateſt Regard in his Negotiations abroad, and in his Councils at home; witneſs his Care and Induſtry in breaking the Woollen Manufacture, which ſome of his Diſſenting Subjects, who fled from *England* for fear of Perſecution in the Beginning of his Reign, had begun to ſet up at *Leewarden*, in *Frieſland*, and *Lunenburgh*, notwithſtanding all the Encouragements were offered to them in thoſe Countries of Houſes *gratis*, a Fund of 20 or 30,000*l.* and that ſuch Progreſs was made in it, that near upon forty Looms were daily kept at work; which great Work he effected by promiſing Pardon and Liberty of Conſcience.

For the Sake of promoting Trade, he would not enter into the Confederates League, nor hearken to the Overtures of *France*; hoping by ſuch a Neutrality

lity to put the moſt Part of the Trade of *Europe* into the Hands of his own Subjects.

For the Sake of this, he, in the mean Time, made thoſe Acts of Grace and Indulgence to all his own diſcontented and Diſſenting Subjects, that they might be able and willing to undertake ſo great a Traffick, (by having united Intereſts, notwithſtanding Diverſity of Opinions) and a laſting Enſurance of a quiet Enjoyment of what they got to themſelves and Families.

For the Sake of this, a Scheme was drawn about *Auguſt*, 1688, of a farther Improvement of Traffick in his Kingdoms of *America*, applicable to other Places; whereby our Merchants would have been able to underſell all their Rivals in *Europe*.

Laſtly, For the Sake of this, he ruined and ſacrificed all that was dear to him; for hereby he enriched the ill-affected Part of his Subjects againſt himſelf, and made the reſt wanton. He made the *Dutch* jealous and envious, and in Spite of their Avarice, contribute to that fatal Expedition. So that, while thoſe of King *James*'s Religion looked upon him as a Martyr for that, the trading Part of the Nation ought to look upon his Sufferings as the Effect of his Endeavours to enrich them.

In this happy and hopeful Way of thriving was the Trade of the Nation found at the Beginning of our Change: How hath it been improved? How preſerved? Some indeed were made believe that all would have been bettered by the Change; that the *Dutch* Fleet and ours joining together, we ſhould both have carried on the ſame common Intereſt, and commanded the Seas and Traffick together: But by the Sequel it appears, that this was only ſuggeſted to make the credulous Merchants advance the Loan of 3 or 400,000*l.* to ſettle the new Government. Some of the moſt eminent Citizens were ſo confident of the Truth of this happy Conjunction, that one of them told me, *Such effectual Care would be taken to depreſs the Power of* France, *that a Cock-boat of theirs ſhould not paſs without a Licence; ſo that if King* James *meant to return, it muſt be in Muſcle-ſhells.*

But this was reckoning without their Hoſt: The *Dutch*, as cordial as they were, did not intend to part with their Advantage ſo. It was enough that they had ſaved our Religion and Property for us, and ſent us a King after our own Heart, who ſhould do our Buſineſs for us at home, before we ventured abroad. Accordingly, having got Poſſeſſion of our Ports, Magazines, Stores, and Navy, well fitted and prepared to his Hand, and the Land-Forces all yielding to him, the firſt he did was a Work of Retaliation and Gratitude, to furniſh them who had helped to ſet out him: The *Dutch* Merchants therefore had very ſufficient Convoys, outward and inward; by which Means they got the firſt Markets for Sale of all their own Commodities, as alſo the Pre-emption, or Foreſtalling, if not the Monopoly, or ſole buying of all foreign ones. They have alſo got a free Trade into all Factories and Plantations abroad, (a Matter of the higheſt Importance and dangerous Conſequence for the future) and are letting in the *Spaniards* alſo for a Share into our *Weſt-Indies*, upon very good Conſideration for themſelves; witneſs the Negotiations here of Don *Caſta-*

liano,

liano, under Pretence of furniſhing *Jamaica*, formerly belonging to *Spain*, and other our Plantations with Negroes.

In the Interim, our outward-bound Veſſels lay halling, and at Anchor in the River, and all other Ports, all the laſt Year, for want of Convoys, or by Embargo's, or ſtripping them of their Seamen, whereby above two Millions of our Commodities, to the no ſmall Loſs of the Merchants, were ſtayed in the River and Port of *London* only, beſides the like Damage, from the ſame Cauſes, in other Ports of the Kingdom.

And it is too well known, that after a tedious and endamaging Expectation, all the Merchant-Ships which could be made ready, in Hopes of a ſafe Convoy in Company of the *Queen of Spain*, to the Number of 400, ſome while before her Voyage, ſuffered infinite Damages by an Hurricane on the 11th of *January*, 1687, to the Value, as ſome compute, of half a Million more; beſides the Loſs of near upon a Score of Merchant-Ships, and ſome Hundreds of Seamen waſhed upon the *Kentiſh* Shore. It may eaſily be conceived how chargeable the very refitting again of the Merchant-Ships, the Supply of freſh Goods and Men have been; yet after their Voyage, under Convoy with the *Queen of Spain*, another moſt violent Hurricane hath ſhattered them near the *Groin* to that Degree, beſides the Loſs of more than as yet can be known, or is fit to own, that the Merchants will in the Upſhot find a very ſad Account of this Adventure, if they miſs the *French* in their going or returning.

If there were only a Suſpenſion of Trade for a while, there were ſome Plea for Patience and Hope; but the Miſchief is as deſperate for the future, as it is irrecoverable for the paſt: For, *Firſt*, the *French* have given us a *Coup d'Eſſay*, a Foretaſte of what we muſt expect this Year, by what they have done the laſt. It is notoriouſly known, and too ſmartingly felt, that they have taken in our own Seas, in the *Streights*, and elſewhere, ſince the War began, near upon three Millions Worth of our Merchandize, with above 400 Veſſels, and 3000 Seamen, and are now in Conjunction with the *Algerines*, to ſeize our Ships in Foreign Ports; they are upon the Matter Lords of our own Seas, and by Diſaſters, Storms, and Surprize, we want near upon fifteen of our Men of War we had in King *James*'s Time; and we hear of no new ones built, but are put to the pitiful Shift of fitting Merchant-Men, which now want Traffick, to be Men of War.

The Seamen that uſed to be employed by our Merchants, have been often taken out of their Ships for the Uſe of Men of War of this new Rate, when it was found, after long beating up of Drums for the new Marine Regiments, that none came in but ſuch as would make the Black Guard look thin by Torch-light. A cruel Method hath been taken of preſſing Men, even ſuch the Law exempts, and with that Rigour, and ſo contrary to the Statutes, and with ſuch Reluctancy of thoſe preſſed, that the Round-houſes in the City, and Priſons in the Country, have been for ſome Months continually fill'd with them; and as one Company was tranſported, others have been ſeized and ſecured; neither have Women eſcaped, to be made Laundreſſes and Nurſes. Yet the Parliament hath taken no Notice, to give a Stop to ſuch tyrannical and arbi-

trary

trary Proceedings, only upon Complaint of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, *April* 24, of the Rudeneſs and Inſolence of one Preſs-maſter, who ſeized an old Man, above 60 Years of Age, in the Boat his Lordſhip was coming in from *Greenwich*, and threatned to do the like to his Lordſhip. The Lords ordered the old Man to be ſet at Liberty, and the Preſs-maſter to be taken into Cuſtody, but proceeded no farther to have the Abuſes in general rectified. However, this Unwillingneſs to go without Compulſion is a certain Sign how little Zeal the very Mobile have now to the Cauſe, and how ſmall Service can be expected from them; though this Kidnapping will contribute to the general Deſign of weakning the Nation, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to write more fully hereafter. Upon the Whole, we can ſee little Hopes of our own Abilities alone, whereby we ſhall be able to keep ourſelves from being Priſoners in our Iſland, and leſs from the *Dutch* Aſſiſtance. Where then is the Proſpect of Recovery? Certainly not ſo long as the War with *France* doth laſt.

But, *Secondly*, Suppoſe that War ended, and the *French* humbled to our Wiſh, we ſhall ſtill have the *Dutch* to deal with; they have been always our Rivals, and are now our Maſters. Do we think they will ever let us get up again, or re-enter into that univerſal Trade which they have occupied during our Ceſſation? It is their Intereſt (and they know it and love it too) that the *French* ſhould drain us as they do. A Man would think there was very good Intelligence between them; we hear of very little Harm they do each other, either by Land or Sea, and I believe they will not fall out into any greater Hoſtilities on our Account; they have dealt fairly hitherto, and upon the Square, the *Dutch* have our Trade, and the *French* our Ships and Men: Indeed they have no great Ground for a Quarrel, nor ever had of their own, but they have great Motives to keep it up, now it is begun, at our Charge. When we are quite undone, and brought as low at Sea as the *French* were ſome Years ago, then indeed the *Dutch* and they may fall out in Earneſt, and be as troubleſome to each other as we and the *Dutch* have been formerly; mean while we have all the Reaſon in the World to look about us.

The States are as wiſe as their Neighbours, and as good at Self-preſervation and getting Wealth; they could timely ſlip themſelves out of the League in the laſt War with *France*, and now they cannot but foreſee how the elevating their Prince to the Throne of *England* may give him ſome Advantages over their Liberties, or engage them in a War diametrical to their Trade.

The *Loveiſten* Faction is not yet extinct, and the Blood of the *De Witts* may be yet remembred; and when we hear their Statues ſhall be ſet up, that of the Prince's will not long continue undemoliſhed. If therefore, after our being thus diſenabled, they ſhould clap up a Peace with *France*, where ſhould we be, unleſs we were Maſters of a wiſer Conduct than has yet been diſcovered?

It is to be wiſhed our great Council had learnt a little State-craft from them. It is worth a ſober Thought to conſider, how induſtrious the *Dutch* have been to make uſe of this Opportunity, to know all our Ports, Shipping, Magazines, and Revenue. And they would do well to enquire into the Reaſons why their Ambaſſadors, the laſt Year, were made the Committees of our Councils.

They know, no Doubt, what Uſe to make of theſe Advantages, as well as they do to hinder us from having the like over them.

They take care we ſhall have no Men of War in their Ports, and Mynheer *Bentingh* himſelf ſhall be no more admitted to their ſecret Conſultations, ſince he is become an *Engliſh* Earl; but we, kind-natur'd Fools, not only expoſe our Weakneſs to them, but give them up our Trade, and pay them too for their enſlaving us; for whereas our Loſs of Trade to them, and the giving ſuch a Diverſion to the *French*, has been worth to them more than all the pure Silver in their Bank, and all the ſeven Provinces; yet we have been ſo kind, and ſo afraid to diſpleaſe them, that we have, upon their Demand, notwithſtanding their Debt owing to *England*, ever ſince Queen *Elizabeth* ſuccoured their *poor diſtreſſed States*, enſured them 600,000 *l.* for an Acknowledgment we are their Vaſſals.

It was not ſo with us in former Times; for the very blackeſt of Parliaments, and *Oliver Cromwell* himſelf, though they had murdered King *Charles* I. and baniſhed his Son, and had nothing but their own Army to rely upon, and in the very Infancy of their Government; yet had that due Regard to the Intereſt of *England* in Point of Trade, that they undertook a War againſt the *Dutch* with ſuch Vigour, that they forced them to better Terms, and a more commodious Adjuſtment of Trade, than we ever had before.

Soon after the Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. Acts were made againſt Importation of foreign Commodities in any other than *Engliſh* Veſſels, or from any other Place but that of their Growth; alſo to prohibit the bringing in of ſeveral Manufactures, aud particularly Buttons; and that no Hides, tann'd or untann'd, ſhould be exported: But ſince the *Dutch* have become our Maſters, nothing is to be queſtioned they bring in; as may be ſeen in the Entries at the *Cuſtom-houſe*, even to Hair and other Buttons. Even our Men of War and Yachts bring in, and help us to ſome prohibited Goods, which our Merchants cannot fetch; and under Pretence that the Act for bringing Goods of the Growth of the reſpective Countries in *Engliſh* Bottoms only was prejudicial, and had been ſometimes diſpenſed with in the laſt two Kings Reigns, our preſent Governors, more to gratify the *Dutch*, and cover our Weakneſs and Inability to traffick for want of Convoys, than out of any juſt Scruple of uſing the diſpenſing Power in ſuch a Caſe, have repealed thoſe Laws for that very End, that we may have ſuch Merchandize only from the *Dutch*. And leſt we ſhould have the Advantage of vending abroad Shoes and Boots made in our own Country, by which a great Part of *Northampton*, and above a thouſand Families ſubſiſt, Liberty muſt be given, by a new Act, to tranſport Leather; yet, at the ſame Time, we muſt have Saddles and Bridles brought from our Allies, to the great impoveriſhing of our Artificers, who muſt pay Polls and Taxes to feed and cloath the Riders.

If Things be carried thus by *Dutch* Councils and Intereſt, we may expect, e'er long, to have every thing brought in *Dutch* Bottoms alſo, and then all our Merchants muſt turn *Dutch* Factors. Thus, in ſome Particulars, the Diſpenſing Power is not quite extinct, as to the *Dutch*; our Laws, of the greateſt

Importance

Importance as to Trade, muſt be made bold with, even to the Face of the Legiſlators, to gratify them.

This partial Connivance towards theſe good Neighbours of ours is attended with one Aggravation, which much dejects our Merchants, and ought to fill them with Indignation; and that is, the Neglect of all their Complaints, both in relation to this Grievance and all others.

They are able to name and convict the immediate Authors of theſe Abuſes; they offer to prove the Bribes and Corruptions, which have induced thoſe who ought to have ſecured them, to unman their Veſſels, and expoſe them to the *French*; and though the *Lumley Caſtle*, which had been three Years abroad, and the *Eaſt-India* Ship did not fall into the Hands of the *French*, yet the Merchants have more Reaſon to thank the Care of the Maſters that they came ſafe home, than the Kindneſs of the Sea-Commanders, who took their Men out of them, without making them any Satisfaction for the Arrears of their Wages, and threatned the Maſter to put him in his own Bilboes.

Whoever deſires farther Satisfaction in other Particulars of this Nature, may find Petitions exhibited to the Parliament, even in the printed Votes, of Perſons endamaged by ſuch Abuſes, but no Account of their Redreſs.

There they may find Capt. *Churchil* accuſed for his exorbitant Exactions for Convoys, and other Fees; whoſe Caſe was ſo odious, that for very Shame he was ſent to the *Tower*, but releaſed in three Days, becauſe he was my Lord's Brother forſooth, and a Member; one would have thought the ſecond Reaſon ſhould have kept him there; ſeeing ſuch Crimes are more enormous in them, who are ſent by the People to redreſs and puniſh the like in others.

But alas! What do we talk of Redreſs, when there is ſo great a Number of ſuch *Officer-Members* amongſt our Repreſentatives? No leſs than fourſcore brave briſk Sparks, who are the moſt aſſiduous and active in the Houſe, eſpecially when the Money-raiſing Debates are on Foot; the one Hand plays into the other, the Member acts for the Officer, and the Officer does better Service in the Houſe than in the Field, and is a Kind of double Repreſentative, for his Borough and for his Regiment; one of which feeds on the other, and he on both; and no Doubt but they who have the beneficial Offices in the *Treaſury*, *Admiralty*, *Cuſtom-houſe*, and other Branches of the Revenue, are of the ſame Kidney.

This was the Policy of the old Long Parliament of 1640, to concert theſe two Capacities, *Arma & Toga*, the Gun and the Gown, in one and the ſame Intereſt; till old *Oliver*, with a *ſelf-denying Ordnance*, ſlipt them aſunder, and devoured both.

Indeed the Silk-Weavers had better Succeſs in their Complaint than the Merchants; but they may thank their Number and their Poverty; they had nothing to loſe, and ventured no more; there was more of Fear than Compaſſion in the Alleviation of their Grievances.

—— *Ne magna Injuria fiat*
Fortibus & miſeris.

And the Bill for Impoſitions on new Buildings, and prohibiting more, found its Stop from the ſame Apprehenſion of numerous Petitions, from the infinite Numbers of Carpenters, Bricklayers, *&c.* our very Champions for the new Foundations of their Monarchy being afraid to pull an old Houſe about their Ears.

For had it been a Senſe of Pity or Equity which put a Stop to that prejudicial Act, why might not ſo many thouſand Families, in the like Condition, and of ſuch like Trade, in this City principally, and over all the Kingdom, now unthought of, and unregarded, pretend to the ſame Relief? Are not all the Shopkeepers, all Artificers and Labourers, to the very Porters and Draymen, involved in the ſame Predicament with the Silk-Weavers? Do not all their Employments depend on the Merchants, and their Livelihoods on their Employments? How then can they ſubſiſt when he fails? Indeed the Shopkeepers hold up a little yet, by raiſing the Price of their Wares, becauſe of their Scarcity; but that is like living upon Cordials, and cannot laſt long. When the regular Circulation of Commerce is intercepted above and below; when the Merchant can bring in no more Supplies from abroad, nor the impoveriſhed Cuſtomers come up to the raiſed Price of the old Stores, they muſt be contented to be without foreign Commodities, when they want wherewith to get home-bred Neceſſaries.

If the Damages ſuſtained thereby had only fallen upon the Merchants themſelves, a leſſer Charity than mine would have mixed ſome Reproach with Pity, for the Misfortunes they have drawn upon themſelves: But, alas! they ſtrike too far into the very Vitals of the Nation, and run over the whole Body of the Inland People, who, to the Number of 200,000 Perſons, are, and are like to be reduced to Beggary, for want of Tranſportation of our Staple Commodities. And this gives me a Tranſition to the next Head of this Memorial, *viz.*

The Conſideration of the Country.

Let us ſee, firſt, how our Repreſentatives left it at their firſt coming up to the Convention, and then in what Plight it hath been ever ſince this Revolution. They talked once of ſending Commiſſioners to enquire into the State of the Fleet, and of their Army in *Ireland*; would they had done ſo in their reſpective Countries; I believe the Account would not have been very welcome, eſpecially when they were told who were the Authors of it.

We cannot but remember, that in King *James*'s Time, and for a great Part of King *Charles* II. for almoſt 15 Years, there had neither been Land-Tax nor Poll; the whole Country enjoyed the unſpeakable Benefits of Peace and Plenty, at full Liberty to improve to the utmoſt Advantage, the Production of their Labour

Labour and Induſtry, without one Penny of Charges for all the Eaſe and Safety they enjoyed: The Tenants and Farmers grew rich; the Landlords had their Rents well paid, and their Eſtates improved: Nothing was wanting but a true Senſe of their Happineſs, and a Deſire to preſerve it.

And though there was an Army then, it was of Natives, which coſt the Country nothing; the King maintained it out of his own Revenue, taking all the Care poſſible the Soldiers ſhould not in any Sort be a Burthen or a Grievance to the Country.

This is a ſhort Summary of all thoſe Bleſſings, which, if dilated upon, would turn this Remonſtrance into a Panegyrick, very unacceptable to thoſe who are accountable for the Loſs of them.

I wiſh I had the Art, with the ſame Brevity, to ſum up the Miſeries and Calamities which have ſucceeded theſe Bleſſings; and which, worſe than *Pharoah*'s lean Kine, have in twice ſeven Months conſumed the Harveſt of as many Years; but there is too much Confuſion and Diſorder in this, to admit of any Rules or Methods of Expreſſion; Complaints, in Things of this Nature, will be poured out their own Way, and in their own Meaſure; there is no digeſting of them; a Man may as well diſcipline the Rabble, as deſcribe theſe Grievances of the poorer Sort of the common People.

For to begin with them, what a diſmal Sight is it to behold the periſhing State of ſuch an infinite Number of Men, Women, and Children, in almoſt all Counties of *England*, ſuch as Spinners, Carders, Weavers, *&c.* imployed about the Woollen Manufactures; ſuch as Miners, and other Labourers, in the Lead, Tin, Alome, and Iron Works, who are now turned off, or ſo abated in their Wages, that they are forced to beg, ſteal, or rob, for the Subſiſtence of themſelves and their Families, to the continual Terror of their Neighbours who have any Thing to loſe, and to the cramming of Jails with the Carcaſſes of ſo many wretched Criminals, who were before uſeful and neceſſary for the Proſperity of the Nation? And this being the notorious Condition of the vaſt Body of the inferior Commoners in the leſſer Towns, and adjacent Villages, throughout *England*; was there not one Burgeſs in either of the Parliaments, to put in a good Word for ſo many poor Dependents of theirs, that they might be left out in the Poll-Bills? But they muſt be ſentenced to pay for their Heads, becauſe they had nothing elſe, and to ranſom, by a Kind of *Turkiſh* Tribute, their numerous Fry of young ones too; it being all the Stock they had to be rated for.

Was Chimney-money ſo great a Burthen, that it ſhould be taken off, and this put in its Place? This I ſay, which fell heavy on thoſe who had neither Children nor Chimnies to pay for, poor Servants of both Sexes, whoſe Wages were half decimated, and every Pound went for a Child; the Sweat of their Brows was taxed, and *Adam*'s Curſe aggravated with a new Impoſition; the poor Man laboured all the Year for Bread, and paid for it when he had done.

But perhaps the Condition of the next Rank of Commoners is more tolerable, I mean, that of Houſe-holders, ſuch as Farmers, and petty Free-

holders,

holders, whoſe Livelihoods conſiſt in their Stocks and Huſbandry, managed and improved by Frugality and Induſtry: Nothing leſs; for the Miſery increaſes, in proportion to their Ability; and their Tax-maſters have, with very great Diſcernment, allotted them out their Share in the common Calamities; for, beſides what they have ſuffered from our new ſtanding Army, (of which I ſhall ſpeak more under the next Head) they have been ſo handled by the Raters and Leviers of our modern Taxes, that the ſame hath been exacted three Times over, from the ſame Fund; when, beſides the Land-Tax of Twelve-pence in the Pound, there hath been as much upon the Stock, and as much upon ready Money, not regarding whether, or how much the Owners were indebted, ſometimes even to the Value of the Land itſelf; ſo that in ſome Caſes, and in ſeveral Places, where Monies have been lent out upon Mortgages, and perſonal Securities, (ſuppoſe to Men of Trade, and in order to it) a threefold Tax hath been exacted from the ſame Income; and now this Year the ſame is to be trebled, beſides the Survey of the laſt, and a new moſt rigorous Poll-Bill, beyond all Precedents, as well in relation to Strictneſs, as that two ſhall be granted in one Year, and made concurrent with the other Impoſitions; and when theſe Payments are over, we are put in Hopes of a convenient Augmentation at every Seſſion of Parliament to be doubled or trebled, according to the arbitary Neceſſities of the Government; ſo that out of the Stock of the Countryman, being already ſo greatly diminiſhed, by the fallen Price of Wool, Corn, and Cattle, *&c.* left upon their Hands, or ſold at under-value; by that Time their Rents are paid, their Tithes, and Church Dues, their Rates for the Poor, (never ſo numerous as now,) their other Conſtable Aſſeſſments, Exciſe and County Charges, being deducted out of the Remainder, how much is ſtill left to pay the Publick? And that done, how much yet to provide for old Age and Children?

As to the Condition of the Gentry, and other Sorts of Free-holders, it is in all Reſpects proportionable to the other, and the Emptineſs of their own Purſes will ſoon make them ſenſible of the Poverty of their Tenants; and this impoveriſhing of the Gentry will ſoon be ſo much the more unſupportable to them, as the Condition they are born to, and have hitherto lived in, renders them unfit to get their Maintainance by Labour and Induſtry.

To theſe I might add the exceſſive Loſſes many have had, by the *Mobile*'s plundering of their Houſes, burning, and deſtroying what their Rage and blind Zeal prompted them to, and the Expences others have been put to, at the Beginning of the Change: Every one knows what a Charge the Country was put to, in arming, to defend themſelves againſt the imaginary maſſacring Enemies, which the falſe, but deſigned Alarms affrighted them with. Others (who are leſs to be pitied) were at voluntary, but yet exceſſive Charges, in equipping themſelves, to ſhew their Zeal for the Prince of *Orange*.

But the Free Quarter, which the whole Army had given them, or took, for ſome Months, put the chiefeſt Charge upon the Country; to all which we may add the Havock that has been made by the new-raiſed Regiments, the ſtanding

ſtanding *Engliſh* Army, and the Foreigners, prodigiouſly increaſed by new Recruits, the *Danes*, and the Fry of their Wives and Children, which, to the Number at leaſt of 30,000 of all Sorts, live upon the Country, and devour more in a Day, than they pay for in three, if they pay any Thing at all. All which Expences the Country hath been put to in theſe Particulars, will certainly amount to as much more as hath been paid to the States for their Aſſiſtance.

If this were like other Calamities, ſuch as dry Summers, and hard Winters, it might be borne with, in hopes of better Times; but when they are like to laſt as long as the Government itſelf, which has no other Bottom to ſubſiſt upon, but this continued Preſſure of the poor Country; and when the Gentry and rich Citizens hedge in their own Stocks, partly by being in Commiſſion for the regulating and raiſing theſe Taxes upon others, and dealing civilly with themſelves; partly by getting into profitable Offices in the State, or in the Army; are not the Countrymen like to be in a miſerable State, being already near upon reduced to the Condition of *French Peaſants*, which we ſo pity and declaim againſt, under the Slavery of the Lord *Dutch* and Lord *Danes?* So that the imaginary Fear of *French* Government will ſoon bring us to a real Experience of the ſo much talked of Canvas Breeches, bare Legs, and wooden Shoes.

That it muſt come to this, is too evident, (for we are no more the *Engliſh* Nation we were ſixteen Months ſince) and they, who alone can hinder it, have no Intention, it ſeems, to prevent it; as may be gueſſed by the Saying of one of our modern Patriots, who, to an honeſt Man's compaſſionating the Sufferings of the Country, replied, "That if a Colt of a Month old could "bear a Pound Weight, the next Month it would bear two; and ſo in a "very few Months, might become a very good Beaſt of Burthen, and if need "were an excellent Pack-Horſe." A very fit Allegory, firſt 12 *d.* in the Pound, then 2 and 3 *s.* in the Pound, a doubled Poll, and in a little Time a Supply unſtinted. But ſuch had beſt beware, our *Engliſh* Breed are very ſkittiſh; they will be apt to kick and wince, and caſt their Maſters; we have known them throw their Burden, and turn their Riders to Graſs.

I come now to the third Head, *The Military State of the Nation*; in which, as in the two former Points, I ſhall briefly touch what it was in King *James*'s Time; then make a Parallel what it is at preſent.

I ſhall not inquire into the Motives, which in this Age induce all States and Princes to maintain a ſtanding Force; their Jealouſies of their Neighbours, and the Neceſſity of having a diſciplined Power to defend their Countries, ſeems abundantly ſufficient. As to King *James*'s Army, I have already touched how careful he was, to keep it from being any wiſe burthenſome either to the publick or private Perſons. To which I may add, that on the contrary, he made them beneficial in all Places where they came, by cauſing them duly to pay for what they had; and ſo advantagiouſly ſpending the Commodities

of

of the Country, that it made them welcome to their Quarters, and raiſed the Price of the Market to the Profit of the Buyers and Sellers.

It is true, there were three Regiments of Dragoons, and ſome Foot, who had been at *Tangier*, who lived diſorderly, notwithſtanding the King's Proclamation, and ſtricteſt Command to the Officers to prevent it: But theſe were the very firſt who revolted to the Prince; boaſting that, beſides the early Service, they had done him greater, by oppreſſing the Country; which they did for no other End, but that they might alienate their Affections from King *James*, and make them more readily admit the Prince, who pretended ſtricter Care and Diſcipline.

It is evidently known, that no Prince or General was ever more indulgent to his Troops than he; he not only fed and cloathed, but advanced them; and had ſo much of the Spirit of the *Roman* Generals, that he treated them as Fellow-Soldiers, and permitted the General-Officers to ſit covered at his Table; he took a moſt ſpecial Care that all Things, even to Superfluities, ſhould be provided for them; and was in all Things more like a Father than a Maſter to them.

They were all Natives of their Country, and ſo the moſt likely (as well as the moſt obliged) to preſerve its Peace, and defend it againſt Strangers: How many Families of the Nobility and Gentry did there find an honourable and plentiful Proviſion for younger Brothers, who muſt otherwiſe have remained expoſed to Idleneſs, and all its vicious Conſequences? How many private Perſons, unapt or unable to drive a Trade, were therein ſettled in a Profeſſion and Employment, which might maintain them competently, without Danger of Jails or Gallows?

Neither was he leſs careful of his Stores: It is ſtupendous to conceive how he had furniſhed all his Ports with Artillery, and Magazines of Arms and Proviſions; inſomuch that the Officers of the Ordinance acknowledged, that no leſs than 50,000 Arms, with all other Ammunition proportionable, were lodged in the *Tower* of *London* alone.

This for the Land Forces.

And as for the Fleet, all the Officers of the Admiralty, and Secretary Deputies in particular, can teſtify, that his Naval Magazines were ſo well provided, and his Ships in ſo good Order, his Seamen ſo well paid, as the like had not been in any two Ages before; inſomuch that his Stores alone, by a modeſt Computation, coſt him betwixt two and three Millions; and that which adds to the Wonder is, that in his ſhort, and otherwiſe expenſive Reign, all this was defrayed out of his own Revenue, without any publick Tax, notwithſtanding the extraordinary Charges he was at in raiſing new Forces, and equipping his Fleet upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Invaſion; yet he paid his Army to the Middle of *December*, before he left *England*; and left in the *Exchequer*, in ready Money, near 160,000 *l.* and in Arrears of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Chimney-Money, and other Branches of his Revenue, 400,000.

Now to give the Reverſe of this Deſcription: Have we not ſeen all theſe Proviſions in few Months ſquandred away, or tranſported out of the Kingdom?

dom? Is not the Tower almoſt emptied of Arms and Ammunition? Have not all our Naval Stores been long ſince exhauſted? And though, beſides the Revenue, (with which alone, as I ſaid, King *James* did all this) there has been given to the Prince above three Millions; yet, to the Wonder of the World, all his Soldiers, both by Sea and Land, are greatly in Arrears; and if they do not belie their Maſters, have little more than Subſiſtence-Money paid them. And as to the Seamen in particular, they are not only left unpaid, but have been ſo ill provided with wholſome Victuals, that above Half of thoſe, who were on Board the laſt Year, are dead of a Kind of Plague; yea, more periſhed, as ſome old Seamen told me, than in any three of our former Sea Engagements; and thoſe that have been ſet on Shore, in hopes thereby to have recovered their Health, have many of them, for want of Money, been found wandering to their Friends bare-foot, and bare-legged, even glad of any Alms in their Journey; which ſhews, that ſince their Commanders have eſpouſed the *Dutch* Intereſt, they have put off the charitable Nature of true *Engliſh*: This Uſage being ſo publickly known, it is not to be wondered, that the *Gazettes* every Week give us an Account of ſo many Deſerters out of the Marine Regiments.

And what is the Cauſe of all this, but the ſending away the Money into *Holland*, which ſhould have been laid out upon Proviſions in Seaſon, and not to have left them to have been taken upon Tick, even beyond the Credit of our Purveyors?

What End and Motive ſome may have thus to exhauſt our Stores, and weaken our Naval Force, is not difficult to ſurmize, when we find ſuch Shoals of *Dutch* and *Danes* come over to ſupply our Want of Seamen, and take Poſſeſſion of our Men of War, as well as our Forts and Havens: And whereas for a Recruit of all theſe Loſſes, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Torrington* have, though with great Difficulty, near upon compleated their Marine Regiments; yet becauſe they are moſt of them raw, unexperienced, Men, and have been forced altogether againſt their Wills, and promiſe no great Zeal to the Cauſe, we may upon rational Grounds conceive, they may be ſent to ſerve their Apprenticeſhip, and learn their Trade under the *Dutch*, who will lend us ſome of their more expert ones the while, as well as our Land Forces have been ſent to *Holland*, in Exchange for our more truſty *Dutch* Deliverers.

This Deſign of utterly diſabling the Strength of our Nation, and bringing us to depend intirely on Strangers, will appear more manifeſtly, if we conſider the Treatment, and the Uſage of our Land Soldiers, and the Miſeries they have been reduced to *Here*, in *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

As to *England*; though the Army which was left by King *James*, and to which, as I have told you, he had ſo tender a Regard, was indeed moſt ungrateful and treacherous; inſomuch that, in the Judgment and Language of the *Dutch*, they deſerved to be ſtiled worſe than Dogs; for theſe, ſay they, will love and defend thoſe that feed them; yet they had Reaſon to expect ſome tolerable Conditions from their dearly obliged new Maſters.

But what have they done for them? Are they better paid, better cloathed, or preferred? On the contrary, are they not ſlighted, laid aſide, and contemned? Dares he truſt thoſe that are employed, without Spies to watch their Conduct? Has he not diſperſed them over the three Nations; ſent them into *Holland*, nay, into our Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, where what is become of ſome of theſe laſt is kept cloſe, no Diſcovery can be made, after ſtrict Enquiry? They are like the ten Tribes, led away captive, never to be heard of more. Could he imprint more indelible Characters of his Opinion of them? Could he give a more proper Reward for their Treachery and Cowardiſe?

The Treaſon may be loved, but it is impoſſible the Traitors ſhould be either loved or truſted. Is it not, think you, upon this Diſtruſt, leſt they, who had deſerted a Maſter, who was tender of them as of the Apple of his Eye, ſhould have any Grudgings to return to their Duty, that he is reſolved to diſperſe them, and poſt them where they may ſooneſt be diſpatched, that the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and other Foreigners, more truſty to his Service, may poſſeſs our Country?

To effect this his ſecret, but unalterable Reſolution, the Troops, and Regiments of King *James*'s Guards, were firſt diſpatched into *Holland*, under the Command of the Lord *Churchil*, who, if he could have been intirely confided in, would not have been intirely removed ſo far from the Prince's Perſon.

Let us now ſee how they have been there treated, and how this covert Deſign of weakning *England* ſucceeded there.

At their firſt Landing, as ſeveral of their Letters teſtify, they were looked upon as Perſons, rather feared and ſuſpected by the Prince, and ſuch as he had a Mind to be rid of, than as Auxiliaries for the Confederates Service; and their Reception was ſo cold, the Affronts that were put upon them ſo many, the Revilings for their Treachery and Cowardice ſo ſharp, and their Quarters ſo very bad, that they could not without a Sigh, remember old *England* and the beſt of Maſters.

They were quartered in ſuch dear Places, that their Pay could not maintain them; eſpecially ſince the Dearneſs of the Country was augmented by the Extortion of their Commander in Chief; who having contracted with a *Jew* (as he who made the Bargain told me) to find the Soldiers Bread at Four-pence Half-penny a Loaf; this famous Lord, the worſt *Jew* of the two, made the poor Soldiers pay Six-pence; by which Exciſe upon his own Soldiers, he might, by modeſt Computation, put 2000 *l.* in his Pocket; which Oppreſſion was the more grievous, by how much their Allowance of the Horſe-Guards was leſs by Three-pence in a Day than the *Ducth* Guards have here, and our Country cheaper by more than a third Part.

From this Scarcity, and the Change of Diet; from *Engliſh* Beef, Mutton, and Veal, with wholeſome Beverage, and an open Air; to feed upon Herbs and Roots; drink a muddy Beer, and ſuck in a foggy Air; the Soldiers were ſtarved into Diſeaſes; and being in an unhoſpitable Land, and under new and pitileſs Commanders, had no Care taken of them, but were ſuffered to die like

like *Engliſh* Dogs, as they were uſually ſtiled by them; there you might ſee them ſprawling by Parcels, and groaning under the double Gripes of their Bowels, and their Conſciences, to ſee themſelves cheated out of their Allegiance, Country, Health, and Life itſelf. The Number of thoſe who died there, amidſt thoſe Miſeries, not in Battle, for they would not give them that Honour, amounted to 5,400, before Major *Birch* returned hither for Recruits, as he told the Doctor, his Brother, in the Preſence of an eminent Member of Parliament; though he and others, the more eaſily to get Recruits, have, at other Times, and in other Companies, the Policy to conceal it.

Thus much for *Holland.*

As for our Armies in *Scotland*, we hear not much indeed of any Sickneſs there; they were upon the ſame Continent, and in Places where they could command all Things neceſſary; but we hear how miſerably the Country has been harraſſed by them, and how they have been treated in the Country; we hear how conſiderably they have been diminiſhed, by the Valour of half their Number of new-raiſed, and half-armed Highlanders; who, though not above 2500, ſlew and took Priſoners near upon 4000 of *Mackay*'s old diſciplined Men; and had the valiant *Dundee* over-lived that Day, that Kingdom had, long e're this, been reduced to Obedience to their lawful King. May the Courage and Conduct reſt upon ſome other, who may not only oppoſe the Oppreſſion of their Country by Foreign Forces, but drive out the reſt of thoſe who have dethroned their lawful King, and aboliſhed Epiſcopacy there!

But the diſmal Scene of all is *Ireland*; there it is the Hand of Heaven hath viſible met them, in the Middle of their Impieties, who durſt venture to face him whom they had betrayed; and choſe to follow an ungrateful Foreigner, againſt God's own Anointed; to whom they had ſo often ſworn Fidelity and Allegiance, and to whom he owed his Riſe, as is known to the World.

I take Heaven to witneſs with what Compaſſion and Horror I enter upon this Point; for though all theſe Plagues, in the Opinion of moſt, fell juſtly and ſeaſonably upon ſo many deſperare and incorrigible Enemies to their King; yet Humanity itſelf muſt needs ſhrink at the Sight of ſo many Agonies, tranſcending moſt of the cruel Executions that hath been inflicted on Malefactors; for, when all is done, they are our Fellow-Country-men that ſuffer, and the Loſs of ſo many will fall ultimately upon the whole Nation, ſo far weakened, and rendered more defenceleſs: No pleaſant Theme, I am ſure, for any true *Engliſh* Man to deſcant on; yet ſomething muſt be ſaid for a Warning to thoſe who yet ſurvive, and a Terror to the reſt of our deluded People.

This Army conſiſted, the laſt Year, of the moſt active of thoſe who had deſerted King *James*, of ſome new-raiſed Regiments, beſides the *French* Refugees, who had been ſo charitably received, and liberally relieved here, and of ſome truſty *Dutch.*

As for the new-raiſed Men, they were moſt of them profligate Perſons in their Lives and Fortunes; the Officers moſt of them Outlaws, and Bankrupts; the Soldiers, ſome culled out of the Rabble; others raked out of Jails, five, ten, or fifteen from a Priſon, where they would have ſtaid till Execution in other Times; ſome were run-away Apprentices; others Journey-men; debauched Servants, or Footmen, who entered into this Service, as into *Romulus*'s *Aſylum*, to avoid the Puniſhment of their paſt Crimes, and to act them on with the like Impunity.

Hence came all the Calamities of the wretched Countries through which they paſſed, not only by free Quarter, ſixteen Days together in a Place, upon the middle Sort of Commoners; but alſo by pilfering and ſtealing, downright robbing, and breaking Houſes in the Night; and taking away from *Roman Catholicks*, and others ſo ſtigmatized by them, not only their Proviſions and Horſes, but ſometimes their Cattle, rifling their Houſes, and making Havock of what they could not devour: Of all which I have ſeen Letters from ſeveral in the Northern Counti s.

In particular, how the *Dutch* Officers ſhot, and carried away ſeveral Heads of Deer, from the Ducheſs of *Buckingham*'s Park, at *Nun-Appleton*; and Captain *Beal*, and his Brother, from *Haſlewood* Park; but ſome will excuſe this as no Felony in Soldiers; and that it was for their Maſters Service, to feaſt themſelves and Soldiers: But I know not what can be ſaid in Defence of Colonel *Villers*, who cauſed all the Giſt-Horſes, belonging to very many ſeveral Perſons, neither Papiſts, nor popiſhly affected, to be driven out of Sir *Roger Strickland*'s Park; many of which, not fit for Service, he ſold for 5 *s.* a-piece. Neither was this done only by him in theſe Places, but in ſeveral other Counties in his March; as it was likewiſe done by other Officers; whereby their Soldiers were incouraged to follow ſuch Examples in taking Cattle; cauſing the Countrymen to carry Hay-ſtacks, and other Proviſions, from remoter Places, to their Quarters, as if they had been ravaging in an Enemy's Country.

And when Application was made to ſome Juſtices of the Peace, whom I could name, the Anſwer was, *They knew not how to relieve them:* Beſides this, it is well known, how they have beaten, kicked, and wounded, even mortally, thoſe who offered to ſave what they had, with this ſtabbing Sarcaſm ever in their Mouths, *Damn ye, ye Dogs, do not we fight for your Religion?* And yet no Puniſhment of, nor Enquiry made after, the Authors of theſe Villanies; the Inferior Officers going Shares with them in the Booty, and the ſuperior ones not daring to queſtion either, becauſe they gave them little other Pay.

After they had thus marched over the moſt plentiful Parts of *England*, like ſo many *Egyptian* Locuſts, they rendezvouzed, covering the Face of the Country, with Dearth and Deſolation; till a bidden Wind carried them to the Sea, never to be ſeen again in *England*.

There went over, and joined, them in this Expedition, an Army of 22,000, as my Lord *Ranelagh*, and Mr. *Harbord* know; but there went only back into Winter,

Winter-Quarters, as Mr. *Waller* related to the Houſe, 10,000; and as latter Accounts informed, thoſe were reduced to 5 or 6000, till the General armed thoſe of the Country he could purchaſe.

By ſeveral Letters from divers of Sir *Thomas Gower*'s Officers, immediately after the decamping, it was certified, that they had not left 16 Men in a Company; and in one Letter from a Captain in that Regiment at *Newry*, a much drier Place than the Camp, it was expreſſed, that the ſtrongeſt Company did not exceed 26.

Out of the Regiment which *Schomberg* declared to be the beſt that went over, there died the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, ſix or ſeven Captains, beſides inferior Officers; which Regiment, ſince recruited by two others which were broke, is now under the Command of the Earl of *Drogheda*; I doubt not but the like Inſtances may be given of others.

For the continual Rains over their Heads, and a boggy Camp under their Feet, together with the Want of neceſſary Cloathing, Food and Phyſick, and a perpetual Duty, brought the Diſeaſe of the Country upon them; and the Stench and Corruption of That, a peſtilential Fever, which robb'd them of their Senſes firſt, and then their Lives.

That this was a Camp-Plague, appeared by the Bliſters, and their Carcaſes turning immediately black, and ſtinking as a Gangrene, and by the Lice and Vermin which iſſued out of their Plague-Sores.

That this was alſo a Plague, ſent upon them by the immediate Hand of God, appears by a Nobleman's Relation of its Beginning: "For *ſays he*, we ex-
" pected to have done Wonders, by ſo brave an Army, ſo well equipp'd, the
" like of which was never ſent from *England*; nay, we carried all before us,
" till we came to *Dundalk*; there King *James* ſent a Remonſtrance to our
" General, repreſenting his Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies; for
" a Trial of both which he ſummon'd us to Battle, concluding with theſe
" Words, *And may God ſo proſper my Arms, as my Cauſe is juſt, and I never
" deſign'd the Prejudice of my Subjects!* To which our General made a ſhort
" Anſwer, concluding it in theſe Terms, *And may God ſo proſper my Arms, as
" mine and my King's Cauſe is juſt!* A heavy Curſe, which was immediately
" heard by Heaven; for in leſs than three Days, the Plague broke out to that
" Degree, that we never after durſt face our Enemies."

Yet this ſevere Judgment of God made little Impreſſion upon the Living; for, as many Letters, as I have ſeen, teſtify, there appeared not ſo much as Humanity, much leſs Chriſtianity amongſt them; Curſing, Swearing, Damning, and all Sorts of Profaneſs, were ſtill there to an high Degree; and their very Hoſpitals were, as one expreſſed it, the moſt lively Repreſentations of Hell, for the Blaſphemies, as well as Torments.

Sir *Thomas Gower*'s Gentleman indeed relates, that his Maſter, upon his Death-bed, begg'd God Almighty's Pardon, for he was a young Man, and drawn in; but I hear not of many who imitated his Example on their Death-beds, or that his Repentance moved others to Remorſe.

This

This Plague came with that Violence upon them, that the Living ſcarce ſufficed to bury the Dead; inſomuch that they choſe to carry the dead and dying Bodies promiſcuouſly by Cart-loads to the adjacent Shore, to be there buried by the next Tide; for few, except thoſe of Quality, could obtain a Grave: Some, 'tis true, as the Miniſter of *Belfaſt* aſſured a Friend of mine at *Carlingford*, (as being then an Eye-witneſs of it) were ſo afflicted to ſee their Fellow-Soldiers lie dead in the Fields, ſwarming with Lice, and the reſt allowed no other Grave but the Sea, that when they felt the Approaches of Death, they deſired to ſee their own Graves made, and begg'd their Friends to bury them, which they did, for any thing we know, before the Breath was quite out of their Bodies; for he ſpoke with one of them, who ſat to ſee his Grave made, and returning two Hours after ſaw him buried. The Carcaſes remoter from Sea were put thirty or forty in a Hole.

Nay, the Inhumanity of the ſurviving was ſuch, that when any of the Sick, through the Violence of their Diſeaſes, fell once to the Ground, let their Cries be never ſo vehement for Help to remove them to the Hoſpitals, or other convenient Places, they ſhould ſooner be ſtripp'd than aſſiſted. In this Condition a Lieutenant, arriving at *Carlingford* with Colonel *Lumly*, found his Brother; for walking along the Shore, he heard a Voice, from among the dead Bodies, calling to him, by the Name of Brother, for Help, and going to the Place, he found it was indeed his Brother, who had been at the Ships to buy ſome Bread and Cheeſe, but falling there, he had been robb'd of it, inſtead of being help'd by his Comrades.

Neither was the Inhumanity of their Officers leſs; for I have ſeen Letters from undoubted Hands, which ſaid, that at firſt, no Care was taken for any Hoſpitals; but you ſhould find thoſe who were ſick of Fevers, Small-Pox, and Flux, lying on the cold, wet Ground, having no other Drink but Water, and ſometimes not that neither. And though there was no marching in the Camp but in Mire, yet were they kept almoſt perpetually upon Duty; every third Night upon the Guard, without Fires to dry themſelves by, when wet to the Skin; ſo that they dry'd their wet Cloaths by the Heat of their Bodies, and never put them off till rotten.

Yet there is one Thing very ſignal and remarkable in this Calamity, that there died above 100 *Engliſh* for one *Dutchman*: I know the *Scotch* Account, *Jan.* 22 laſt, aſcribes it to the *Dutch* being more cleanly, and uſing more Exerciſe; others may alſo impute it to their bodily Temper, more hardened to ſuch Service, and inured to the like Air, and boggy Country in *Holland*; whereas the *Engliſh* were, many of them, new-raiſed, not accuſtomed to ſuch Hardſhips, and much weaken'd, even in their Prime, by Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery.

This, I ſay, may be granted; but yet there are other, no leſs manifeſt Cauſes, of the different Fates of thoſe two Parties: For, Firſt, the *Dutch* were better provided for in all Reſpects, by the Partiality of the General; taken notice of, and much murmured at by the *Engliſh*: They had the ſelling of the Proviſions and Victuals, nay even of the Water too, or the Overſight

Overſight of their Diſpoſal, and ſo ſerv'd themſelves firſt. When Commiſſary *Shales* was put out, a *Dutchman* was ſubſtituted in his Place. And under Pretence there might be ſome *Deſerters* amongſt the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* and *French* were quartered in the Out-Quarters of his Camp, which was ſure to be the freeſt from Infection, as having moſt open Air, and the firſt Service of Proviſions.

Again, moſt of the Surgeons and others, who were at laſt ordered to attend the Sick, were *Dutch* or *French*, Strangers to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; nay ſometimes ſcarce Novices in the Calling; as Captain *Topham*, and others, fatally experienced from Sir *Henry Ingoldſby*'s *French* Surgeon, who was advanced to that Poſt from being his *Valet de Chambre*: So that, though there were Proviſions of Medicines, even ſix Times as much as has ſufficed other Armies; yet they took no Store of *Engliſh* Phyſick along with them, and what they did was of no Uſe, for want of ſkilful *Engliſh* Surgeons, and judicious Phyſicians; for where there was neither Wound nor Gun-ſhot, they knew not how to apply them.

Add to this, that Foreigners have not that Compaſſion and Care of the *Engliſh*, as of their own Countrymen; nor as the *Engliſh* would have had of theirs. Indeed we had an Inſtance of the *Dutch* Partiality, before they went from hence; for their Wives had Six-pence a Day allowed them, and ſome Proportion for their Children; but the *Engliſh* not a Penny.

All theſe Things put together, give us, I ſay, juſt Cauſe not to paſs over the Miſcarriages of our *Engliſhmen* as a common Calamity, incident, more or leſs, to all Campaigns; but as an Effect, in the firſt Place, of God Almighty's Anger againſt them, both for their paſt and preſent Sins, and in particular that of the Expedition itſelf: And, Secondly, cauſed, and perhaps intended, (I am ſure it was their Intereſt) by thoſe who might (humanely ſpeaking) in ſome Meaſure have prevented it; which is no groundleſs Suſpicion, if you conſider the ſame different Treatment and Fate of our *Engliſh* Forces in *Holland*, as I have already mentioned; and the ſame Uſage and Condition of our Seamen and Soldiers aboard the Fleet, dying of the ſame Diſeaſes, cauſed by the ſame Neglect. I am ſure every indifferent Man muſt neceſſarily conclude, that, if there was a Deſign to ruin the Strength of *England*, (and before I have done, I ſhall bring yet ſtronger Proofs that there was) a more compendious Way could not have been thought of to effect it.

Yet all this hath made little Impreſſion; for we find this Year a numerous Army attends their King, and he hath taken ſeveral of the young Nobility with him, and made better Proviſion than formerly, both for his own Safety, and the Preſervation of his Foreigners: Yet we know this Expedition doth but aggravate their General's Injuſtice; and we know that the Plague is not yet ſtaid, but is again beginning among the new Recruits, the favourableſt Account mentioning the Death of forty in a Week at the Hoſpital of *Belfaſt*, beſides many more abroad; and their new Phyſician, Dr. *Smith*, and two of his Apothecaries, are already dead, in three Weeks after their landing. What

may

may fall out after their encamping, may be conjectured, if not prognoſticated, without conſulting Oracles.

It remains now, that, according to the Method propoſed at firſt, ſomething be ſaid of our *Religion* and *Government*, the two Things ſo much contended for, *the pretended Cauſes of all that has been done, and the real Cauſes of all that has been ſuffered.*

IV. *We will begin with Religion.*

In King *James*'s Time *Popery* was the Word that alarmed us all; nothing elſe was handled in our Pulpits; even Vices ſeemed to be allowed that Liberty which was denied to this. Not a Word againſt Treaſon and Rebellion; not a Word for Obedience and Patience to be heard of: Theſe were Popiſh Virtues and Vices, State-Subjects, fit for old *Elizabeth*'s Homilies.

But I ſuppoſe all the World is now ſatisfied of which of theſe two there was really moſt Danger. Indeed, unprejudiced and conſidering Men did, even then, ſee how morally impoſſible it was that *Popery* could ever be introduced here, ſince all the Attempts in order to it had ever the quite contrary Succeſs, uniting the Church of *England* more, and filling the publick Aſſemblies with many, who would not have gone thither, but to ſhew their Zeal, and Oppoſition to *Popery*, by that diſtinctive Sign. And though a greater Liberty was granted to the Papiſts, yet they made ſuch an unſkilful and ignorant Uſe of it, that they who wiſhed them worſt, were yet contented to allow them more; for they loſt more by that ſhort-liv'd Indulgence, than by all their former Sufferings; it only ſerved to diſcover their Weakneſs, to draw them out of their lurking Holes, to make them known to thoſe that hated them, and to ſet them up as a Mark for all the Nation to ſhoot at. The *Diſſenters*, who ſeem'd to join with their Intereſt, were known to be the moſt averſe to their Religion, and would never have concurred to any Act in their Favour, but what ſhould, at the ſame Time, have tied up their Hands, and made it impoſſible for them to have done the leaſt Wrong to others by it. In fine, they have proved a broken Reed to the credulous Papiſts, and left King *James* in the Lurch, when he had the moſt Need of them.

It was not then from the Papiſts that the Church of *England* was in Danger; but, *Illic trepidaverunt, ubi non erat Timor*; out of an unneceſſary Solicitude to ſecure themſelves, they put Weapons into the Hands of an irreconcileable Enemy, whom they had a little before laid proſtrate at their Feet; I mean the Preſbyterian Party: Theſe indeed have helped them to drive out the Papiſt, but they have got themſelves into his Place; they have drawn almoſt the whole Body of Diſſenters into their Party; they have arrogated to themſelves the Name of Proteſtants, in Diſtinction to the Church of *England*; they have all the *Hugonots* of *France* and *Holland* on their Side, and have begun their thorough Reformation in *Scotland* already, to be carried on, and compleated in good Time in *England* alſo.

Theſe

Theſe are like to make another Kind of War than the Papiſts could: Theſe are Men who have no Rubs in their Conſciences, no Oaths of Supremacy to diſpenſe with, no Teſt to ſtrain at, no Penal Laws to ſtart at: They have, or hope to have, all plain and level, the ſame equal Admiſſion into Court and Parliament, Camp and *Weſtminſter-Hall*, Corporations, Colleges, and Cathedrals too, though at preſent they ſeem not to have ſo ſtrong an Intereſt in this Parliament as in the laſt.

They have already gained one ſingle Victory over our poor Churchmen, in making them renounce their Allegiance, ten Times ſworn by moſt of them, to the lawful Succeſſors of the Crown: They have ſuſpended the beſt and greateſt of our Biſhops: They have revenged the old Indignity of their renouncing the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1663; and the ominous Feaſt of St. *Peter*'s Chain, in 88, hath quit Scores for the *Engliſh* St. *Bartholomew*.

They have made them renounce their Oath, *That it was not lawful to take up Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, upon any Pretence whatſoever.*

I know it is alledged by the Champions of the new Church of *England*, that King *James* kept not his Promiſe, in protecting that Church which had aſſerted theſe Principles, by his granting Indulgence to Diſſenters.

But certainly, if it had not been for the Artifice of the Deſigners of this Revolution, the Security of the Rights of our Church, by calm Debates in a Parliamentary Way, might as well have been conſiſtent with a regulated Toleration to all Sorts of Diſſenters in King *James*'s Time as now; and whatever Reproaches have been caſt upon King *James* on this Account, whatever Uſes have been made of it, either to draw his Subjects to Rebellion, or juſtify them in it, might be retorted with Advantage (were it to any Purpoſe) upon him, who had never got, nor kept his Throne, had he not made and broken more ſolemn Promiſes.

For when the Confederacy was entered into betwixt the Pope, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the *United Provinces*, againſt the King of *France*, no more was intended by them, but that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould make a Deſcent on ſome Part of *England*, and thereby divert King *James* from aſſiſting *France*: And to induce thoſe Catholick Princes to conſent thereto, the Prince gave them Aſſurance, that he would effectually accompliſh that Liberty for *Roman Catholicks*, which King *James*, being a profeſſed Papiſt, was not able to bring to paſs: For the Truth of this, I need bring no other Proof but the Emperor's expoſtulatory Letter, and Count *Mansfield*'s Negotiation; and what a famous Sea Captain, who went as one of the Convoys to the Queen of *Spain*, who hath told it to more than one, how the very Religious he converſed with at his landing, expreſſed their great Expectations from the Prince of *Orange*, of Favour to their Religion; telling him, that *if he had not come as he did to reſcue them, King had expoſed them all to Ruin, by giving Sectaries ſuch Liberty; but this King would eſtabliſh them in full Liberty. Indeed*, the Captain ſaid, *he could not but ſmile, to find ſuch People ſo much impoſed upon.* And in the Prince's Declaration, there is expreſſed a Promiſe of ſome Kindneſs to them

the while. Hence, when the Judges, in the firſt Circuit, deſired to know his Pleaſure, how they ſhould deal with Catholick Prieſts, he told them, *He was under an Obligation to the Catholick Princes, not to moleſt them in the Exerciſe of their Religion; and that he was not ſo apprehenſive of Diſturbance from them, (becauſe few and weak) as from the profeſſed Members of the Church of* England. Indeed, then he had ſome Reaſon, if they had ſtuck to the Doctrine of it, taught by all the learned and eminent Fathers of it in former Ages.

Purſuant alſo to this, when he ſent Col. *Hamilton* into *Ireland*, one of his Inſtructions was, to aſſure the *Iriſh*, that, if they would ſubmit, they ſhould have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and their antient Eſtates reſtored to them. And, laſtly, he brought along with him more Catholick Soldiers than ever King *James* had in his Army. Where was then the Crime of this moſt injured Prince, in endeavouring to do that which the Uſurper hath promiſed to do for him?

And that we may not think him popiſhly affected in all this, let us ſee if he be as graciouſly diſpoſed to the Church of *England*: What his Promiſes were to them before he came, they beſt know who invited him in to protect our Religion; but by all Conjecture, and by the free Confeſſions of thoſe who were concerned, his Word was given, and Proteſtations made, to do quite other Things. Therefore, upon his firſt coming to *St. James*'s, he vouchſafed to receive the Sacrament, according to the Rites of our Church, from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, and the Reverend Dr. *Burnet* aſſiſting; nay, the Rubricks were ſo punctually obſerved, that all who did not communicate, (that is, the whole Congregation) were bid to depart; but this was that they might not ſee how far the new Convert was to ſeek in his Ceremonies, and how *mal adroitly* he performed them. But this, you may ſuppoſe, was for his Teſt-Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, at his entering upon his new Office, that he might not ſeem to favour the Diſpenſing Power, even towards his own Conſcience.

Nevertheleſs, that he might give a good Example to Diſſenters, and let them ſee he had ſome Regard to his Promiſe to them alſo, and that he was no Enemy to Liberty of Conſcience, nor Friend to Ceremony, after he was made King, he was pleaſed to ſit covered all the Time of the Sermon, betwixt his Queen and the Princeſs, without Reſpect either to the Ladies or the Preacher; for as to the Communion-Table, I believe he had not read the Rubrick.

For the ſame Reaſon he alſo ſilenced the Church-Muſick, though he has been pleaſed, upon ſecond Conſideration, to eſtabliſh it again, and act the Conformiſt.

Thus has he been *off* and *on* in *England*; but he has now, it ſeems, counted Noſes, and finds the Church of *England* the major Part; and has therefore promiſed an hearty Compliance, and diſſolved his firſt Parliament, as a Pledge of his future Kindneſs; but let *Scotland* ſpeak how far he may be believed in it.

The Inſtructions given to his High Commiſſioner, Duke *Hamilton*, at his firſt going down, are poſitive and plain: *You are* (ſays he, in the fourth Inſtruction)

ſtruction) *to paſs an Act, eſtabliſhing that Church-Government which is moſt agreeable to the Inclination of the People, reſcinding the Act of the Parliament in* 1669, *and all other Acts inconſiſtent therewith.* Truly the very Spirit of our Reformation in 1642, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei:* The Inclination of the People, it ſeems, is the Word of God, and the Standard of Church-Government; and accordingly, came a diſpatching Inſtruction, in *July* following, in this quickning Expreſſion: *You are to touch the Act paſſed for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy as ſoon as you can, and to reſcind all Acts inconſiſtent therewith.* And, laſtly, he hath re-eſtabliſhed the Preſbyterian Government there by Act of Parliament.

That the ſame is not done in *England* yet, is, becauſe a Party do not think it ſeaſonable; there are great Obligations to many of the Clergy of *England*, which are not to be forgot. It cannot be forgot who affronted King *James*, and brought him to Diſeſteem with his People; who invited him in, or ſo readily welcomed him, and petitioned him to accept of the Government. They have made new Liturgies, ſtruck out old Prayers, and put in new, upon his ſingle Order; (a Favour too great for King *James:*) They have renounced the Palladium of the *Engliſh* Reformation, the Regal Supremacy, and retracted all their Sermons and Treatiſes of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance.

Yet, notwithſtanding theſe great and good Services of ſo many of the Canonical Clergy, ſome Steps have been made, and very large ones too, towards a *Scotch* Reformation of them: 1. By ſettling an Indulgence upon all Diſſenters. 2. By ſuſpending and ejecting the chief and moſt zealous of our Biſhops, and others of the regular Clergy. 3. By advancing, upon all Vacancies of Sees, and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical, Men of notorious, Preſbyterian, or, which is worſe, of *Eraſtian* Principles. Theſe are the inſenſible Ways of undermining Epiſcopacy; and when, to the ſeven notorious ones that are already, ſhall be added ſix more, upon the approaching Deprivation, they will make a Majority, and then we may expect the new Model of the Church to be perfected.

As for the diffuſive Body of the Clergy, they alſo proportionably warp, and grow every Day more and more indifferent, by the means above-mentioned; and though they were never ſo well principled, yet the tender Regard to the Subſiſtence of Wives and Children, will make them as willing to comply with an Alteration in Church-Government, as it did in the Civil. However, it is ſad to conſider what Reflections ſome have had, who, through Fear of ſtarving, or Want of Neceſſaries, have complied with the Times. I tremble at the Anſwer one gave a Juſtice of Peace at *Glouceſter*, to whom, reproving him for not taking the Oath ſooner, he replied, *It was too ſoon then to damn himſelf, to ſave his Family.* And another, with great Sorrow and Remorſe, wiſh'd he had been ſtarved, or hanged, or torn in Pieces by the Rabble, when he was perſecuted by them, rather than have taken the Oaths; whereby, he fear'd, he had loſt the Quiet and Comfort of his Mind. I will not relate the Melancholy or Madneſs ſome have fallen into upon this Occaſion; I pray God their Repentance may be as great as their Apoſtacy!

But if there be but ſome few of ſuch who are touched with this Remorſe, in what a Condition, at one Time or other, muſt thoſe be in, who knowing their former Oaths to King *James* to be lawful and juſt, and firmly believing, as well as ſolemnly declaring, that no Power on Earth can give a Diſpenſation in this Caſe; yet have, contrary to their Conſciences, taken the Oath of Allegiance to him, who can properly (as the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* rightly in the Houſe declared) have no other Title but Conqueſt and Poſſeſſion; ſurely, the pretended Election, by Perſons who had no Power from the People to elect, make, and conſtitute a King, can give no Right.

And I cannot, without Aſtoniſhment, think what Account thoſe will have to give at the dreadful Day, who, by impoſing theſe Oaths, have involved ſo vaſt a Number of the Subjects in as great Perjury as ever was committed under the Sun. The impoſing the Engagement, after the Murder of King *Charles* the Martyr, was but a Promiſe of being true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as eſtabliſhed without King and Houſe of Lords; but now an Oath of Allegiance is to be taken to one that hath not that Title of Conqueſt, as that Commonwealth pretended; nor of Succeſſion, till his Father, Brother, Wife, Siſter, and all their Progeny, are extinct: And the adding to this a new Declaration, as was deſigned, of renouncing King *James* and his Title; and neither directly, nor indirectly aiding or aſſiſting him, but diſcovering all Things may be prejudicial to this Government, was to gall in the higheſt Degree the Conſciences of Millions, who were content to yield Obedience to a King in Poſſeſſion, but never can be induced to believe, that King *James* can, by any Act of Violence, loſe his Right, and ſo cannot declare ſolemnly, that they owe no Allegiance to him.

Having ſeen then the Inſtability of the Clergy and Laity, let us now enquire whether there be any more Stability in the King they have ſet up to govern us. He himſelf ſeems very deſultorious and unſteady in his Conduct towards theſe two Intereſts. A freſh Mark of which he has now given us in deſerting the Presbyterians, and making new Offers to the Church of *England*; but that is becauſe his own Intereſt is ſo. They that bid moſt ſhall have it; for, as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid of him, *his Religion is in his Pocket*. The Commiſſion before the late Convocation bid fair for the one; the gracious Speech to their Addreſs, before their adjourning, bid as fair for the other: What ſlipt from him on *Twelfth-Night* muſt go for nothing, it was under the Roſe, *Odi memorem compotorem.*

He hath, if any ever had, two Faces under one Hood; and though he hath a double Conſcience, one for this, and another for the North Side of *Tweed*, yet he hath but one Principle, that Gain is great Godlineſs; and one *Dutch* Soul, Intereſt, to become all Things to all Men, to gain all to himſelf. Surely, a dark Lanthorn under a Crown or Mitre, is as dangerous as under a Parliament-Houſe.

But conſidering the tottering Condition he is in at home and abroad, the Miſcarriages in *Ireland*, the Untractableneſs of *Scotland*, the Recalcitation of *Holland*, the biaſſing of his Allies, and laſtly, the Diſcontedneſs and Mutability of

of *England*; all he can do to linger out the Poſſeſſion of his ill-gotten Prey, is to play well his old Game of Diſſimulation, and keep up theſe two great contrary Intereſts in a Dependance on himſelf, and in a Fear and Hatred of King *James*; for, if either of them ſuppreſs the other, his Buſineſs is done; we ſhall either return to our rightful Monarch again, or ſink to a Commonwealth: So that in this Caſe at leaſt, his Kingdom differs from that of the Devil, *that unleſs it be divided it cannot ſtand.* It was Diviſion brought him in, it is Diviſion keeps him here, and he can rely on nothing elſe for the future, except that of the Sinner in Mr. *Cowley*, *Predeſtination is his Friend.*

Now, whether all this be conformable to the Promiſes he made to thoſe who brought him in, let the Impartial judge; let ſuch alſo judge, whether King *James* or he are more guilty of Breach of Promiſe, and whether all Manner of Religion be not more in Danger under ſuch a Perſon, who is really of none, than under one who is ſteady in ſome Principles. And that ſuch a Man as this, in the very firſt Act of his Government, ſhould dare to bring to paſs thoſe very Things, the very Repute of ſome of which, and the attempting others, ruined his Predeceſſor; namely, that he ſhould give Indulgence to Diſſenters, fall foul upon the Biſhops, (even thoſe very ones whom he put in his Declaration as the Cauſe of his coming) grant an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion againſt the Liturgy, aboliſh Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, which King *James* never intended; and laſtly, keep a ſtanding Army of Papiſts and Foreigners, contrary to his Promiſe in his Declaration, and be ſtill bringing in more to enſlave us; I ſay, that he ſhould do all this, and not a Man ſay to him, what doſt thou? Is not this the very Slavery we have cried out againſt? Or rather, is it not a Token that we are delivered up to a reprobate Senſe, and become the Inſtruments and Actors of thoſe very Violations which we ſo much abhorred, and ſo outrageouſly puniſhed in others?

Having conſidered his veering with every ſeeming advantageous Gale in Matters of Religion, let us conſider his Stability in his Commands, and Inſtructions to his Servants and Miniſters; of which I ſhall give but two Inſtances. When the Conditions upon which the Crown was to be conferred upon him were under Debate, Mynheer *Benting* told ſome of thoſe he judged moſt fit to tranſmit his Maſter's Mind to the leading Members of his Party, that if they intended to clog the Crown with ſuch Limitations, they little underſtood the Diſpoſition of the Prince; for he would never accept the Government with ſuch Reſtrictions. If he might not have it with all the Prerogatives that the Kings of *England* had enjoyed, he would let King *James* looſe upon them, to puniſh them for their ill Uſage of him. This he imparted to one from whom I had the Account, and the Gentleman was induſtrious to inform ſuch as he judged fitteſt with this Admonition; one of which, knowing the Prince's Temper, bid him be very careful, for he might be cruſhed by it; for if the Prince found ſuch a Thing reſented by any ſtrong Party in the Houſes, he would deny any ſuch Direction. The Gentleman told him it was impoſſible for him to gain-ſay it; for not only *Benting* had ſpoke to him, but to others; and my Lord *Paget*, and ſome other Lords, had the like Direction for Application to the Peers; yet, when it was ſeen that it could not be carried

as

as desired, all this was denied, and it was charged upon the officious Zeal of the Persons, who, for his Grandeur, and their own Ends, contrived it.

A fresher Instance we have in the Matter of the Abjuration, in which this King employed my Lords *S. D.* and others in the House of Lords, and Mr. *Wharton*, and others in the House of Commons, to promote it. But a noble Marquis and Count informing him, that though the Church of *England*-Men readily yielded him Obedience, and took an Oath of Allegiance unto him, yet he would find that they would almost unanimously refuse to abjure, as being of an higher Nature than Obedience, and a Sort of determining Providence; and all the Effect he would find by it, would be to create Dissatisfaction, Repining, and Opposition to it; whereby he would lose an infinite Number of Hearts that he had now: And if the Severity of Imprisonment and Fines were Penalties to be inflicted upon the Offenders, it would make them combine against him. This Consideration made him forthwith employ others of his Confidents to oppose it; which Instability in his Politicks, and his not backing those with his Countenance and Authority, whom he had put upon this ingrateful Work, caused those Persons to declare they would quit their Places.

It is true, he condescended much below the Dignity of his Character, to court their keeping their Stations; and hath been forced to confer 3000 *l.* a Year upon his Admiral, to hire him to take a Commission that for two or three Days he had flung up. And we may easily conceive, that, if he finds it will be like to succeed better for his Interest to pursue his first Intention, those two great Ministers of State who thwarted it, may expect a Removal by Command. However, the Layers-down of their Commissions may well conclude, that when he comes victorious from *Ireland*, he will severely remember the Undutifulness of such who put him *to a Cap, and pray you, my Lord, do not leave my Service:* For, to say the Truth, they have dealt so with their Sovereign, as they would not permit their Secretaries, Stewards, Masters of their Horse, or any other of their Servants to have dealt with themselves.

But these blessed Qualifications of our new King, and the Pharisaical Politicks against our Allegiance, under Pretence of our Religion, will more manifestly be seen now we come to consider,

V. *What Sort of Government we have chosen to live under, in Exchange for that we have shaken off.*

And this will appear by Enquiry what that Government was, what this is, and, if nothing interpose, what it will be, and that very speedily.

It is not my Design here, to descend to all the particular Transactions of Government under King *James*, either to justify them, or set them off by Comparison with the present, or probable future, since no human Government was ever, or will be capable of such a Design. The Faults and Errors with which his Enemies reproach him, are the ordinary Subject of History, in the Reigns of all his Predecessors, and of all other Kings and Courts in *Christendom*. For what is more obvious than Examples of Men of great Abilities

and

and Merits laid aſide, and Men unqualified, and odious to the Publick, put in their Places? What more common than buying and ſelling of Places, giving Mandates, and making Intrenchments upon Corporations and Colleges? What more uſual in our Hiſtories than the diſgracing, ſuſpending, and impriſoning Biſhops and Clergymen? Theſe, I ſay, are Common-places of all Hiſtory, though not always found attended with ſuch dire Effects upon the Princes, who perhaps were, or at leaſt were ſaid to be, the Authors of them.

But my Intention is only to aſſert in general the Innocence of him who has not ſo eſcaped, though owned by his very Enemies to have had a true *Engliſh* Spirit, and tender Affection to all his Subjects; a Zeal and Delight in advancing their Peace and Plenty at home, and Honour abroad; to have been an excellent, good-natured, generous Prince, the moſt conſtant Friend, the beſt Father and Maſter in the World, and the moſt merciful to his Enemies.

All theſe Qualities, I ſay, and the Effects of them, were experienced by the whole Nation in general, and by thoſe in particular who had the Honour and Happineſs of belonging to, or depending on him, in their ſeveral Relations, and need no other Proof than the black and foul Ingratitude that ſticks upon thoſe who have, in the Sight of God and Man, rendered him Evil, the worſt of Evils, for all the Good they held and enjoyed from him alone. Let us conſider them apart, and begin with the neareſt to him.

King *Lear* and his Daughter is perhaps but a Fable, and *Tullia*'s Father was but a Slave by Birth, and an Intruder into the Royal Family; but the paternal Love of King *James* towards his Daughters is as true as it is unparallel'd; his Care in their Education, Marriages, and Proviſions for them, are Demonſtrations of it. The Honours conferred by him, upon their Mother's Houſe, and their Proximity to the Throne, deſerved ſome Returns of Gratitude; but how they have been made, and what was expected from Obligation and filial Duty, the World now ſeeth and judgeth. I need ſay no more, let Nature ſpeak the reſt in all who read this.

What the royal Father ſuffers from his ungrateful *Tullia*, aſtoniſheth even barbarous Nations, and ſcandalizeth Chriſtianity; and yet not one Act of Love, of Pity, of Remorſe, or Shame, to be returned! All to be trampled upon, and the Royal Author of them expoſed, knowingly and avowedly, to the greateſt Indignities of Pens and Tongues, all over the Nation. I need not here mention the many ſcurrilous Pamphlets, which have been publiſhed, licenſed, and entered according to Order; the odious Ballads that have been printed and ſung about the Streets; nor the abominable ſecret Hiſtory of King *Charles* and King *James* II. ſo full of notorious Lies, falſe Inferences, and Malice, that no Government, certainly, but this, would have connived at it, or let it paſs without condemning it to be burnt by the publick Hangman.

The Street where *Tullia* drove her Beaſts over the Face of her dead Father, was called *Sceleratа*, the unnatural, or impious Street, to all Poſterity. What Street is there in all the Cities of *England*, where the like Impieties have not been acted by her Connivance, not to ſay Authority, to grace her unnatural Triumph?

Great

Great Enquiries were made after him who cut the Prince's Picture in *Guild-hall*, and a Reward propoſed for them who could diſcover the Author, as one that would have committed the like Indignity on the Prince's Perſon, if he had had him in his Power: But was there the leaſt Check to a *Killigrew*, *Hayford*, and their Companions, for their Rage againſt a Father's Statue, which they dragged about the Streets of *Newcaſtle?* Was there a Word ſaid to the Inhabitants of *Glouceſter*, who, when they had pulled down and broken every Limb of his Statue, carried the Head in a Barrow, and caſt it into a Jakes, and wheeled the Trunk into the River *Severn*, and diſpoſed of other Parts, and the Supporters, with the Arms of the four Kingdoms, with Contempt, at their Pleaſure? Was there any Notice taken of thoſe who committed his Picture to the Flames in almoſt every City of the Kingdom? If they who connive at Crimes are juſtly cenſured to approve them, what is all this Silence, but an Approbation of all the unnatural Impieties which theſe Actors would have done to the Perſon repreſented?

But let us paſs to the next Inſtance of his paternal Merit, made out by the like Return of Duty in the younger Siſter. Did there a Day paſs, without ſome new Expreſſions of Love and Kindneſs to her; and not only in Viſits, and thoſe doubled, and in the Night too, upon her leaſt Indiſpoſition; but alſo in ſupplying all her profuſe Expences, upon the leaſt Intimation, notwithſtanding his Frugality towards himſelf, and the great Charge he was at for the Publick? Nay, when her Husband deſerted him, and ſhe, on the other Side, went Northward, to countenance the Riſing of the confederate Lords, a Perſon of Honour can tell what Words fell from the King, for the Danger his *dear Child*, ſo he called her, *expoſed her Health to*; *and if ſhe ſhould miſcarry by ſuch a Journey, he ſhould be troubled as long as he lived.* Was this a Father to be caſt off, and abdicated, even with their natural Right to the Crown, in their Order? Was it a more honourable and happy State, to become the *Orphan of the People*, as ſome in the Houſe ſtiled her?

As to his being a good Maſter, I know not which Sort of grateful Servants to begin with. The Biſhop of *London*, from a Cornet of Horſe, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, from a Captainſhip; the firſt apoſtatiſing to his Jack-boots again; and, for the ſecond, I deſire him to remember the parting Words of his kind Maſter; *My Lord, I foreſee you will have Cauſe to repent your Proceedings towards me, as I do of mine towards you.* Words, one would think, might pierce an harder Heart than that of ſuch an old Cavalier. What ſhould I ſay of the Archbiſhop of *York*, rewarded ſo highly for one ſingle Act of Duty, ſince he repented ſo ſoon of that ſhort-lived Merit.

Next, for the Conſtancy of his Favours, and even Friendſhip, where once conferred; it is notorious that it was his Undoing: This made him deaf to all the Suggeſtions againſt the Contrivance of his Son-in-Law, to all that was offered to be proved againſt thoſe of his Privy-Counſellors, who now, in the ſame Poſture, reap the Fruits of their Treachery and Ingratitude to him; and this made him lay aſide ſome who might have been otherwiſe extreamly uſeful to him, and take all the late Meaſures which exaſperated the Church of *England*,

England, and were ſuggeſted by thoſe who were truſted by him, with a Deſign to ruin him.

I ſhall not ſum up many Inſtances, but content myſelf with one, which I think is ſcarce to be parallell'd in Hiſtory; the conſcientious and religious Lord *Churchill*. See his Letter, and his Farewell-Kiſs, ſent therein to his betrayed Maſter: Let that ſpeak aloud what he owed, and what he paid. But as to his Pretence of Religion and Conſcience, give me Leave to make out that a little, for his Lordſhip's Sake.

He is a *Judas* on both Sides. I need not mention the Promiſe he had made to betray his Maſter who created him, if that Term be proper for ſuch as are raiſed out of nothing, and to deliver him up, alive or dead; nor the Plot he had laid to effect his Treachery, under Pretence of Kindneſs; they are too well known to need my Relation. But you would be perhaps aſtoniſhed, if you knew not his Temper, ſhould I tell you he has, not many Months ſince, made Application to be reconciled to his old Maſter; and yet about the ſame time informed, he knew one that ſaid there were an hundred Members in the Houſe of Commons Well-wiſhers to King *James*.

He had a ſeeming Zeal to get the Princeſs 70,000 *l. per Annum*, and yet the Methods are known, by which, at the ſame time, he obſtructed it. I have already ſhewn his conſcientious cheating his Soldiers in the *Low-Countries*; to which I may add, that he had an Allowance for a Table for his Officers, yet he kept none; that he excelled in the giving falſe Muſter-Rolls, even twenty in one Troop, and thirty-ſix in another; putting in Names, ſome killed in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, others dead in *England* ſince, and alive at this Day, out of all Service; the Liſts of which have been ſhewn to me. Now is there any thing of Conſcience in this Man's Conduct, from one End to the other? Is there any thing but meer *Judas* and Damnation? The firſt corrupted Favourite of his Royal Maſter, the firſt that went over, and the Man who adviſed the Prince, at *Windſor*, to ſecure the King in the Tower of *London*, and bring him to Juſtice, or to ſend him Priſoner to ſome Place in the *Low-Countries*, there to be dealt with, as Occaſion ſerved.

I have not Patience, after this Wretch, to mention any other; all are innocent comparatively to him, even *Kirk* himſelf: Neither will I inſiſt upon the reſt, though moſt deſervedly rewarded; ſuch as the Duke of *Ormond*, ſo kindly received by his Royal Maſter, when he made him a friendly Offer of his Service, graced with his Grandfather's Garter, and Succeſſion in the Chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, at the very Time he was plotting againſt him. And what has he got by his Deſertion? To be Captain of a Troop of Guards, and his Colonel, the Son of a *Coventry* Cutler, to take Place of him. The Duke of *Grafton*, diveſted of all his Commands, notwithſtanding his *Dutch* Alliances, and reduced to an arbitrary Penſion, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerit*.

But that which ought to fill all Men of Honour, or even common Senſe, with Indignation is, that this moſt abuſed, moſt injured Prince, has brought all theſe Miſeries upon himſelf by his Clemency and Goodneſs to his Enemies. The famous Mr. *Pryn* ingenuouſly confeſſed to a Friend of mine, that if he

had been ſentenced in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time to have loſt his Head, inſtead of his Ears, it had been well for the Kingdom: And, I may ſay, if King *James*'s Sceptre had been made of Iron, and laid more heavy on ſome incorrigible Subjects, we had not been now enſlaved by the Deſtroyers of his Father, by the Conſpirators againſt his Brother, the Aſſociates of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*; neither he nor we had been plagued with *Hamdens*, and *Speaks*, and *Kings of Hearts*, and the reſt; who have made no other Uſe of his mild Government, but to ruin it. So that this Clemency hath been his only Fault, and they have puniſhed him for it, and given him Cauſe at Leiſure to repent, and do Penance for that God-like Virtue, in the regretful Words of murder'd *Cæſar*, *Mene hos ſervâſſe, ut eſſent qui me perderent?* But he who has reaped the Fruits of their Treaſons, has begun to puniſh them, and will, no Doubt, make them ſuffer all thoſe, and worſe Calamities, which their lying Spirit hypocritically foreboded from his mild and innocent Predeceſſor.

For let us, in the ſecond Place, take a View of his Way of governing at this preſent, and then judge if we have not brought upon ourſelves Scorpions inſtead of Whips, and laid more Weight on the Nation by the Touch of this *little Finger of a Monarch*, than his Father did by his whole Body.

After he had brought upon the Nation all the Calamities above ſpecified (which perhaps were not to be avoided in ſuch a Change) has he ever given the leaſt Sign of Pity or Concern for our Sufferings? Could we be worſe uſed, had he conquered us in Battle? Of all the Nobility, who either ran into him, or now fawn on him, whom doth he truſt? What Employment have they, unleſs to diſcharge the odious Part of his Government on their Fellow-Subjects? We ſee who are removed from the Treaſury, even the forwardeſt in his Service; from his Fleet an Admiral; ſome laying down the greateſt Places, others like to follow; and thoſe who now lead the Van of his Favourites, have but little Aſſurance that he will not diſcard them when they have done his Drudgery. The important and eſſential Conſults and Reſolutions are all managed by a few Foreigners, in a ſecret Cabal of *Dutchmen*; of whom, that he might form a ſtanding Council, no leſs than five Ambaſſadors came over from *Holland* at once, whereas thoſe States never ſent above two to any crowned Head in *Chriſtendom*; with theſe, and *Benting*, and ſome of the confederate Lords who were with him in *Holland*, (though theſe laſt very rarely) he concerted the Scheme and Model of his Government.

The principal Reſolution taken was, that for Fear of the worſt, ſeeing the Humour of the *Engliſh* is ſo giddy and changeable, they ſhould be impoveriſhed in their Eſtates and Trade, and weakened in their Forces by Land and Sea; ſo that, let the Succeſs of Affairs be what it would, we ſhould not be able to do any thing for one hundred Years, but in Conjunction with the *Dutch*. I dare appeal to the Conſciences of them, if this be not true; and though they dare not own it here, yet the very Conduct of Affairs, and the Account I have given you in the firſt three Particulars, does loudly ſpeak it.

For what has there been done to continue, much leſs to advance, the thriving State of the Kingdom he found it in? Our Ammunition, military and naval

naval Stores ſpent; but in what Service? What Execution has been done with them, or what Care to lay in more? The deſpiſing and deſtroying of our Seamen and Soldiers, I have ſhewn before: The embezzling and Exportation of our Gold and Silver, in Specie, is not yet ſo publickly, at leaſt ſo particularly manifeſted; but by the Accounts given, and the Incomes of five Millions he hath received, ſince he came to *Whitehall*, it is demonſtrable, that he hath lodged ſomewhere vaſt Sums for his future Uſe.

Theſe are but privative Inſtances of his deſtructive Government, namely, the gutting of the Nation, and making the Kingdom vacant, as he did the Throne. Come we now to the poſitive Part, what he has given us in the Stead, and thereby we ſhall ſee what his Government is like to be, being the laſt Act of our Tragedy, *viz.* abſolute and arbitrary, without Regard to ancient Laws, or modern ones, even of his own enacting.

This, as horrid as it ſeems, will appear, I think demonſtrative, from theſe following Proofs.

I. The bringing in of eight Thouſand *Danes* already, and we know not how many more of them, or other Foreign Nations: It is well known, there comes over every Week, in Parties, great Numbers of Strangers, with their Wives and Children, who have Subſiſtence-Money allowed them, till they can be formed into Companies; of thoſe, *Ludlow* was to have had a Regiment, as his Nephew has acknowledged; and though his Uncle was ſent packing by a Sham-Proclamation, yet he is not gone for *Geneva*, but is ſtill within Call, nay perhaps within the Reach of a Whiſper.

II. The Quartering of theſe Foreigners in our moſt conſiderable Places of Strength, both on the Sea-Coaſt, and within the Land: For can we imagine, it was only the Chance of a Tempeſt, and not a Deſign forelaid, that brought the *Danes* ſo directly to *Hull*, *Bridlington*, *Scarborough*, *Tinmouth*, and *Leith*; ſo that they have at once got a full Inſpection into all the Ports North of *Humber*, as the *Dutch* have done on the South in both Seas: To which we may add, the long Continuance of them in the Country, traverſing it, and quartering in all the great Towns in the North, and Gentlemens, and Farmers Houſes, contrary to the expreſs Laws, before they were diſpatched into *Ireland*; not only that they might haraſs them, but be throughly acquainted with the Situation, Roads, and Nature of the Inhabitants, which are Matters of the greateſt Importance to advance any Foreign Intereſt; and we know the *Dutch* are ſpread, like Locuſts, over the whole Kingdom, and ſeem to be the laſt deſigned for *Ireland*.

III. The putting the higheſt Offices of Truſt and Importance into the Hands of his own mercenary Foreigners, who have no other Intereſt, or Being but what depends on his Fortune, like ſo many Baſhaws, or Beglerbegs upon the Grand Seignior; ſuch as *Schonberg*, and *Huſon*, *Benting*, *Solmes*, *&c.* All

theſe, and their Janiſaries, are pretended for the Reduction of *Ireland*, and ſubduing of *Scotland*; but their laſt Service and Reward will be the enſlaving of *England*, as was experienced by us in the *Cromwellian* Army, after the like Succeſs in thoſe Countries. But we are not permitted to ſtay ſo long; for we ſee we are in a great Degree enſlaved already, by the Numbers of Foreign Troops we have at preſent; and it is becauſe of the Awe of theſe, as it was of *Cromwell*'s Army, that our Parliaments dare deny no Money, nor the making of any Laws which are for the Security of the Government.

Now theſe Foreigners being made up of ſo many different Sects of Papiſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts, *&c.* how can they be continued in his Service, unleſs he firſt becomes ſo abſolute, as to reſume a Diſpenſing Power over the Sacrament-Teſt, and other legal Impediments, which may ſeem to check theſe ſucceſsful Strangers in the Performance of what they come for?

But alas! What do I ſpeak of *legal*, or *diſpenſing!* Will there be any Regard to the one, or Need for the other, in ſuch an Inundation of armed Foreigners? Do we think they have ſuch awful Notions of doing Things in a Parliamentary Way, as we have; and will take no Money but what the Houſe of Commons will give them? Colonel *Mynheer* will have more Authority than all my Lords joined together. Doubtleſs, we ſhall find them equally the Conſervators of our Properties, and of our Religion, ſuch as the *Normans* were to the *Saxons*, and the *Saxons* in their Turns had been to the *Britons:* The firſt under the Conqueror of this Man's fatal Name, had but one Landing-place, and made all *England* his own; the other under *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, with but the ſixth Part of the Number of our preſent Invaders, having got Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Thanet*, yet, by little and little, brought over ſo many from the ſame Shore from whence our new Recruits are coming, that they entirely ruined the *Britiſh* Monarchy. About 250 Years after, they themſelves, in a great Meaſure, ſuffered the ſame Treatment from the lordly Anceſtors of our new *Daniſh* Gueſts. They have in our Hiſtories left a fair Example for their Poſterity to follow, in the *Danegelt*, and other brutiſh Tyrannies: But let their Nephews have a Care of St. *Clement*'s Bowl.

In ſober Sadneſs, the very Remembrance of theſe bold Invaders ought to rouſe us a little out of our preſent Lethargy, to ſtand upon our Guard againſt the new ones. They ought to open our Eyes, and make us jealous of all theſe deluſive Pretences of Liberty and Religion, which have driven us upon the Brink of Slavery and Atheiſm.

It muſt be the Wonder of all ſucceeding Ages, that the pretended Fear of an inconſiderable Number of Papiſts in *England*, ſhould ſcare us thus out of our Senſes, Underſtanding, and Knowlegde of our Intereſt, to change our bleſſed Peace for War and Ravage, the well-balanced Monarchy, under an indiſputable lawful King, for Mynheer *Benting*, who upon the Matter now rules over us.

It is the Wonder of all judicious Perſons, that when we find our Anceſtors have been ſo jealous of the Admiſſion of any Foreigners into the

Kingdom;

Kingdom; and we cannot forget how vehemently the Parliament in 1648, repreſented the very Attempt of King *Charles* I. of hiring but 1000 *German* Horſe; that neither the laſt Parliament nor this ſhould once enquire into the Danger of above 30,000 Foreigners brought in, nor conſider that this very Thing would perpetuate a War in the Bowels of theſe three Kingdoms, and will neceſſitate an arbitrary, oppreſſive Government, as long as they have Footing here.

But to return. We have a freſh Inſtance of his Arbitrarineſs; 1. In the Prorogation of the late Convention, which, though it aſſumed a Power to make a King, and create itſelf a Parliament, yet could not ſupport its being one Day againſt his arbitrary Reſolution. But. 2. And more eſpecially in the Diſſolution of it. In the firſt, he ſhewed how little he valued that great Council, farther than their giving him Money; and in the ſecond, he ſhewed the Diſeſteem he had of his Privy-Council, tho' choſen out of the wiſeſt, as he judged, and moſt obliged to his Intereſt, that the Nation could afford. For on *Thurſday* Night, the 6th of *February* laſt, he very bluntly and magiſterially told them, that he had determined to diſſolve the Parliament, and ordered Mr. Attorney General to read the Draught of the Proclamation for that Purpoſe. When thoſe Words were read, *By and with the Advice of our Privy-Council*, a certain Lord, ſeconded by ſome others, told the Attorney General, they had never heard the Matter propoſed before that Inſtant. But their Sovereign bid him read on; and when ſome again began to have the Matter debated, he told them, he was reſolved upon it, and ſo ſomething abruptly left them, like Cyphers, to look upon one another, and ſignify juſt nothing. So true it is, that he hath a *Dutch* Junto of his own, with whoſe Politicks, unleſs our Stateſmen hit, their Advice ſhall be little regarded.

It is to be preſumed he will not treat this Parliament better, as ſoon as he has got all the Money they will afford him, and have perfected ſuch Bills as will ſecure his Government. And it may be, there is not a greater Inſtance of Arbitrarineſs in any King's Reign, than he hath ſhewn in his very Pardon, to ſingle out ſome ſitting Peers, who have conformed to his Government, ſworn Allegiance to him, and have been neither impeached by the Commons, nor proceeded againſt by due Courſe of Law for any Crimes; ſome of whom are guilty of nothing, but in acting in Commiſſion with others whom he hath pardoned; and one chargeable with nothing, but the ſending King *James*'s Declaration into his Dioceſe, which the moſt aged Prelate on that Bench, and others, had done with much more Earneſtneſs; hereby, as much as in him lies, expoſing them to the Rabble, and impreſſing a Brand of Infamy upon them; a Thing exceeding the demanding the five Members by King *Charles* I. who did it not till the Houſe had voted their Protection, when he had exhibited Articles of High Treaſon againſt them. If he does theſe Things in the very Infancy of his Power, againſt thoſe who ſet him up, what may we expect from him, ſhould his Reign continue? And ſince the Nation has ſuffered ſo much in 18 Months, we have Reaſon ſure to wiſh they may not be multiplied upon us.

I am

I am confounded, I muſt confeſs, with Horror, to look only back upon the Miſeries we have hitherto felt; but when I conſider, that *Pandora*'s Box is but juſt opened, and view a long Train of War, Famine, Want, Blood, and Confuſion, entailed upon us and our Poſterity, as long as this Man, or any deſcended from him, ſhall poſſeſs the Throne, and ſee what a Gap is opened for every ambitious Perſon who can cajole the People to uſurp it: Theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, chill my Blood in my Veins, and I cannot but lament my poor Country's Misfortunes with deepeſt Sighs and Groans.

It is to be hoped, I am not alone, but that the Eyes of all ſeeing Men are opened by the Smart of what they feel; and I appeal to their Conſciences, to judge which is moſt reaſonable, or is likely to be moſt beneficial to us; to keep up a Government built upon the moſt deſtructive Principles to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, that ever was contrived by the moſt pernicious *Machiavels* in the World; *viz.* the original Contract with the People; a Government raiſed by Parricide and Uſurpation, entered into by Violation of his own Declaration, ſupported by the Overthrow of all our Laws Sacred and Civil, and the Perjury of the Nation. A Government under which we have ſuffered all hitherto related, to ſet up the *Dutch*, our Rivals, upon our Ruin, and from which we have gained nothing of what we aimed at, either as to the Eſtabliſhment of our Religion, or our Property; but on the contrary, greater Animoſities and Confuſion; a Government, which drives furiouſly on arbitrary Principles, and cannot long ſubſiſt without breaking into that Tyranny we ſuffered under the *Rump* and *Cromwell*. In a Word, it has brought along with it all the Plagues we dreaded under others, and gives us nothing bu the diſmal Proſpect of all the Misfortunes which can befal a Nation, which hath greatly provoked God Almighty's Anger.

I appeal, I ſay, to all true *Engliſhmen*'s Judgments, of what Perſuaſion ſoever in Religion, whether it will be more to our Intereſt in this World and the next, to ſupport this Government, or to return to our known Duty, and call back our lawful King, who has ſhewn himſelf, upon all Occaſions, a Lover of his People, an Encourager of Trade, a Deſirer of true Liberty to tender Conſciences, an Hater of all Injuſtice, and a true Father to his Country.

He alone can reſtore us to our former Tranquillity and Peace, and is ſtudying how to do it. He alone can heal all our Breaches, and unite our Diſſentions; and for his Endeavours in this he ſuffers. He alone can reſtore us to our flouriſhing Trade, and our Enemies know and fear it. He alone can prevent all impending Miſeries, and make us happy, if we will ourſelves; and the recalling him is the only Means left us to effect it.

If we recal him not, it is morally certain he will be reſtored by another Hand: For God will not let ſuch Wickedneſs go unpuniſhed. But I dare pawn my Soul he is more deſirous to return by the Good-will of his People, than our preſent Maſter is ambitious to govern by the Power of Strangers. And we may be well aſſured, that by our King's Return, laſting Peace, with all the Advantages of it, will more eſpecially be reſtored in one Month, than

all

all the Power and Contrivance of this Government can do in 20 Years, if for a Scourge to theſe Nations, God Almighty permit him and his Foreigners to rule over us ſo long.

A ſhort and true Relation of Intrigues, tranſacted both at home and abroad, to reſtore the late King JAMES. 1694.

WE may ſee, by the Overturn of the late King, the Inſtability of human Greatneſs, and that Sovereignty is, like the Globe of the Earth, full of Windings and Turnings, having its Ebbs and Flows like the Ocean, which never reſts, and which ſhews Government to be a ſlippery Path; for if the Prince chance to catch a Fall, though ſuch a Miſhap may not prove mortal, yet it ſo diſables him ever after, that he cannot recover himſelf; which at this Time ſeems verified in the Fall of the late King, who now finds himſelf miſtaken in his Meaſures; which renders all his Endeavours frivolous, and turns to no other Account, but to fruſtrate his Expectations, and to remove his Hopes from ever aſcending the *Engliſh* Throne again.

The Nobles and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, after the late King's Coronation, demonſtrated their Fidelity to him, by their unexpected Attainder of the late Duke of *Monmouth*, who, but a little before, was the People's Darling, and yet, notwithſtanding, was ſacrificed for the Preſervation of the late King; an Inſtance of ſo much Integrity at that Juncture of Time, when the late King dreaded nothing more than the landing of the Duke of *Monmouth*, that if the late King had but eſteemed the Affection of the People, purſuant to the Experience he had then of their Loyalty, and retained the ſame, and contained himſelf within the Rules of Moderation in Point of good Government, and not openly exceeded the Limits of the Law, and ſtrove to content the People, which is the End of all good Government, a Duty incumbent upon Kings and Princes to do, he might have ruled and reigned to this Day, and all the Days of his natural Life, with as much Honour, Grandeur, and Satiſfaction, as any Prince that ever reigned in *England*.

The late King had more Experience in Government than any Prince that came before him. He had ſeen the tragical Fate of his Father's Death, the Turnings and Windings in his late Brother's Reign, wherein he himſelf had an ample Share every Way, and was fifty-two Years a Subject before he came to be a King; ſo that it might be expected, from a Prince of his Knowledge and Years, to rule well, and to fulfil that Saying of *Mæcenas* to *Auguſtus*, *Nemo bene imperat, niſi qui ante paruerit imperio.* Whereas, had the late King but kept the Reins of his Government equal in his Hand, ſo as to be able to

have made a Judgment when to drive faſt or ſlow, and between both had kept a middling Pace, and, by an impartial Diſtribution of Juſtice, pleaſed the lower Orb, and truſted not too far to corrupt Miniſters and Judges, who are the Plagues of all Governments, according to *Cicero*, *Acceptatio munerum eſt prævaricatio Juſtitiæ & Veritatis*, he had been now, inſtead of a depoſed Prince in a foreign Land, happy at Home. But now he can tell, that a People can do better without a King, than a King without a People; and as nothing would have pleaſed his Ambition, but to trample upon the Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects, ſo the Subjects thought themſelves obliged to let him know, that the Affection of the People is the ſureſt Foundation of Government, by their declaring their Averſion to the late King, and ſeating the preſent King and Queen upon the Throne.

The late King thought to imitate *Henry* VIII. the contrary Way, but came ſhort of his Undertaking; and loſing the Love of his People, loſt himſelf and three Kingdoms. *Henry* VIII. fought the Pope at his own Weapons, picked his Locks with his own Keys, locked in the Supremacy, and ſhut out the Pope; and for his Seconds, had the two great Convocations of *Roman* Catholick Divines, then reſiding in both the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, together with all the Monaſtical and Collegiate Theologues throughout the whole Kingdom; which beſpeaks the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks, both at *Rome*, and all abroad, very ſcandalous, having no Reputation nor Eſteem any where out of *England*, but hated mortally.

The late King, to oblige the Pope, and out of his fervent Zeal to Religion likewiſe, went about to alter the Caſe, and to remove the Aſperſion wherewith all the *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks are branded, and fix it upon *Engliſh* Proteſtants, when he, with a Proteſtant Army, attempted to eſtabliſh Popery, againſt Law, in a Proteſtant Kingdom, and to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion: An Undertaking too dangerous (as it fell out) to be attempted; and no Wonder it ſhould, when a Prince, againſt all the Rules of religious Policy, and contrary to good Conduct in Point of good Government, without any more Neceſſity to compel him than his Ambition and Zeal, to take ſuch Meaſures as would not only incenſe the People againſt him, and inflame three Kingdoms, but alſo entail an inteſtine War upon the Kingdom: For St. *Auguſtin*, a great Doctor in the Church, as well as in the Politicks, ſays, *Remota Juſtitia, & quid ſunt Regna, ſed magna Latrocinia?* The removing of Religion and Juſtice lets in an Inundation of Sorrow, Calamity, and Diſtreſs, to the Overthrow of all good Law and moral Honeſty; which the late King now ſees, when, inſtead of being attended by his Nobles, Miniſters, and his Judges, and ſeated at home upon his Throne, he himſelf, with the Help of his more than corrupted Council, brought all upon himſelf, and is neceſſitated to be maintained at the Expence of another Prince; which ſhews the Uncertainty, as well as the Infelicity of human Greatneſs, to ſee a Prince that might have been happy, but would not; and now, inſtead of ruling and commanding his late great Officers, is again glad to receive and liſten to the meaneſt of his late Subjects: A Prince that would not hear the Counſel of the Wiſe, but embraced the Advice of Fools,

Fools, is accordingly accommodated; who expected, by his Exile, when he left his People, to ride triumphantly an absolute Monarch, as he thought; but so far from it at this Time, that that Prince from whom he expected Succour, has enough to do to defend himself, being surrounded by many Enemies; which leaves the late King no Hopes of Supply there, having to that Purpose received the King of *France*'s Answer but in *February* last, which crowned all the late King's Misfortunes with additional Sorrow, as presently will appear.

The late King hath no other Remedy left him, as the Case stands now Abroad, but to court his late injured People, to bring him back again; which is not so easily to be comprehended: That Prince must be reduced to great Hardships, that first receives a broken Head, and petitions him that gave it for a Plaister; it looks as if no other was, or is to be had: But Woe be to him that takes that Measure for his Redress.

The late King believes, that the same People that betrayed and deserted him, may be prevailed with, by his Declarations and Protestations, to restore him again; but (God comfort him!) he is mistaken; the Case is since altered, and those religious Weathercocks, upon whose Promise he does (at this Time) depend, are as impotent to do him any Good, as they were potent to ruin him when here last; they have not that Virtue that is said to be in *Achilles*'s Spear; they gave the mortal Wound, but they cannot heal it now they would, being out of their Reach.

And the late King expecting they could, to please them, hath excluded the Protestant Dissenters, and the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, both innocent of the Misfortunes that justly overtook him; and is so conscientious, that he condemns the Innocent, and pardons the Nocent, when he offers all the Protestant Dissenters, and the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, (the latter having been Sufferers with a Vengeance in his Cause) as an Oblation to the Passive-Obedience Men, who infused Non-resistance into the late Army: And now these are the late King's Creatures, and the only Persons that would abdicate the Gospel, as they did their Passive-Obedience King, rather than the Church-Livings.

The late King fulfils the true Character of his Family in himself, that have been all known to be unconstant and unfaithful to their Friends, and liberal and grateful to their Foes. But God has accordingly dealt with them; he has raised them a Multitude of Enemies, and left the Succession of this Crown (without any Seconds) to fight its Battle. And if it be remembred how that the late King, and his Brother *Charles* II. after their Return from Exile, treated the decayed Cavaliers, who lost their All in their Cause, it should leave him destitute of Friends. And if it be also considered, how many Noblemen and Gentlemen, that spent their Estates and Fortunes in the Defence of the Succession of this Crown, and how they were rewarded by King *Charles* II. and by the late King; having received for their Comforts in Distress, petitioning about *Whitehall*, nothing but sham References to the Treasury, and paid in cold waiting, long Attendance, Tricks, Disappointments, Promises, and Delays; that betwixt King-Craft, and Court-Cheats, and Sharpers, Persons of

unqueſtionable Families, unſpotted Loyalty, and Sufferers in abundance, have famiſhed for Hunger, and periſhed with Cold, and their Poſterity to this Day left without any Satisfaction, and reduced to a very mean and low Condition; which ſhould take away the leaſt Encouragement from all Perſons to intermeddle in the late King's Cauſe, but look upon his Fall, and the Overthrow of his Crown, as a Judgement due to the Family, and may ſay, *Juſtus es, Deus, & juſtum eſt judicium tuum*, It would be a pity indeed that all the Family ſhould depart this World, till they, or ſome of them, attone for the manifold Abominations wherewithal they ſtand charged here, as well as before the great Tribunal, for what Evils they have committed againſt their People.

The *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, although in point of Intereſt and Perſwaſion different from us, yet, to do them Right, have deſerved well from the late King, though ill from us; and for the late King to leave them and exclude them, is ſuch an Inſtance of mean Ingratitude, that Proteſtants have no Reaſon to ſtand by a Prince that deſerts his own Party, and a People that have been faithful to him and his Intereſt to the very laſt. That they were overcome is not ſo much to be wondered at, as their holding out againſt the Power and Wealth of *England*, and againſt all Nations to Admiration ſo long as they did, and at laſt to force ſuch Conditions from us, as ſhould render them a People never to be forgotten by the Succeſſors of this Crown: But King *James* is the late unchangeable King *James* ſtill, a King that is not to be found but upon Uncertainty. What have the Proteſtant Diſſenters done to him, that he has in the Articles of *September* laſt excluded them? They had no Hand in undermining, betraying, nor deſerting of him; they have carried themſelves obedient to his lawful Commands; and becauſe they did ſo, he, contrary to all his Pretenſions of former Zeal of Liberty of Conſcience, by his Exceptions in the ſaid Articles, expoſes them all to Ruin and Deſtruction; that is to ſay, when he returns. But when the Diſſenters conſider how he deſerts thoſe of his own Religion, they may content themſelves with being as they are, out of the Reach of his Hatred; and ſeeing that his Favours are only reſerved to promote his Enemies, and that he has loſt all Abroad, let his Enemies grow potent every where, and numerous withall, and let him be ſo loſt, that he may never be found here at Home.

Now ſeeing the late King hath expoſed himſelf, by excluding a People that never prejudiced him nor his Intereſt, to gratify the Deſires of thoſe that have turned him out of all; it is hop'd, that as he had the Pleaſure of excepting, that he will give leave to return him a *Quid* for his *Quo*, by directing ſuch Meaſures, as may anticipate all his throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and by intimating to the Government ſuch a Method as may for the future detect all the Devices on foot in order to his Reſtauration, and ſo have his Exceptions by his own Excluſion executed.

The following Relation, as had from Gentlemen of very good Note, who have ſeen moſt of the Tranſactions at St *Germains* for about four Years laſt paſt, gives a very impartial Account of Affairs, and ſhews the Connexion of

Foreign

Foreign and Domeſtick Intrigues, carried on, and managed with reſtleſs Induſtry now for about two Years laſt paſt, in order to the Reſtauration of the late King; which at laſt turn'd to no better Account, than to put a Period to his Expectations, by leaving him but ſmall, or no Hopes to return ever again, as will plainly appear; the Truth whereof will want no Confirmation; for farther Enquiry into Foreign Affairs will remove all Doubts, and leave no Room for Contradiction.

About two Years ſince the late King had great Hopes to be reſtored with Triumph, and fed himſelf with the Thoughts of being an abſolute Monarch, having about that Time received great Encouragement, as well from the Pope, as from the *French* King, which made him look above the Reach of his late Subjects, (as he thought) and to reject all my Lord *Preſton*'s Undertakings, and the reſt concerned in that Intrigue; which was like to have coſt my Lord *Preſton* his Life, and for which he had no Thanks, but on the contrary was deſpiſed for meddling; the late King proteſting then, that he had rather never ſee *England*, than come to treat or capitulate with his Subjects again: But he ſoon altered his Reſolution, ſeeing Affairs Abroad thwart his Deſigns; and meeting with ſuch unexpected Diſappointments, which abated much of the Thoughts he retained but a little before; ſo that, of a ſudden Motion, he with great Impatience conſulted ſome of his Proteſtant Council, telling them that he was reſolved to treat with his late Subjects, and give them any Conditions rather than ſtand out any longer; concluding that Nothing would more conduce to his Reſtauration, than to reconcile himſelf to his late Subjects.

In order thereto an Expreſs was ſent to *England*, with Inſtructions to my Lord *Middleton*, and ſome others, to treat with the People, and to know their Inclinations, by feeling how their Pulſes beat, and accordingly to proceed: Which my Lord *Middleton* did, and drew a Declaration anſwerable to the Deſires of the Churchmen of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſome other Heads of both the Kingdoms: And after ſome Debates, my Lord *Middleton* went away for *France*, and arrived at St. *Germains* the Beginning of *March*, or thereabouts, 1692-3; produced the Declaration, which admitted of high Debates, and long Arguments *pro* and *con*, as their ſeveral ſeparate Intereſts moved the Miniſters of St. *Germains:* But my Lord *Melford* ſtarted ſeveral Caſes of Conſcience againſt the late King's ſigning the ſaid Declaration; inſomuch that, to be ſatisfied therein, and to remove all Scruples of Conſcience, the late King conſulted the College of *Sorbon*, and the *Iriſh* College likewiſe. The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared againſt the ſaid Declaration, and the *Iriſh* College for it.

The *Iriſh* College gave theſe Reaſons, That the King was in Exile, baniſhed his Kingdoms by his own Children and Subjects for his Religion; that as the Caſe ſtood with him, there was no Remedy for his Reſtauration left him, but to comply with his Subjects, and to ſign any Inſtrument whatever, for to prevail with them to accept of him home again; and whatever he ſhould ſign, whilſt in Exile, and under Tribulation abroad, he ſhould not in Con-

ſcience be obliged to perform after his Reſtauration, as exacted from him *per* Force and Dureſs, which renders all Conditions and Agreements of that Kind neither obligatory nor binding, any longer than a fit Opportunity ſhould offer itſelf to break them; [and wherein he would but imitate his Brother *Charles* II. who took the Covenant in *Scotland*, and after his Reſtauration burnt it at *London*, by the Hands of the common Hangman.] The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared againſt this Kind of *Machiavelian* Doctrine, and againſt the Declaration too: Yet notwithſtanding, the late King did ſign the ſaid Declaration on the Conſideration aforeſaid. But my Lord *Melford* and my Lord *Middleton* fell out, and are to this Day irreconcilable; they do not contend for any Good either of them would do to this Side or that Side, but their Quarrel is like that of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, who ſhould be the *greateſt*, not the *beſt*: But *Melford*, (a Convert in Wolf's Dreſs, under the Shadow of Religion) bears the Sway, *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*

The ſaid Declaration, ſo ſigned by the late King, was ordered to be ſent into *Flanders*, to be read there at the Head of the *Iriſh* Troops; but was to them the moſt unwelcome and unacceptable Meſſage that ever they met withal, or that the late King could ſend them, finding by the ſaid Declaration, that they loſt themſelves both at Home and Abroad, by the late King; which cauſed ſuch a Conſternation in the Camp, that the Soldiers, (who would be glad of any Occaſion to quit the Service, and to return home) openly mutinied; having ſtarted the Queſtion, that now being deſerted by King *James*, why ſhould they not go over to King *William*, and accept of Conditions? But the Queſtion was carried in the Negative, and an Expreſs ſent immediately to St. *Germains*, to let the late King know the Diſcontent amongſt the Soldiers, and the Diſorder in the Camp, occaſioned by the ſaid Declaration. Here King *James* returns to himſelf again, and after his old Cuſtom of doing and undoing, gets another Declaration drawn, ſigns the ſame, to null the former, and ſends away two Gentlemen, and two Clergymen of Note, with this new Declaration for *Flanders*, to pacify the *Iriſh*, and to give them Content; which for ſome Days gave ſome Satisfaction, but not ſo much as to harbour a good Thought of the late King, believing, that if ever he ſhould be reſtored, they would be all loſt through his Unconſtancy; and that by repoſing their Truſt in him, they confided in a rotten Reed: But however they were appeaſed for that Time.

Here the late King, forgetting his Declaration, and Proteſtation to the *Iriſh*, ſends the firſt Declaration for *England* without any Amendment, or taking any Notice of the laſt Declaration to the *Iriſh*; but with the former Exception againſt them, he lets it paſs for *England*. Here (as they relate it abroad) it was publiſhed the 19th of *May* laſt; but ſeveral, not believing the ſame to be the late King's Declaration, but the Product of ſome other Invention to amuſe the People, ſeem'd diſguſted at it, and would give it no Credit: But that the People may be undeceived in the ſaid Declaration, Notice was ſent to St. *Germains*, what the People ſaid about it; and immediately to remove all Doubts touching the ſame, the late King cauſed it to be put

put in the *Paris Gazette*, where (to his great Diſhonour and Diſadvantage) it was publiſhed by Authority, which gave Content in *England*, and great Diſcontent to the *Iriſh* Army, who are ever ſince in great Diſorder about it; but the King of *France* has promiſed to ſee them righted, who are all very unruly and weary of King *James*, (except ſome Officers, that cannot live ſo well at Home as in their Stations Abroad) and willing to quit the Service upon any reaſonable Conditions whatſoever; eſpecially the common Soldiers, who are extraordinary poor and diſſatisfied, would give any thing to be at Home.

The Nobility and Gentry of *France*, finding a Declaration of King *James*'s in the *Paris Gazette*, were ſurprized at it; and ſeeing him deſert the *Roman* Catholick Intereſt, did look upon it as a very great Unconſtancy of Reſolution, which in Truth removed the Intereſt and Affection of the Clergy and Nobility of *France* from him, who, before that Publication, were all reſolved for him, and to promote his Reſtauration to their Power; but ſince are grown cold upon the Matter, and but indifferent whether he be reſtored or not. In the Court of *France* the late King is extreamly much made of; but had he more Conſtancy of Mind, he would be much better looked upon there, where nothing elſe but Reſolution is in Eſteem.

The ſaid Declaration, it ſeems, had ſuch Effects, that ſome have been pleaſed to ſend away a Draught of Articles or Conditions, contained, as reported from Abroad, under twelve Heads, which the late King, in farther Confirmation of his good Will to that Party he relies on, hath in *September* laſt ſigned, as they ſay that came from thence. Since the Return of the ſaid Articles for *England* ſigned, they ſay Abroad, that Preparations have been diligently uſed for the Reſtauration of the late King.

And that in *December* laſt an Expreſs arrived from *England* at *St. Germains*, which gave the ſatisfactory Account of the People's Return to their former Allegiance to King *James*; how true or falſe it was, that Court was ſo elevated with Joy, that nothing was talked of, but an immediate Return for *England*, all there ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt upon the Expedition; others, to make ſome conſiderable Figure, came away, as they ſay, to have ſome Men in readineſs againſt the Landing here in *England*. Frequent freſh News came from *England*, confirming the ſame; and every half-ſtarved poor Man about Court uſed his Intereſt to have ſome conſiderable Employment; and he that could not be in a valuable Station, thought himſelf as good as loſt; by which we may judge how the *Jacobites* here in *England* would be looked on. But it is thought the late King would continue his Favour to them, by leaving them always reſerved to drink his Health, an Employment moſt ſuitable to their Principles; for certainly they that live in ſo merry a Mood in his Abſence, cannot but do extraordinary well when he returns, that is to ſay, if their Money holds out; otherwiſe they may become *Williamites*.

About this Time, *France* was as full of the Expectation of a general Peace, to be concluded all Abroad, as other Places were full of the Rumour thereof; and to ſtay for the Ratification, was alledged to be the only Stop that prolonged

longed the late King's coming away, having all Things at Home and Abroad ready, doubting not in the leaſt but all Things would have anſwered Expectation. But all the Preparations returned to nothing, and the great Joy, of a ſudden, to Sorrow, inſomuch that all the Tidings at Home and Abroad met together in the Diſſolution of the Hopes of a ſecond Reſtauration.

The late King having, about the fourth Day of *February* laſt, New Stile, acquainted the *French* King with the frequent good Tidings from his late Subjects, who now were returned to their Allegiance, and all free to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for his Return, which he ſaid, were all true according to his Intelligence, and that he was moſt certain and ſure, that none would oppoſe him in *England*; the *French* King told him, that he was glad to hear it, and wiſhed it might prove ſo, but ſeemed to give little Credit to it.

The late King preſſed hard to have ſome Succours to come for *England* the Beginning of laſt *March*, but ſtill the *French* King doubted the Reality of the *Engliſh* to him, alledging thus, as King *James* repeated the ſame after his Return from *Verſailles* to *St. Germains*.

" Firſt, ſays the *French* King, as you have Experience to know your Subjects; ſo I know them by their Character, and do believe them to be a People of no Faith, no Honour, and no Honeſty, whom no Promiſe can oblige, nor Oath can bind: And as for their Clergy, I look upon them much worſe than the Commonalty, having not only by teaching and preaching taught the People to forſwear themſelves, but ſhewed ill Examples in themſelves by doing the ſame; they have ſworn Allegiance to you, and ſince accepted of the Prince of *Orange* for their King, and ſwear Allegiance to him; how this ſwearing to both can be reconciled, I cannot underſtand: But let them ſwear what they will, I ſhould not believe them, nor put any more Value upon their Oath than they do themſelves, which is nothing at all. Neither do I underſtand how you can be aſſured of them that have no other Aſſurance to give you of their future Fidelity but their Oaths, which are worth as much now, as when they broke with your Majeſty laſt; it is out of my Reach to put any Truſt in ſuch People, neither would I have you confide in them; for I doubt much their Integrity; and if they are weary of the War at a Diſtance, what will they not be, when it is with them at Home? That will be your Time to hear them, and not before."

The late King ſtill urged to come for *England*.

Whereupon the *French* King told him, ſeeing he had that Confidence in his Subjects, that if they did but demonſtrate their Fidelity by ſome Action, as the ſeizing of any Citadel, Town or Fort of any good Conſequence, and put ſuch in his Hands as might be for the Safety of his Ships, and ſecure the landing of an Army; that after that was effectually done, he would give him Succours; but before, he did not think it ſafe to venture, conſidering how his own Affairs ſtood at Home and Abroad. The late King preſſed no further upon him, but returned to *St. Germains*, where he told all the Particulars; which put that Court into ſuch a Fit of Grief and Sorrow, that they

they were all like ſo many People going to die. In five Days after, all the decayed Gentleman about Court were ordered ſome Advance-Money upon their Penſions, and commanded homeward, to make the beſt of their Way and Conditions, who are now upon the Road for *Flanders*; others coming for *England*, and the reſt begging all along, being in a moſt deplorable Condition.

The *Engliſh* Proteſtants about that Court do wiſh themſelves at Home again; for they are reſpected as Strangers, but hated as Proteſtants, and look'd upon as Spies from *England*; ſo are ſome *Roman* Catholicks too, who thereupon, both Clergy and Laity, were forbid the Court.

The Proteſtants are hated likewiſe by the People there, who have the ſame Notion of Religion, if not with more Zeal, as the People here: The Proteſtants are under the Calumnies of the late King's Declaration, and the Articles both againſt *Roman* Catholicks and Diſſenters; and the *Engliſh* Proteſtants about Court on that Account are loathed and hated by the People there, who are full of it: For *Engliſh* Proteſtants to go for *France*, to propagate their Religion, where a native Proteſtant cannot live, is but like the Quakers that went to *Rome* to reconcile the Pope to be a Quaker; they are equally looked upon, though not equally treated; the Quakers were look'd upon in *Rome* to be Mad-men, and were ſent to *Bedlam*; but our *Engliſh* Proteſtants are yet at Liberty, and in more Danger of the *Baſtile* than of *Bedlam*, being of late upon their good Behaviour, but ſtill much ſuſpected.

The late King did all along rely upon the Pope's Intereſt to mediate a Peace Abroad, and addreſſed a great many other Princes to the ſame Purpoſe, hoping that a Peace Abroad would be a Means to bring him to his late Home: The Pope did uſe his Intereſt that Way, and ſo did the Princes of *Italy*, but it was to no Effect; for No-body ſeem'd willing but the *French* King to accept of the Peace, which in him was but to wheedle ſome of the Confederate Princes to liſten to his Propoſals, and accept of his Conditions, to divide and break the Allies, and that ſo by taking off ſome, and diſperſing their Forces, he may with the more Facility cruſh the reſt, and break all at laſt: But the Confederates, who are ſenſible of his Deſigns, will accept of no Conditions from him of his own Propoſals, but intend to bring him to their Conditions; they all foreſee he intends to become Emperor of the Weſt, which he cannot attain to, but in conſequence muſt extirpate the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in whoſe Preſervation all the Princes think themſelves obliged to keep up the War, rather than voluntarily ſuffer themſelves to be brought under a Yoke of Tyranny and Uſurpation.

The Emperor is well ſatisfied, that the War made by the Grand Seignior againſt the Empire, was promoted by the *French* King, and ſince furthered by him; which Conſideration requires the Emperor to decline all his Propoſals, until the *French* King firſt allays that War raiſed by himſelf upon the Emperor. As for the King of *Spain*, the *French* King is a Plague to him by ravaging of his Territories, ſeizing his Towns and Forts, without any Pretence of Juſtice, and compelling his Subjects to ſwear Allegiance to him by

the

the Law of Conqueſt, which by divine Law is no lawful Right, but a Homicide and open Robbery; for Mankind was free in the Beginning, but ſince by the Power of Uſurpation ſubjected under a Yoke, which loſt the World forty times over more Lives, to continue Man's Ambition over Man, than are left living in the World: Therefore as God's Laws are againſt deſtroying and killing of Men, certainly that Power which cannot govern, nor live, but upon the Deſtruction of God's Creation, cannot be called juſt nor lawful *Jure Divino*, but an abſolute Tyranny; though ſome of our Divines will ſay, that a Conqueſt is a lawful Title; ſo it is by the Law of the Sword, but againſt the Law of natural Right.

Some perhaps may take occaſion to queſtion, by what Law did King *William* and Queen *Mary* aſcend this Throne? A Queſtion as ſoon anſwered, by a better Title than ever *Alexander the Great*, or *Julius Cæſar* had to any Part of their ſeveral Conqueſts. King *William* and Queen *Mary* had the Choice and Affection of the People, which is the beſt Foundation, and ſureſt Title that ever Prince had to build upon, and without which, no Prince can be ſafe on the Throne. But that Prince that has it, and knows how to keep it, and retains it, may reign and rule in Defiance of all Foreign Enemies; if it does not happen to him to have a corrupted Council, which is the Overthrow of any State, Kingdom, or Empire. We need not go Abroad for Precedents, having ſome of the Council at Home in being, that brought us almoſt to Deſtruction, and are as likely to do it once again, as ever they did before, if God prevents not. It is true enough, that where a Prince has not an Army to rule abſolutely, no King of *England* can hurt the Privileges of the Subjects, if his Miniſters and Judges be but faithful to the Prince and People, in diſcharge of their Truſt according to Law; but otherwiſe all goes to wrack.

We exclaim againſt the late King's evil Counſellors, and who can ſay that there was one good amongſt them? It is commonly ſaid, that they that have betray'd the Secrets of one King againſt the Oaths commonly taken, have ſince betrayed another: Or how can this King and Queen believe themſelves happy in the Counſel of thoſe, whom they themſelves know to have been falſe to the late King? Or is it to be thought the Kingdom is aſleep, when a Clamour is raiſed againſt the late King's evil Counſellors, when at the ſame time the major Part of them are ſtill in our Councils and Places of Truſt? which denotes a long Snake in the Graſs. But I ſhall do by them as God Almighty did, leave them, and return to conclude my Diſcourſe; only adding, that the Court of *St. Germains* dreads nothing more than ſuch an Alteration of the Lieutenancy and Juſtices of Peace over all *England*, as it has pleaſed their Majeſties of late to cauſe in *London*.

The Reſolution of the Confederates againſt the Peace has altered the Meaſures of *France*, aboliſhed the Thoughts of a Reſtauration, and has put a Period to all the Deſigns of an Invaſion from *France* hither. It is of all Hands in *France* believed, that thro the Diſtraction amongſt the Clergy and Gentry about the Taxes, the Scarcity of Money among the Commonality, with the Want of Proviſion, and the exceſſive Expences of the War to maintain ſo

many

many Armies, the Glory of that Crown, without a Peace, cannot hold much longer; the Declination of the Wealth of *France* having reduced all People to a very low Ebb.

And if the late King and the *French* King did hold a Reſolution to land an Army in this Kingdom, this Iſland is naturally ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that they would find it a difficult Matter to land an Army here, having the Elements to fight with, and the Sea to conquer, before they can touch the Shore; and perhaps the Attempt, whenever tried, may prove as fatal to *France*, as the Overthrow of the *Spaniſh* Armado was to *Spain*. Which makes me think of *Hegiſippus*, who perſonated King *Agrippa*, in his Diſcourſe to *Claudius* of the Danger and Difficulty of invading *Great-Britain*; which Diſcourſe ended, as *Florus* ſaid of the *Ligurians*, and as I may ſay, and conclude,

Major labor eſt invenire, quam vincere.

'Tis not ſo hard for greedy Foes to ſpoil
Another Nation, as to touch our Soil.

WALLER.

A Letter out of Suffolk *to a Friend in* London, *giving ſome Account of the laſt Sickneſs and Death of Dr.* WILLIAM SANCROFT, *late Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *By the Rev.* THOMAS WAGSTAFF, *M.A.* 1694.

SIR,

WHEN you was pleaſed to deſire of me a particular Account of the laſt and fatal Sickneſs of our late *Metropolitan*, and of his *Grace*'s pious Behaviour under it, I could not but congratulate with myſelf the happy Employment you had put me to, and do hereby return you my moſt hearty Thanks for the freſh Opportunity you have been inſtrumental in giving me, of revolving in my Thoughts thoſe admirable and Chriſtian Virtues, ſo eminent and conſpicuous in the whole Courſe and Tenure of his Life, and yet more illuſtrious at the Time of his Death: The Memory of him indeed will be always precious in the Eyes of good Men, and I am perſwaded his Name will never be forgotten in theſe and the Neighbouring Kingdoms, nor ever remembred, or mentioned, but with Marks of Honour, Eſteem, and Veneration. But ſuch Memorials are general and languid, and will but coldly affect our Hearts, or diſpoſe us to Imitation, except his particular Graces be ruminated on, and rivited within us by devout and ſerious Meditation. This will raiſe in us (as was in him) a Spirit of Meekneſs, Mortification,

tification, Fortitude and Conſtancy: And his Death will improve the World, (as his Life always did) by recommending a moſt generous and ſincere Piety, and encouraging us in the moſt difficult Duties of Religion. And I muſt confeſs to you, that it is owing to your Commands that I have had a greater Occaſion, on this great Subject, of glorifying God, (who hath given ſuch Graces to Men) of ſupporting myſelf, and encouraging my Brethren, in a State of Affliction and Trouble, by the Power and Prevalency of ſo renowned an Example. I conceive therefore, your Requeſt to me in this Particular, was not ſo much to ſatisfy your Curioſity as to affect your Conſcience, to provoke you to, and preſerve in you, ſuch a ſteady and unſhaken Fidelity to Truth as is not to be undermined, or wrought upon, by any ſpecious Temptations from the World. Our holy Faith is not founded on the Examples of Men, but the Practice of it is mightily encouraged and aſſiſted by them. And here you have before you a glorious Confeſſor; here you have your holy Archbiſhop, making a ſafe Paſſage through Storms and Tempeſts, and carrying his Integrity and Conſcience undefiled to the Grave. And doth not this bright Example mightily enſpirit and inflame your Zeal? Doth it not make your Afflictions eaſy, and your Virtue ſtrong? Would you now receive the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs, how much ſoever you may want them? Or would you change your deſolate and narrow Circumſtances, for thoſe more plentiful, at the Expence of your Conſcience, for all the World? Theſe are the Fruits of this great Prelate's Virtues, and this is the Uſe we are to make of them; to animate us in the ſame Courſe, to aſpire to the ſame Degrees of Uprightneſs, to deſpiſe the World, and to take up the Croſs, not as a Blemiſh, but an Honour to us: Otherwiſe, however we may praiſe and admire him, 'tis but Flattery and Hypocriſy; we celebrate his Memory deceitfully, both to his Injury and our own. For if his great Virtues deſerve to be commended, they deſerve to be imitated too: The Praiſe of the Tongue is but Breath and Air, and the Character goes no deeper than our Lips: But if we live like him, and purſue the ſame Virtues, with the ſame Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy, our Love and Admiration is ſeated in our Hearts and Conſciences, and we evidence the Honour we had for him, by the nobleſt Principles of human Nature. If therefore we ſhall make him our Pattern, and follow his Example, we ſhall do more right to his Memory, than by all the Panegyricks in the World.

I could heartily wiſh that I were able to ſet this great Fxample in a true Light, that I could draw his Grace's Picture at full Length, and give you a compleat Account of the whole Series of his Life from the Beginning to the End; and this (if it was faithfully done) perhaps would be as bright a Pattern of Virtue as has for many Ages been communicated to the World, and would emulate the Piety of the firſt and pureſt Times, and the Faithfulneſs of the primitive Chriſtian Biſhops: But this is a Taſk too difficult for me upon many Accounts, and I hope will be undertaken by ſome abler Hand, and indeed is more than you require of me: However, as introductory

troductory to what follows, I ſhall lay before you theſe two General Obſervations.

I. That that high and important Station which he held in the Church of *England*, was never better filled, nor managed with better Conduct: His great Abilities of Learning, Wiſdom, Courage, and Sincerity, abundantly qualified him to guide the Church, and ſteer the Helm of it, in the moſt dangerous and ſurpriſing Junctures. There never was a Time ſince the Beginning of Chriſtianity, when all theſe Qualifications were not neceſſary in a Chriſtian Biſhop, and which he had not always more or leſs Occaſion to exerciſe; but it muſt be confeſſed, that in his Days the Church was beſet with extraordinary Difficulties, and required an extraordinary Meaſure of Prudence and Reſolution, of Faithfulneſs and Zeal, to manage that great Truſt committed to his Charge, to the Honour of God, the Intereſt of Religion, and the Good and Benefit of the Church.

There are two famous Inſtances which give Teſtimony to this, and abundantly evidence the Greatneſs of his Mind, the Wiſdom of his Conduct, and the Zeal and Care he had for the Preſervation of Religion, and the Safety of the Church. The firſt was when he was to ſtruggle with the Commands of a lawful Sovereign, which ſeem'd to interfere with the Intereſt of the eſtabliſhed Religion, and the known Laws of the Land; but of this he made no Difficulty, and ſoon reſolved rather humbly to decline the Commands of his rightful Prince, than to obey him to the Prejudice of the true Religion, and the eſtabliſhed Laws. But the Manner of doing this was as exemplary as his Courage; when his King laid uneaſy Commands, and which he could not comply with, he did not preſently fly in his Face, and load him with Invectives and Aſperſions, much leſs did he undermine his Throne, invite the Invader of it, or by ungodly or revengeful Arts endeavour to defeat him of his juſt and hereditary Rights: But, like a true chriſtian Biſhop, he committed his Cauſe to God, and poſſeſſed his Soul in Patience. He could not do an unlawful Thing; but he knew well that Reaſon extended to all lawful Things, and that he could no more violate the Rules of Religion, and the Laws of the Land, in reſiſting his lawful Prince, or injuring him in his undoubted Rights, than he could violate them in Obedience to him. Sincere Virtue is always uniform, and all of a Piece; and he knew, that the ſame Religion and Laws which enjoyn'd him not to obey, obliged him likewiſe not to reſiſt and rebel; they were of equal Obligation in both Caſes, and their Authority as ſacred, and could not be broken with a ſafe Conſcience in one Inſtance no more than in the other. He ſtood indeed in the Gap, with all the Degrees of Fortitude and Reſolution that the Greatneſs of the Occaſion required; but theſe were Chriſtian and Epiſcopal Virtues, and joined with the ſame Degrees of Meekneſs and Humility, by humble Petition, by all modeſt and juſt Ways he declined Compliance, but without the leaſt Inſolence of Behaviour, or Diſreſpect to the Perſon of his Prince, much leſs to ſhake off his Authority and Government, whom he knew to be the rightful King of theſe Kingdoms, and eſtabliſhed in the Throne by the Laws of God and the Land.

It is true, in this Action (though it is to be fear'd of ſome, not with the ſame Intention) he did not ſtand alone; but ſeveral of his Brethren, my Lords the Biſhops, and moſt of the inferior Clergy bore their Parts, and join'd with their Metropolitan: But as his Poſt and Station, his Wiſdom and Conduct, his great Part in that whole Affair deſervedly challenges the firſt Place, ſo the aſcribing to him what is really his Due, does by no means detract from the Merits of the reſt: All thoſe who acted in Conjunction with him, and upon the ſame Foundation and Principles, their Credit and Virtue remain intire to them, and they will never loſe the Reputation of their Conſtancy and Faithfulneſs; but thoſe who acted out of ſiniſter and corrupt Ends, and have ſince forſaken their Principles, and wofully prevaricated, they have blaſted their own Reputation, and have little conſulted the Honour of that excellent Church of which they were Members. However, I muſt tell you a plain Truth, that ſome of them who then thought themſelves, and ſtill would fain be accounted, main Pillars of the Proteſtant Cauſe, were in this Affair very fleeting and unſettled, and for finding out Salvo's and Diſtinctions; and their ſubſequent Practice was in a great Meaſure deriv'd from his Wiſdom, Authority, and Influence.

I ſhall not need to mention to you his Conduct in the ordinary Branches of his Metropolitical and Epiſcopal Office; how he took care to diſcharge thoſe with great Faithfulneſs, to preſerve the Church of *England* in its Rights and Eſtabliſhments, and to ſecure the Purity of her Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline, ſo far as his Power and Authority extended: Theſe are notorious to all the Kingdom; and it will be ſufficient here to obſerve, that while he ſat in the Chair, there was no under-hand Trucking with the *Socinians*, or others, out of her Communion. He was a very wiſe, but withal a very plain and ſincere Biſhop; he was above little Tricks and politick Arts, and knew not how to preach againſt People, and then to ſtroak and fawn, and curry Favour with them when he had done: He was never at the Bottom of any Project to give up the Liturgy, the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church: For alas! (quite contrary to modern Policy) he thought, that the beſt Way to preſerve a Society had been in keeping ſteadfaſtly to the Terms of it. He had as great a Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for the Seduced and Miſled as any Man, and uſed all juſt and moderate Ways for their Inſtruction and Information; but, in good Truth, he had not that Latitude of Principle to ſacrifice the Church out of ſecular Intrigues and Politicks, and to deliver up the Mounds and Fences of it to a Party which had been endeavouring the Deſtruction of it for a hundred Years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had Favour at Court, and was able to recommend a Perſon to the higheſt Offices in the Church, it was never his Cuſtom to lay aſide, or poſtpone the moſt worthy and able Men, and firm to the Conſtitution of the Church, and to make uſe of his Intereſt to advance a Sort of Men, who are equally principled for *Geneva* as for *England*, or for any Conſtitution beſides; who were never true nor honeſt to the Church, in their Inferior Charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to ſupport her. In fine, when he was poſſeſſed of the Revenues belonging to the Church, he never made

it

it his Buſineſs to deſtroy and plunder it, by cutting down the Timber upon little Pretences, and then putting the Money into his Pocket. Upon the Whole, he was a true Father; the Intereſts of the Church were his own; and he ſpent himſelf in preſerving her Honour, Rites and Revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago obſerved, that an Intruder is always a Step-Father, who ſpins out the Bowels of the Church, and fattens himſelf with her Blood; who having no legal Right, and Foundation, is for compounding with Religion, and bartering the Securities of the Church to ſupport himſelf, and uphold the Injuſtice of his own Tenure. And this Obſervation is ſo true, that it hath never yet failed in any one Inſtance. He that came into the Church a Thief and a Robber hath always continued ſo; and from the Beginning of the Church to this very Day there hath not been one Eccleſiaſtical Uſurper, but who, in one or more Inſtances, has pawn'd ſomething of Religion to gain an Acceſſion to his Party, and to ſecure and ſtrengthen his unrighteous Poſſeſſion.

Another famous Inſtance demonſtrating this great Prelate's Virtue and Piety, and his admirable Fitneſs for that high Office he ſuſtained in the Church, was this, that he choſe rather actually to ſuffer an Expulſion from all his Honours and Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, than to violate his Conſcience, or ſtain the Purity of thoſe Principles, he had always maintain'd and adher'd to: This is a Proof next to Martyrdom, and there cannot be given a greater Teſtimony to a Man's Sincerity, except it had been the laying down his Life; and no Doubt, that he would alſo have as chearfully done, had the divine Providence thought fit to have call'd him to that Trial. God knows the Heart, but Men cannot know one another, nor yet themſelves, but by Trials and Temptations: Diſguiſed Virtue will deceive the World, and perhaps ourſelves too, and when we meet with no Interruption in our Affairs, a general Care of Inoffenſiveneſs may paſs for great Uprightneſs, both in the Eyes of Men and in our own: But when the Buſineſs comes to Experiment, when we muſt either part with the World, or with our Conſciences and Principles; this is a Touchſtone of our Sincerity, and the Diſtinction is ſoon made. And here we have a moſt Reverend Archbiſhop thruſt from his high Station, and diveſted of all his ſpiritual Promotions and Preferments, meerly upon the Account of his Conſcience, and which he might eaſily have kept, if he could have but tamper'd with his Principles, and brib'd his Judgment to Submiſſion, by carnal Inducements and fallacious Arguments. But as he was too wiſe and judicious to be impoſed upon, ſo he was too honeſt to act upon hypocritical Pretenſions and ſophiſtical Evaſions; for (as he often ſaid) he had rather ſuffer under his lawful Prince, than flouriſh under an Uſurper. Alas! Sir, he never was able to know which Way the People (collectively or repreſentatively) became Sovereign of this Kingdom, and could give away the Government to whom they pleaſed; he never had Philoſophy enough to know that the Streams roſe higher than the Fountain; that the Receiver of a Gift for that very Reaſon had a better Title to it, than thoſe that gave it; how thoſe who gave away that which was none of their own, could derive a better Right to the Taker, than they had themſelves. He had no Skill to dive into the Myſtery of a People being

being conquered by themſelves, and thereby deriving a Title of Conqueſt to a third Perſon; he could not expound the Riddle of conquering by Vote, or that giving and taking were diſcriminating Marks of a Conqueſt; nor could he ſubmit his Conſcience to the maddeſt Hypotheſis that ever was broach'd by Men. He had not the nice Subtilty to diſtinguiſh between Allegiance *de Facto*, and Allegiance *de Jure*: For, as he knew that all Duties whatſoever were founded in Right, and flowed from it, and there is no ſuch Thing in the World as a Duty to Wrong, ſo he knew likewiſe, that neither our own Laws, nor any in the whole World, had been ſo contradictious and inconſiſtent, as to provide for a double Allegiance in Oppoſition to one another. Theſe were Fig-leaves, which ſome had ſewed together to cover their Nakedneſs; but the Covering was ſo very thin and ſlight, that a far leſs diſcerning Judgment than his would eaſily look through them; it needed no Skill nor Art, but plain Honeſty was ſufficient to uncloath them, and to perceive that they ſerved only to blind or ſhuffle with the Conſcience, by no Means to direct or ſatisfy it. He knew an Oath was too ſacred and ſerious to be taken upon Phantoms and Shadows; upon ſuch wild and ridiculous Suggeſtions, as have not the leaſt Being in Nature, Reaſon, Religion, or the Law. And he knew withal, that to take two contradictory Oaths muſt neceſſarily involve a Man in the Guilt of Perjury: In ſuch a Caſe, there is no Medium betwixt ſwearing and forſwearing. Upon this Baſis he ſtood, and he ſtood like a Rock, firm and unſhaken, and all the Billows that beat upon him could not make the leaſt Impreſſion. His high Poſt and great Revenues were mighty Temptations, but when they came to be put into the Balance with his Conſcience, he ſoon determined his Choice, and gave a convincing Demonſtration, that his Virtue was ſuperior to the World, and independent of it; that Truth is better, and far more eligible than Riches and Honour, when, for the Sake of one poor perſecuted Truth, a Man can, without the leaſt Heſitation, forſake all that is great and honourable in the World. It is true, on this great Occaſion, he had many Partners; ſeven of my Lords the Biſhops, and a conſiderable Number of the inferior Clergy, beſides many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, preſerved themſelves from Contagion, and gave the ſame great Proof of their invincible Fidelity and Conſtancy, whereby they have not only ſecured the Uprightneſs of their own Conſciences, but have withal maintained, and upheld the Honour and Reputation of the Church of *England*, which hath ſo terribly been impaired by the ſcandalous Apoſtacy of ſo many others. And this is of ſuch mighty Conſequence, that it muſt be confeſſed, that Poſterity hath nothing left to vindicate the Church and her avowed Principles, but their heroick and memorable Examples; and when After-Ages ſhall come to diſpute the Principles of our Church, they will have the Piety and Practices of theſe excellent Men, to counter-balance the general Defection which hath overſpread this unhappy Nation.

II. Another

II. Another General Obſervation, which I have to remark to you, is, that theſe immortal Virtues, which have embalmed his Name to all Poſterity, were not newly acquired, or even exerciſed; but his younger Years gave an early Teſtimony of the Greatneſs of his Mind, and the Steadineſs of his Principles. There was a Time when a wicked Covenant and Engagement were to be taken; the one Oath was deſigned to propagate Rebellion, and to deſtroy the Church, and the other to ſupport a cruel Uſurpation; and theſe (in their reſpective Seaſons) blocked up all Preferments, and a Man could neither keep what he had, nor be admitted to any other, but he muſt firſt make his Way by ſwallowing the *deadly and accurſed Thing*. In thoſe Days he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, when gaudy Seducements are generally the moſt prevailing, when the Paſſions and Propenſities to the World are moſt ſtrong, and the Judgment leſs mature and ſolid to correct them; but even in his greener Years his Virtue was ripe; he then became an actual Sufferer for the very ſame Principles, and choſe to relinquiſh his Intereſt in his native Country, and to ſubmit to a voluntary Exile, rather than advance himſelf by the Rewards of Ungodlineſs, and own the Authority of an unjuſt, though prevailing Uſurpation. This therefore is not the firſt Time that he gave the World Proof of his admirable Conſtancy; he was a Confeſſor near fifty Years before, upon the very ſame Account; and the very ſame Reaſons and Arguments (that in thoſe Days were urged for Rebellion and Uſurpation) which could not work upon him then, much leſs could they do it now, (though they had new Names put to them) when his Judgment and Virtue were improv'd, and the Truth of thoſe Principles confirmed, by his moſt mature Thoughts, and by long Experience. He had ſeen and ſifted all theſe Matters long before; and it was not likely, that to a wiſe and good Man, the Copy and Tranſcript ſhould prevail more upon his riper Years, than the Original itſelf did upon his Youth. *Doleman*'s rebellious Arguments had no better Effect, when tranſplanted into Dr. *St*——'s *Unreaſonableneſs of a new Separation*, than they had in the vile Book of *Parſons* the Jeſuit itſelf; and the very ſame numerical Reaſons could ſatisfy as little, when baited with modern Names, than they did heretofore, when they came immediately from the Pens and Perſons of the firſt Authors themſelves; from Regicide *Cook*, and *Milton*; from *John Goodwin*, and *Hugh Peters*. In ſhort, he was always juſt to his Conſcience, and true to his Principles; and the repeated Inſtances he hath given of an untainted Fidelity, will exceedingly add to his great Character, that in all the various Concuſſions of State, the Turns and Changes of the World, he was always the ſame; and the laſt great Actions of his Life will ſuffer no Diminution or Reproach from any temporizing Levity, or Unworthineſs of his former Proceedings. I do not deny but a Man may once trip and miſcarry, and afterwards relent and recover himſelf, and become very great and uſeful; and there is no Repugnancy in the Reaſon and Nature of Things, for a Man erring through Weakneſs of Judgment, Inconſiderateneſs, or Violence of Temptations, to raiſe himſelf up again, and to ſtand firm ever after: But,

if

if we ſhall conſult Fact, we ſhall find this Theory not always, perhaps not very often, confirmed by Experience. Thoſe who have once played Faſt and Looſe with their Principles, are generally prepared to travel the Compaſs; and we have, in our own Memories, ſome who paſſed from the Covenant to the Engagement, from thence to the *Cromwell*'s, thence to the Reſtauration, and from thence to the Revolution: And, no Doubt, if there was Occaſion, from the ſame Unchangeableneſs of Principle, could travel the ſame Way back again. Now, Sir, if this be no Blemiſh to a Man's Integrity; if, when he can receive new Principles with every Tide, and turn himſelf and his Conſcience to every Turn of Affairs; if he can diſpute the ſame Things *pro* and *con*, and reſolve a Caſe of Conſcience backwards and forwards, and riſe and fall his Doctrines in Proportion to his Intereſts; if, notwithſtanding, he ſhall ſuſtain the Character of Steadineſs and Fidelity, then, by my Conſent, *Ecebolius*, and the Vicar of *Bray*, ſhall henceforward be reckoned among the Confeſſors, a verſatile and winding Craft ſhall paſs for the Mark of a plain and fair-dealing Man, and the Wind and the Moon be hereafter the fitteſt Emblems of Conſtancy. But, if Mankind have always taken other Eſtimates of Things; if the Truth and Goodneſs of a Man's Virtue hath always been meaſured by its Strength, that it is able to abide the Trial, to weather all Storms and mutable Accidents, and remain the ſame under all Difficulties and Diſcouragements; if the Difference between counterfeit and ſtandard Virtue conſiſts in Permanency and Perſeverance, not ſubject to the Changes and Chances of this lower World: If, finally, theſe are in themſelves, and were always accounted great and glorious Things, then the ſeveral Stages of our venerable Father's Life will afford us ſo many external Monuments of his Piety. And he hath left behind him very few, who, in this degenerate Age, are likely to equal his Virtues, or to come near them by many Degrees, and none leſs than him, who ſits in his Chair, and ſome others, who fill the Sees of our deprived Biſhops.

But, Sir, will you give me Leave more fully to excite your Piety and Imitation, and to improve to your Uſe and my own this great Example to the beſt Advantage. It may be neceſſary to go a little deeper, and to uncover the Root from whence ſo many excellent and praiſe-worthy Actions did ſpring; for it will be impoſſible to copy out one of his great Virtues, without acquiring a juſt Proportion of all the reſt. To aim at his Conſtancy without his Humility, is to plant without a Soil, and to aſpire at his inflexible Faithfulneſs without an equal Meaſure of his Mortification, is to make a Superſtructure without a Foundation. And therefore it may be fit to obſerve, that that wonderful Staidneſs and Evenneſs of his Conduct, thoſe high and eminent Virtues which rendered him ſo conſpicuous, were built on a Foundation abundantly ſufficient to ſupport the Weight of them: His Humility and Denial of the World were as bright as any of his Virtues, and bore up this mighty Fabrick: The World could lay no Biaſs on his Affections, to ſuborn his Judgment, and tamper with his Conſcience; but he could, and did, with equal Affection and Reſolution, embrace Truth, when naked and deſpiſed, as well as when attended with Honours and Revenues: And you yourſelf know, and ſo does every Man elſe,

that

that had the Happineſs to converſe with him, that he ſuffered his Remove from his Poſſeſſions and Preferments, with greater Satisfaction and Chearfulneſs than any Man could take them. It was a ſmart Anſwer that he gave to a Perſon, ſpeaking to him concerning the Revolution, and what were like to be the Effects of it; *Well!* (ſaith he ſmiling) *I can live upon fifty Pounds a Year*, meaning his paternal Inheritance; and thereby intimating how little the Loſs of all the reſt would affect him, and what an inconſiderable Inducement the higheſt Station of the Church was to miſlead him, and to pervert his Conſcience. He had no Pride, Ambition, Covetouſneſs, or Luxury to maintain, and conſequently was ſecure againſt all Aſſaults that could come from thoſe Quarters. When a Man hath once brought himſelf to that Paſs, that he cannot live under ſo much by the Year; whenever ſuch a Poſture of Affairs happens, that he cannot honeſtly keep his Integrity and his Incomes too, he is in great Danger of turning to the Left-hand, of diſtruſting Providence, and ſtarving his Conſcience for to keep warm his Back and his Belly. When Ambition and Love of the World prevail upon the Affections, Religion will become Art and Management, calculated for Deſigns and Intereſts, muſt vary and alter with Seaſons and Opportunities; and ſuch a Man's Conſcience will obſerve the Wind, and be ſure to ſit always in that Corner from whence Preferments come. In fine, whoſoever hath not a competent Degree of Self-Denial, Mortification, and Contempt of the World, Religion can have no ſure Hold of him, nor he of Religion, and he lies under an utter Incapacity of being true to himſelf and to his Conſcience; his Principles will be arbitrary and precarious, and follow all the Revolutions and mutable Contingencies of this World: What therefore our Lord and Saviour ſaid, *Whoſoever he be of you that forſaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple*, Luke xiv. 33. This was not ſo much a Command, as a plain Declaration of the State of the Caſe: There is an utter Impoſſibility in the Nature of Things, that a Man ſhould be *Chriſt*'s Diſciple who is not prepared and diſpoſed to forſake all the World for him, and to put theſe Diſpoſitions into Act, upon all juſt Occaſions; for otherwiſe he can be a Chriſtian no longer than his Religion and Intereſts agree; for when they differ one muſt be parted with, and the predominate Principle will certainly carry him, and he will determine his Choice in behalf of his Affections. To be mortified to the World therefore, is not only to do our Duty in that one Inſtance, but to gain a general Preſervative. The Croſs is the fundamental Principle of Chriſtianity, and ſecures the honeſt Obſervance of all the reſt.

By this Time, Sir, I preſume, that you perceive how neceſſary it was to enter upon this laſt Paragraph; it hath an immediate Tendency to lead us in the right Way, and to direct us how we may follow his Steps; if we would imitate his Greatneſs of Mind, his Chriſtian Fortitude, and admirable Conſtancy; why then we muſt lay as deep a Foundation as he did; we muſt mortify our Pride and Paſſions, and wean our Affections from the World; we muſt endeavour to attain the ſame Meaſure of Patience, Humility, and Self-denial; and, if this be effectually done, we may then hope to partake of his Spirit; but if our Appetites remain irregular, if our Thirſt of the World be yet im-

moderate and intemperate, we have a Plummet at our Heels, which will be ſure to weigh us down, let our Judgments and Underſtanding be what they will, and let the Occaſion of Perſeverance be never ſo juſt and honourable. The World is, and always will be changeable; and if there be Room left in our Hearts to plant that Engine, it will turn us about in ſpite of the cleareſt Apprehenſions, and the beſt Reſolutions we can make; when we doat too much upon the Fortune, we ſhall forſake our Miſtreſs on the Loſs of her Portion, and court another. In Truth, without ſuch a Meaſure of Indifferency to the World, it will be impoſſible we ſhould be true and faithful upon any Occaſion where Truth and Fidelity are required; we ſhall abandon our Friend or our Father, our King or our Country, as well as our Virtue, in a declining and unproſperous Condition: For it is an infallible Maxim in Morals, and which holds good in all Inſtances, that Ambition and Levity of Principle, that Covetouſneſs and Unfaithfulneſs, that Love of the World and Inconſtancy, are convertible; there is never one, without ſome Proportion and Degrees of the other.

And thus, Sir, I have laid before you theſe two general Obſervations; and I think I ſhall not need to remark, how fit and pertinent they are to lead us into the Conſideration of the laſt Scene of this great Man's Life. Here we have the Picture of his great Virtues, of his moral and Chriſtian Endowments; and when we ſhall find his laſt Hand to it, when we ſhall ſee it compleatly finiſhed by himſelf, it will give a mighty Addition to its Grace and Beauty; the laſt and finiſhing Strokes are always the faireſt, and give Luſtre and Perfection to all the reſt. And this is what I have undertaken (according to my poor Meaſure) to give you ſome Account of; and when you caſt your Eye lower, you will ſee, that as he lived, ſo he died. He reſigned up his Soul in the Profeſſion and Practice of thoſe very Principles which he owned and maintained with ſo great Conſtancy and Vigour all the Time of his Life, which is the moſt perfect and unſuſpected Evidence that a Man can give of his intire Satisfaction in his Principles, and of his great Sincerity in the owning them, and living up to them. The Hour of Death is, of all others, the moſt unfit Seaſon for Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation; and if there be any Seriouſneſs and Sincerity in Men, they will ſhew themſelves on a Death-bed. But when a Man hath lived unblameably all his Days, when the moſt malicious and critical Eye is never able to tax him with deceitful daubing, in the whole Courſe of a long Life; when ſuch a Man ſhall come to lie under an apparent Senſe of his Diſſolution, if, in the laſt Article of his Life, he ſhall renew the Profeſſion of his Principles, we have all poſſible Aſſurance, not only of the utmoſt Plainneſs and Sincerity of that Profeſſion, but of the Sincerity alſo of his paſt Actions in Purſuance of thoſe Principles; for he ſtakes his Soul for the Truth of his Belief of them, and appeals to God (to whom he is immediately going) for the Uprightneſs and Honeſty of his former Proceedings.

But Sir, that I may proceed in Order, I am, in the firſt Place, to acquaint you, that ſome Time after his Expulſion from his Habitation at *Lambeth*, he retired into the Country, to the Place of his Nativity, which was the ancient Eſtate

Eſtate and Reſidence of his Anceſtors for above three hundred Years, and where he built a ſmall Habitation, but large enough for his Retinue and Attendants, which were only two or three Servants: Here he choſe to fix himſelf in his Retirement; here he enjoyed the ſame Chearfulneſs of Spirit, the ſame Serenity of Mind, and (in one Word) the ſame good Conſcience; there was ſome Difference in the outward State, in the Splendor and Ornament, but none at all in the Man; and thoſe who repaired to him from all Parts were bleſſed with the ſame charming and familiar Converſe, the ſame holy Admonitions and Inſtructions, and they found exactly the ſame great Archbiſhop, under a plain Roof in a Country Village, that they uſed to meet with in his Palace. Some receive Honour and Reputation from the Places they hold, and ſome Infamy; the one, as having too little Virtue, the other too much Vice: But when a Man's Virtues bear an equal Proportion with his Station, they are inherent in his Perſon, and remove with it. When he reſided at *Lambeth*, his epiſcopal Virtues had there their Reſidence alſo; but when he was forced to leave it, he did not leave his Virtues behind him to be poſſeſſed by the next Comer, (and if this needs to be proved, we have ocular Demonſtration) but they followed his Perſon in all Fortunes and Places; and we had a moſt Reverend Archbiſhop in *Freſingfield*, when there was none at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it. His Obſcurity was a new Acceſſion of Honour to him; it was the Effect of a good Cauſe and a good Conſcience; which, though it added no new Virtue, it made it more bright and viſible; they were the ſame Virtues he had before, but with greater Luſtre, and we had with us the very ſame venerable Archbiſhop; but we had him with the additional Characters of his Expulſion, and cloathed with the new Honours of his Conſtancy and Sufferings.

In this juſt and honourable Retirement, he enjoyed all the Pleaſures and Advantages of Solitude; a meer Quiet from the Hurry and Buſineſs of this World, thereby affording greater Vacancy and Leiſure for the Concernment of the next, is, in itſelf, ſo deſirable, that ſome have voluntarily ſtript themſelves of all their lofty Acceſſions, on Purpoſe to gain an Opportunity of retiring into themſelves, and cultivating their Minds: But when it is an Eſcape from a ſpreading Contagion, when quitting the World is quitting the Sins of it too, it is then not only an Opportunity of exerciſing good Things, but a Sanctuary and Refuge alſo from thoſe that are bad; but when, to both theſe is ſuperadded a noble and glorious Occaſion, when it is the Reſult of Piety and Principles, the Lot of Virtue and a good Conſcience; Privacy is then ſet out to the beſt Advantage; it is both our Peace and Security, but it is withal our Joy and our Crown. This was our great Prelate's Retirement, and in this glorious Sphere his Virtues moved, during the laſt Stage of his Life; for although he needed no Sequeſtration from the World, to learn to know himſelf, and to ſearch into his Conſcience, thoſe had been his conſtant Exerciſes and Employment from his Youth; although no Incumbrances of his Station, or Emergencies of publick Affairs, could ever tempt him to rob God of his Dues, to interrupt his Devotions, and the neceſſary Works of Piety; yet the

Receſs his Conſcience had made him afforded him larger and more frequent Opportunities of converſing with God, and with himſelf; of imploring the divine Favour, Forgiveneſs, and Aſſiſtance; of perfecting his Reptentance, making up the Accounts of his Soul, and preparing himſelf for another World: And theſe were the Companions of his Solitude, the Fruits and Improvements of his Sufferings. But, beſides his own perſonal and particular Concerns, there were others of a more publick Nature which he charged himſelf with, and intereſted himſelf in, the Groans of a languiſhing and afflicted Church, and the Scandal and Sins of an Apoſtate one, were each of them ſad Subjects, and both deſerved and excited his Chriſtian Compaſſion, and his earneſt Addreſs and Application to God for Grace and Mercy, in Proportion to the reſpective States and Conditions. Theſe are Times of Trial and Temptation, of Defection and Apoſtacy; and, as God knows there was Occaſion enough, ſo he ſuited his Petitions to the Exigency of the Times, that God would be graciouſly pleaſed to eſtabliſh the Strong, confirm the Weak, reclaim and recover the Lapſed; thoſe who deſerted his Authority as well as their own Principles, could not run away from his Prayers and Charity; and God grant that they may find the Benefit of his holy Devotions, who would receive none by his Influence and Example!

But beſides theſe, there is yet another Ingredient, which rendered his Solitude more triumphant, and that is the Reaſon and Occaſion of it; it was not the Effect of Wearineſs or Satiety, of Sullenneſs or Diſappointment, but founded in juſt and righteous Principles; and the Goodneſs of the Cauſe ſanctified the Affliction, and made his Privacy venerable in the Eyes of all, and very comfortable to himſelf; it was indeed the Exerciſe and Safeguard of his Virtues; but it was moreover the actual Suffering for them, and this gave it Life and Spirit, changed the Stile and Denomination, made his Meanneſs his Glory, his Abaſement his Honour and Ornament; and though he was always a very great Man, yet he made a greater Figure in the World, and ſuſtained a more honourable Character in his Privacy and Retirement, than ever he had done in the utmoſt Extent of his Proſperity and Plenty; and this was not only external, and terminated without him, but it was an Honour founded in Righteouſneſs, the Honour that comes from God only, which exerts a mighty Power within, and ſheds ineffable Comforts into a Man's own Breaſt. He ſaw nothing about him but what were Arguments of his Uprightneſs, and carried the Marks of his Sincerity; and this, joined with the internal Teſtimony of his own Soul, is perhaps one of the moſt reviving and cheriſhing Things in the whole World: And here we may contemplate the mighty Power of a good Conſcience, how eaſily it triumphs over the World, and what unſpeakable Pleaſure ariſeth in the Soul, from the Senſe of an honeſt and reſolute Adherence to Duty: He did not only bear his Suffering and low Condition with Patience, but he exulted in it; it was Matter of the higheſt Satisfaction to him, and any Man might read the Pleaſure in his Breaſt, by the conſtant Serenity and Chearfulneſs of his Aſpect: And, I dare ſay, that the moſt greedy Worldling never enjoyed half that ſolid Complacency, in the moſt lucky and fortu-

nate

nate Acquiſitions, as he did in being deprived of all, and reduced to the mean Circumſtances of a private Habitation.

Thus holy were his Exerciſes, thus heavenly his Comforts, till at length it pleaſed God (in order to perfect and compleat them) to viſit him with a long and languiſhing Sickneſs: His Diſeaſe was at firſt an Intermitting Fever; but the Fits were ſo extreamly violent, that he was very near dying in the ſecond, and lay ſpeechleſs, and bereaved of his Senſes for ſome Hours; but, by the Help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, adviſed and directed by his Phyſician, a third Fit was prevented; but however the ſtopping the Fits gave ſome Reſpite, yet it was without any promiſing Hopes; he had ſome lucid Intervals, but recovered no Strength: He lay under a general Weakneſs and Decay, and ſo continued waſting to the laſt Period, till his Spirits and Vitals were exhauſted, and his Soul took Wing from a dry and emaciated Carcaſe. This Diſtemper, from the Beginning to the End, continued juſt thirteen Weeks: He fell ſick on the 26th of *Auguſt*, and died on the 24th of *November* following.

And now, Sir, I preſume you expect to ſee the Fruits of a good Life, the Conduct of ſincere Virtue, when it is to wreſtle with the Terrors of Death; this is the laſt, and it is the greateſt of Trials. And here we perceive the wonderful Advantages of Sincerity, that it ſtandeth us in ſtead when we have moſt Need, and when all Things elſe fail us; it ſupporteth us when our Spirits are ſpent, and enableth us to look grim Death in the Face, not only with Confidence, but with Addreſs. When he had once ſhewed his Phyſician his waſted and ſhrivel'd Thighs and Legs, void of Fleſh, and all nouriſhing Juice and Moiſture, ſaith he, *And can theſe dry Bones live?* In Truth, he was not only contented and willing to die, but he breathed after it with Ardency; he deſired it, and called for it; but ſtill with the humbleſt Submiſſion and Reſignation to the Will of God. He uſed to expreſs the Senſe of his Heart in theſe Words of the Pſalmiſt, *I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him: I will lay my Mouth in the Duſt.* In his greateſt Extremities and Agonies, he uſed to ſet before him the great Example of our Saviour: *For*, ſaith he, *as a Lamb carried to the Slaughter, he was dumb, and opened not his Mouth.* Thoſe great Virtues of Humility and Patience, of Truſt and Affiance in God, of univerſal Charity and Good-will to Men, which, by a long Practice, he had made habitual and familiar to him, now exerted themſelves moſt powerfully in this critical Seaſon; and we beheld the Graces of his Life triumphing over the Decays of Nature, and were both the Support and the Crown of his Death-bed; which plainly teaches us how neceſſary it is to gain a Habit of Virtue in the Days of our Health, that we may not have it to ſeek when we have the greateſt Occaſion to uſe it. We ſaw the admirable Humility and Patience of his Soul, with what quiet and chearful Reſignation he ſubmitted to the divine Will, throughout the whole Courſe of his languiſhing Sickneſs: There was not the leaſt Appearance of any Diſturbance or Diſcompoſure; but the ſame Meekneſs, which had always calmed his Paſſions under former Diſpenſations, was ready now to aſſiſt him, and was, in Truth, more eminent and viſible *in extremis*. That which came the neareſt

to

to a Complaint, was only a Deſcription of his waſting Condition, in theſe pious Words; *Thy Hand is heavy upon me Day and Night, my Moiſture is like the Drought in Summer:* But even this joined with an Act of high Truſt in God; for, ſaith he, *I am low, but muſt be brought lower yet, even to the Duſt of Death; yet, though he kill me, I will truſt in him.* His great Piety (which was always quick and active) was now moſt ſprightly and vigorous; and it was ſurpriſing to behold, in the perfect Failure of all bodily Supports, with what Preſence of Mind he would turn himſelf to all the Difficulties he lay under, with what wonderful Dexterity he would meet with and alleviate his Extremities, by pious and ſuitable Ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breathed from his own pious Soul: An acute Pain, or Dejection of Spirit (the frequent Companions of his Sickneſs) could no ſooner approach him, but he was always as ready to obviate them by a divine Sentence, or holy Prayer. It was indeed an unſpeakable Comfort and Satisfaction to us, and we reflected on the mighty Power of a well-ſpent Life, the great Efficacy of the conſtant Practice of Virtue; when we ſaw him with ſo much Eaſe and Facility overcoming the Throws and Pains of a mortal Diſtemper, and preventing the Terrors and Convulſions of Death itſelf. We ſaw his flaming and ardent Charity, both extended and limited, according to the Apoſtle's Direction; *To all, but eſpecially to them of the Houſhold of Faith.* His ſuffering Brethren were the principal Objects of his Charity and Prayers, but not excluſive of others; but upon the frequent Returns and Exerciſes of his Devotions, he ſuited his Prayers to the general Needs of Men, and recommended them reſpectively to the divine Mercy. In particular, the Apoſtacy of a once glorious Church ſtuck very near to him, and this gave great Emnloyment to his Charity; he knew that Prayers might reach them who were obſtinate to all other Convictions; and in this he was earneſt and frequent, that God would touch their Hearts, and reduce them to a Senſe of their Sin, and of the great Scandal they had occaſioned, and diſpoſe them to repair it by a timely and ſeaſonable Repentance. In ſhort, if he had any Enemies, they alſo were included in his Prayers; and in particular, a little before his laſt Hour, he ſolemnly prayed for *a Bleſſing upon his Family, and Relations and Friends, and earneſtly begged Forgiveneſs for his Enemies, as he deſired it of God for himſelf.*

But, Sir, I know you expect from me a more particular Account of his Grace's Management of himſelf in this his laſt Sickneſs, with reſpect to the Principles which he owned, and for which he ſuffered. And, Sir, I ſhall anſwer your Expectation, having ſomething very conſiderable to obſerve to you on this Head; and you will ſoon perceive how far his Conſcience and Soul were engaged in that Matter, and that it was impoſſible for him to have acted otherwiſe with the Safety of his Conſcience, and preſerving the Uprightneſs and Sincerity of an honeſt Man, if you pleaſe to conſider,

I. That by his own Order and Appointment, and with Words of his own framing, was inſcribed upon his Tomb, *At laſt deprived of all that he could not keep with a good Conſcience.* I ſhall preſently give you the Inſcription at large;

large; in the mean Time, this is as plain and full a Declaration as Words can make, that the Reaſon and Ground of his Non-compliance with the preſent Powers, was a good Conſcience. He was deprived becauſe he could not comply; and he did not comply, becauſe he could not do it with a good Conſcience; and it is remarkable, that this came from his own Hand, and with Intentions to ſurvive him; ſo that we have not only a Death-bed Declaration, but that Declaration perpetuated by himſelf, his dying Teſtimony recorded to ſucceeding Ages, and to remain a Monument to Poſterity.

II. Throughout the whole Courſe of his Retirement, and more particularly during the Time of his Sickneſs, he never communicated with the Swearing Clergy, nor would permit them to officiate; but I cannot expreſs this better than in his own Words, dictated to a Perſon who was then with him, ſome little Time before his Death, to be ſent from his Grace to a Friend of his; and a Copy of which I have kept by me. It is in theſe Words:

— *My Lord is ſenſible of how great a Concernment it is who miniſters to him in holy Things. We have very few Non-ſwearers hereabouts: Mr.* W—— *hath been with us once, and viſited my Lord ſolemnly: Mr.* E—— *hath been here often, and at firſt viſited my Lord very ſolemnly; and it happened to be at a Time when there were many Swearers and Non-ſwearers in the Room: He gave me the Abſolution of the Church, and not long after the holy Sacrament: He comes often hither, and when it is ſeaſonable, performs the holy Offices. At other Times my S—, who perfectly underſtands the Liturgy, uſeth as many of the Prayers as it is fit for him to do; and we heartily implore God's Mercy for the Pardon of our Defects and Indecencies in the Performance of his holy Service, and hope that we are accepted. My Lord never receiveth the Sacrament but with thoſe that come not at the Pariſh, and are Non-jurors. He never admits any of the irregular Clergy to be at the holy Offices; as for the reſt, if they come when he goes to Prayers, he excludes them not: This hath been his Courſe.*

This my Lord dictated to me from his own Mouth; you ſee how ready his Apprehenſion and Judgment are.

Nov. 15, 1693.

This, Sir, I conceive needs no Application; and here you have your Deſire from his own Mouth, an Account of his Senſe and Judgment, together with his particular Practice in Purſuance of it. You know there were other Reports ſpread with you at *London*, as if he had received the Communion at the Hands of a Juror, and many ſuch like; and the Noiſe of this came to us in the Country, and was a great Trouble to his Lordſhip; and, in Truth, gave the Occaſion of repreſenting his own Practice in the foregoing Letter. He had too juſt a Senſe of the Unity of the Church, and the Flagrancy of the Schiſm, to admit ſuch Practices: And you may pleaſe to obſerve, that this was but nine Days before his Death; and I can aſſure you, he never altered his Courſe after-

afterwards; nay, he took particular and eſpecial Care, that a Non-juror ſhould perform the laſt Office of the *Burial of the Dead*, and particularly appointed him by Name. I ſuppoſe you will make no Objection, that the Letter above runs in two Styles, one in his own Name, and another in the Perſon of the Writer; that is very uſual and familiar, when a Perſon dictates what is to be ſent to a particular Friend; and there was no Need, in Matters that related purely to his own Practice, to be very nice as to the Style of the Repreſenter: And this Difference of the Style farther confirms the Teſtimony of the Writer, *that it was dictated from his own Mouth*; for Part of it ſuſtains his own Perſon, and thereby gave Credit and Authority to the reſt, as proceeding from the ſame Fountain, being Branches of the ſame Letter, and Part of the ſame Repreſentation.

III. The third and laſt Thing I have to remark to you in this Particular is, that drawing near to his End, he ſaid, in the hearing of ſome of his Servants, *that his Profeſſion* (in the particular Caſe for which he ſuffered) *was real and conſcientious, and not proceeding from any ſiniſter Ends; that he had the very ſame Thoughts of the preſent State of Affairs, which he had at firſt; and that, if the ſame Thing was to be acted over again, he would quit all that he had in this World, rather than violate his Conſcience:* And, in further Confirmation of this, in leſs than an Hour before he died, he put up theſe two hearty and earneſt Petitions to Almighty God.

1. *That God would bleſs and preſerve this poor ſuffering Church, which, by this Revolution, is almoſt deſtroyed.*

2. *That he would bleſs and preſerve the King, the Queen, and the Prince; and in his due Time reſtore them to their juſt and undoubted Rights.*

And now, Sir, you ſee the Make and Compoſition of theſe his Grace's Principles and Practices; you ſee their very Inwards, and have a Window open into his Breaſt; you plainly perceive his Conſcience, and his Uprightneſs in this whole Affair, and you have the Teſtimony of his laſt Breath, and his expiring Prayers: He was ſo well ſatisfied both of the eternal Truth of thoſe Principles by which he acted, and of his own Sincerity in living up to them, and ſuffering for them, that he ventured his Soul in the ſame Bottom with them, cloſed up his Life with a Profeſſion of them, and made them the Subjects of his laſt recommendatory Prayers. I muſt confeſs, this Inference needs an Apology; for if the Nature of the Thing itſelf did not ſufficiently teſtify this, (as it certainly does) I do not believe, that any Man who knew him did ever think otherwiſe, or in the leaſt imagine but that he proceeded with the higheſt Sincerity. But, ſince we live in an Age where Men oftentimes ſpeak more than they think, and becauſe they themſelves are apt to act upon corrupt Ends, are willing to charge the ſame upon others in their own Juſtification; it may perhaps not be altogether unſeaſonable to make good that by undeniable Evi-

dence,

dence, although all Men, in their own Conſciences, do already believe it; and if the Loſs of all this World, and the venturing our Hopes in the next, in Behalf of a Man's Principles, be not a ſufficient and convincing Proof of his Satisfaction and Sincerity in them; then either there are no ſuch Things in the World, or they can never be known.

I am now come to the laſt Period of this great and holy Prelate's Life; and all that I ſhall repreſent to you, is, that his Memory and Intellectuals remained perfect to the laſt Moment, and even his Senſes alſo: A very little Time before he died, he called for a Common-Prayer Book of the ſmalleſt Print, and turned to the commendatory Prayer, and ordered it to be read; and that being performed, he compoſed himſelf more ſolemnly for his Departure: He put his Hands and Arms down to both his Sides, and in a Manner laid out himſelf, and would have his Head laid lower, and with great Willingneſs and Chearfulneſs, ſubmitted himſelf to the Stroke of Death: The Time, his Age, and other Circumſtances, you will ſee in the Poſtſcript, when you read the Inſcription on his Monument, compoſed by himſelf, and directed by him to be engraved thereon. He was buried in *Freſingfield* Church-yard, againſt the South Wall of the Church, by his own Appointment.

And thus, Sir, I have given you a true, though very imperfect Account of the pious and exemplary Behaviour of our late moſt Reverend Archbiſhop, in his laſt Sickneſs, and of his Death. And I deſire you would account it (what in Truth it is) very defective; and that there are many other Paſſages relating to his abundant Charity and Beneficence, his memorable Edifices and Endowments, which equally ſerve to be recommended to us, and to be tranſmitted to Poſterity; and I hope to ſee a more full and perfect Repreſentation performed by a more able Hand. I ſhall conclude with this Prayer, *That God would give us Grace to follow his Steps with the ſame Reſolution and Conſtancy, that, in his good Time, we may be Partakers of the ſame Glory and Immortality.*

I am, *SIR*,

Your faithful Friend and Servant.

On the Right Side of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

LECTOR, Wilhelmi, *nuper Archi-Præſulis*,
Qui natus in Viciniâ,
Quod Morti cecidit, propter hunc Murum jacet,
Atqui reſurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus eſto, nam quâ non putas
Venturus Horâ Dominus eſt.

Obiit Nov. 24. *An.* { *Nat. Dom.* MDCXCIII. / *Ætat. ſuæ.* LXXVII.

On the Left Side.

P. M. S.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, born in this Pariſh, afterward, by the Providence of God, Archbiſhop of *CANTERBURY*, at laſt deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good Conſcience, returned hither to end his Life; and profeſſeth here, at the Foot of his Tomb, That, *as naked he came forth, ſo naked he muſt return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away*; (as the Lord pleaſes ſo come Things to paſs) *bleſſed be the Name of the Lord.*

Over his Head this.

St. Matth. xxiv. 27.

As the Lightning cometh out of the Eaſt, and ſhineth even unto the Weſt, ſo ſhall alſo the coming of the Son of Man be.

Two ESSAYS, *ſent in a Letter from* Oxford, *to a Nobleman in* London. *The Firſt, concerning ſome Errors about the Creation, General Flood, and the Peopling of the World.* In two Parts. *The Second, concerning the Riſe, Progreſs, and Deſtruction of Fables and Romances. With the State of Learning. By* L. P. *Maſter of Arts.* 1695.

An APOLOGY *for writing the following* ESSAYS.

My LORD,

THE univerſal Diſpoſition of this Age is bent upon a rational Religion; the Fierceneſs of Bigotry is in good Meaſure calm'd and allay'd; therefore I venture out upon this pacifick Sea, hoping to reach my Port without any Storm or Hardſhip. Moſt Nations in *Europe* allow of a Liberty and Latitude in Natural Philoſophy; *Copernicus*, *Galileo*, *Campanella*, *Merſennus*, *Gaſſendus*, *Carteſius*, and many others, are not eſteemed the worſe Chriſtians, becauſe they contradict the Scriptures in Phyſical or Mathematical Problems. The Sacred Writers ſpoke to a Generation of Men who were never famous in Arts and Sciences, therefore they adapted all their Sayings to the vulgar Ideas of that Time and Nation; their Deſign being not to compoſe a natural Syſtem of the World, but to eſtabliſh the true Theocracy, and good Morals. What unjuſt Calumnies have been thrown upon the worthy Maſter of the *Charter-houſe*, upon the Account of his *Theory of the Earth*, and his *Archæologia*; (Pieces of admirable Workmanſhip) which his Enemies may be aſhamed of, as ſome were upon the Diſcovery of the *Antipodes* and the *New World*.

The Philoſophick Hiſtory of the *Bible* is not always to be embraced; for what an Outcry againſt Mr. *Hobbes!* becauſe he deſcribed God Almighty as corporeal, though *Moſes* and the Scriptures had done ſo before him. Things are denominated Hereſy and Atheiſm, not by any certain Rules of Truth or Falſehood, but according to the Caprice or Intereſts of Sects and Parties. So the Chriſtians were called *Athei* by the Pagans, becauſe they did not ſacrifice, nor conſult Oracles, nor worſhip Images. So one Nation calls another barbarous, becauſe different in Habit, Manners, Diet, and Ceremonies. The Philoſophers of *Athens* ſtyle one another *Hereticks*, as they frequented ſuch a School or Academy. So in *England*, we give Nick-names, according to the

Company we keep, or the Books we read, or as we vary in our Dreams or Ideas, or in our Deſigns. *Non omnes, probè nôſti, veritatem metiuntur, aut eſtimant rationum pondere & momentis, ſed affectibus abrepti, aut prejudiciis occæcati, quaſi clauſis Oculis, de rerum coloribus decernunt. Sæpè etiam ad concitandam invidiam Authoris mentem aut verba in alienas partes detorquent. Hæc ſigna homines ſolent variè interpretari, & trahere ad ſua vota, aut ſpes, aut metus.*

So, my Lord, I will conclude this Apology, which I thought neceſſary to premiſe, in order to level the Way to a fair Reception and Interpretation of theſe Eſſays, which come from one, whom your Lordſhip knows to be well-affected to the Church of *England*, and not in the leaſt tinctured with Atheiſm; a Crime unjuſtly charged upon many excellent Men, who have a more than ordinary Zeal and Veneration for the ſupreme, all-wiſe, and all-powerful Being. I have travelled many Countries, yet could never meet with any Atheiſts, who are few, if any; all the Noiſe and Clamour is againſt Caſtles in the Air; a Sort of War, like that of *Don Quixotte* with the Windmills. So I take my Leave and Farewell, being,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Devoted Servant,

L. P.

The Firſt ESSAY; *concerning ſome Errors about the Firſt Creation, General Flood, and the Peopling of the World. In two Parts.*

PART I.

THE common Hiſtory of the firſt Chaos, of the univerſal Deluge, and of the Peopling of the old and new World, is ſo well known to every body, that any Account of them in this Place will ſeem unneceſſary; eſpecially to you, who have read ſo many excellent Writers upon them, as Judge *Hales of the Origination of Mankind*, Dr. *Burnet's moſt ingenious Theory*, Mr. *Ray's Three Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes*, &c. therefore I will confine myſelf, in this ſhort Eſſay, to a plain Examination of Matter of Fact, as it ſtands in Nature, and as it appears to our Senſes; which, I know, will pleaſe you beſt, who long ago began to deride Hypotheſes, and monſtrous Traditions, invented and inſtill'd in Cells, in Nurſeries, or in Schools, the Fountains of Mythology, which hath in all Ages infected the Purity of Nature with Fables, Chimeras, and Romances; and even to that Degree, that God Almighty himſelf (bleſſed

for

ſor ever!) muſt be made uſe of upon all Occaſions, to invert and confound his own ſettled Order of Cauſes, and to commit Abſurdities in Nature, either to make good an uncertain Tradition, or to corroborate a vain Fancy. *Non ſunt ij aut ſcientiâ aut Arte divini, ſed ſuperſtitioſi vates, impudenteſque Harioli, aut inertes, aut inſani, aut quibus egeſtas imperat; qui ſibi ſemitam non ſapiunt, alteri monſtrant viam.* Cicero de Divinatione.

But to come cloſe to the Point: We have been told of old, that at the firſt Creation all was mingled in a fluid Chaos; and that, in Proceſs of Time, there came on gradual Separations, Sediments, and that concreted Maſs which we now call the *World*. This made ſome great Philoſophers [s] conclude, that the Shells, Teeth, and other Bones of Fiſhes, were embowell'd in the Beds or Strata of the Earth, upon the gradual or leiſurely Separation, or draining of the Waters after the firſt Creation. We have alſo been aſſured, that theſe Shells, and Bones, and Plants, were diſperſed all the Earth over, and lodged deep in its Bowels, in Beds or Strata, at the univerſal Deluge [t]. But how far either of theſe Opinions or Hypotheſes will ſtand an ordinary Teſt, you will ſoon judge, after your wonted Manner, phyſically, mechanically, and experimentally; for I know you rely no further upon Authority, than as it is agreeable to common Senſe, or to the ordinary Providence of God Almighty.

The moſt rational Way to examine theſe Problems, is by the Laws of Gravity, or by the Hydroſtaticks; becauſe the Controverſy is about the Deſcent of Solids in Fluids; in the managing of which, there is no Need of any extraordinary or miraculous Intervention of the firſt infinite Cauſe, the Principles and Rules being originally eſtabliſhed by it; and though we may grant that the firſt Chaos and the univerſal Flood might be miraculouſly brought about; yet there is no Colour for thinking that the Hand of God would confound its own Laws, (where there was no Manner of Neceſſity) in forming and reforming the Machine we call the Univerſe; eſpecially in the Phænomena of Gravity, for ſettling this terraqueous Globe of ours in the Figure and Texture we now behold it.

Suppoſe then all the Solids diſſolved or intermixed, floating and ſubſiding in the great Fluid of the Chaos, or in the vaſt Abyſs of the Deluge; the moſt ponderous muſt ſubſide firſt, deepeſt, or neareſt the Centre; and the reſt, according to their ſeveral reſpective Weights, or ſpecifick Gravities, muſt take their Places in this new Bed or Maſs of Sediments; the Metals would be the loweſt, the reſt of the Foſſils above them, the Abyſs of Water above theſe, and ſo on to the animal and vegetable Bodies; which could not ſtatically ſubſide with Parts heavier in Bulk or in Specie.

But let us view theſe Layers or Strata of the Globe as far as they appear to us: The Metals are often at the Top, Beds of Marble near the Superficies, vegetable, teſtaceous, and other animal-like Bodies lower ſtill; and the Abyſs,

[s] See Mr. *Ray*'s three *Phyſico-Theol. Diſcourſes*, &c.

[t] See *Steno*'s *Prodromus*, tranſlated by Mr. *Oldenburg*; Dr. *Hook*'s *Micrograph.* *Ray*'s *Travels*, from Pag. 113, to Pag. 130; *Plot of Oxfordſhire*, &c.

or

or Sphere of Water, ſaid to be the loweſt of all: An odd Face of Sediments, a fantaſtical Deſcent of Solids in a Fluid; neither natural nor preternatural, nor ſupernatural; without Deſign, or any End.

Beſides, the ſame Shells and marine-like Bodies are not only found deep in Beds of Earth and Stone, of different ſpecifick Gravity, but alſo on the very Superficies of the Earth itſelf; as Cockles, and *Cornua Ammonis*, (the moſt ponderous) under which are ſeveral Layers of Earth lighter than they; if the latter (*viz. Cornu Ammonis*) is any Species of teſtaceous Animal, it is either not extant at this Day, or elſe lies deep in the Bottom of the Sea, remote from the Shores, where it is hard to conceive Broods of ſuch Shell-fiſh; where there is ſuch Want of Air, of Food, and ſuch a mighty Preſſure of Water, ſufficient to ſqueeze and break much firmer Bodies.

But perhaps the Water might be ſo kind as to diſſever[v], or take to Pieces the adamantine Rocks, Porphyry, and Talc (inſuperable to Fire, and to moſt Inventions of Art) and to preſerve at the ſame Time her brittle Shells and the tender Plants entire and whole; whilſt the ſtubborn Maſs of Foſſils was forced to yield, and lay diſſolved in a furious Abyſs. This may paſs with romantick Readers, but ſcarce with any ſound or thinking Philoſophers.

It is hard to conceive how Leaves and light Shells ſhould fall in Æquilibrio with the much heavier Parts of Marbles, Minerals, and other Foſſils, and be embodied with them in the ſame Beds, Layers, or Strata, by the Principles of the ſame ſpecifick Gravity, whoſe Laws are certain and conſtant. Crabs and Lobſters Claws, and all light Shells whatſoever, are ſaid very ſeldom to occur upon Land; becauſe, being left on the Surface of the Earth after the Deluge, and ſo expoſed to the Air, and other Accidents, they were rotted and deſtroyed. (*Dr.* Woodward, *in his Eſſay.*) To which it is anſwered, that the lighteſt Shells on our Shores are the Echini; yet the Echinites, of divers Kinds or Sorts (with reſpect to the Number of Shells on our *Britiſh* Coaſts) are the moſt common Foſſil Shells, or Shell-ſtones of *England*; and they are often found at the Depth of at leaſt three or four Fathom, and that under Rocks of ſolid Stone; and as for Joints of Crabs Claws, they have been found lodged about ſix Fathom deep, upon the ſinking of a Well.

Coral, and the Aſtroites Undulatus, or the Sea-Muſhroom, are ſometimes found ſticking to theſe ſuppoſed anti-deluvian Shells; which is an Argument that the whole mineral Kingdom (of which theſe are properly Members) was not diſſolved in the Hotch-potch, or Pudding of the Deluge.

The Author of the late Eſſay cenſures Dr. *Burnet* for broaching and vending Opinions contrary to the Senſe of Scripture; yet he himſelf will be found to contradict the Hiſtory of *Moſes*; for whereas he gathers from his anti-deluvian Plants, that the Earth was not only totally drowned, but alſo diſſolved, ſome Time betwixt the Seventeenth of *May* and the End of the ſame Month; *Moſes* tells us, *The Waters prevailed* (*i. e.* as I underſtand it, *the Flood encreaſed*) *for* 150 *Days, before the Fountains of the Deep were ſhut up.* Nor

[v] See Dr. *Woodward*'s late Eſſay.

was

was it neceſſary, in caſe the World was diſſolved in a Fortnight's Space, that it ſhould rain forty Days and forty Nights for the drowning of it. But it is no Wonder to ſee phyſical Theoriſts and hypothetical Speculators grope and ſtumble in the Dark, as ſoon as they begin to deſert the Day-light of Senſe, and to float out of all Depth.

Upon Enquiries made into the Bottom of the Sea by Divers, and Navigators, it appears to conſiſt of Inequalities of Rocks, Mountains, Vallies, Beds of Sand and Earth, of *Foſſils* and Plants, though of different Kinds from thoſe at Land. In this aqueous Part of the *Globe*, the Water is uppermoſt, whereas in the other 'tis lowermoſt; an Argument that the Manner of the ſubſiding (or Deſcent in the general Fluid at the Chaos, or Flood) of ſoli Bodies, were quite different in theſe two Parts of the Globe, and therefore not proceeding from the ſame Cauſes or Principles; whereas Nature is uniform in all her Parts, and Providence beautiful in her Symmetry.

To conclude therefore the Firſt Part of this *Eſſay*; I cannot but continue in my old Opinion, that the World was thus formed from the Beginning, no total Diſſolution, nor any univerſal *Inundation*; ſome particular great Changes have happened, as new Mountains by turning up of the Earth; ſome new Iſlands, eſpecially at the Mouths of great Rivers, by their Sediments of Earth, brought down from the Land; ſome new Lakes by Earthquakes, and ſome other Mutations from particular Floods, or Vulcanoes; though a late Author would ſcarce allow of any of theſe Sorts[w]; nothing but a General Diſſolution of the whole terreſtrial Globe will go down with him; the ſmaller Changes by Earthquakes not paſſing current; though Hiſtory and the Obſervations of Senſe make for the latter, and only Dreams and Phantoms for the former.

All theſe marine-like Bodies dug out of the Bowels of the Earth, may, with more Appearance of Reaſon, be peculiar Sorts of Foſſils, (as an ingenious Writer ſuppoſes[x]) or Natives, or original Creatures of the Earth, (call them what you pleaſe) rather than Strangers, brought in by I know not what barbarous Inundations, and univerſal Diſſolutions, and ſettled there by I know not what Laws, or Force, or Power; I am confident not by any divine Appointment, for that acts more regularly, and more diſcreetly.

I would gladly know why theſe Shell-like Bodies, or Plant-like Subſtances, may not be congenial to the Earth. Plants will propagate on Land and in Water, without any viſible or manifeſt Seed; Shells will ſhoot, or grow in the Glands of Animals; and Inſects may ſometimes breed without Animal Parents, or Eggs, or Seed; therefore why not teſtaceous-like Subſtances, or Shells themſelves in Beds of Earth, or Stone, where they are found; rather than be brought and laid there by Fairies, or inviſible Agents, that

[w] Dr. *Woodward* in his Eſſay. [x] Dr. *Liſter*, in *Tranſact. Philoſoph.* and *de Cochlit.*

muſt

muſt turn Heaven and Earth up to make way for thoſe Toys, and preſerve them miraculouſly in their Voyage thither?

Thus have I done with this Problem. If you pleaſe to ſtudy and know it perfectly, you muſt conſult many Authors: As,

Fab. Columna de Purpur. & Gloſſopetris, with *Dan. Major*'s *Notes*. 4to. *Kiliæ*. 1675.

Hook's *Micrography*, and *Lectures upon Spring*.

Steno's *Prodromus*. *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 8vo.

Steno, de Cane Carchariâ & Gloſſopetris. 8vo.

Ray's *Topograph. Obſervations made in a Journey, &c.* 8vo. From *P.* 113. to P. 131.

Ray's *Three Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, &c.* 8vo, Second Edition, 1693.

Grandius and *Quirinus, de Diluvio Univerſali à Teſtaceis Foſſilibus. Venet.* 1676. 4to.

Agoſtino Scilla Lettera circa i Corpi Marini Petrificati. 4to *Con molte Figur. Napoli*, 1670. As quoted by Mr. *Ray*, the Book being unknown to me.

P. Boccone, in his *Recherches & Obſerv. Nat.* 8vo. 1674.

Dr. *Plot*'s *Natur. Hiſtor. of* Oxfordſhire. Fol.

Dr. *Liſter, in Philoſoph. Tranſact.* and *de Cochlitis*.

Dr. *Woodward*, in his *Eſſay towards a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*. 8vo. 1695.

All the foregoing Authors, except Dr. *Liſter*, and Dr. *Plot*, ſtretch hard to fetch theſe Land Shells from the Bottom of the Sea, to the Tops of Mountains, and into the deep Entrails of the Earth, by the Means of a Chaos, a Deluge, or Earthquakes; but all of them in different Ways, and with what Succeſs, I think, I have made clear.

But now we are upon this Subject, let us diſcourſe a little with the Author of the late *Eſſay toward a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*; who ſays, *P.* 108. That the Teeth, Bones, and other Parts of animal Bodies, as alſo the Trunks, Roots, and other Parts of Vegetables, were not diſſolved in the Deluge, as all the Foſſils and Solids of the Earth were. Now if theſe Vegetable and animal Parts of the Land floated entire and whole, why do not we find greater Quantities of them under Ground? The anti-diluvian Trees, and eſpecially the Bones of terreſtrial living Creatures, would be more plentifully buried, or embodied under the Ground, than the remote Spoils of the Sea, which in ſome Places muſt have travelled two or three thouſand Miles, to get into their Land Beds, and that too in a very ſhort Space: The Author (Dr. *Woodward in his Eſſay*) allowing but ſome Time in the Month of *May*, for bringing about this mighty univerſal Change; which if ſo quick, how will he bring together into one Place, ſo many diſtant and different Animals

ſome

ſome thouſands of Miles over both Sea and Land? And the Author will have a pretty Piece of Work to convey all theſe Species of living Creatures back again to their reſpective Continents and Iſlands, unleſs he keeps in Store all his Carriages, his Pontons, his Magazines, his Tranſport-Ships, and other Neceſſaries for long Marches and Navigations.

I thought to have proceeded in an Examination of his great Abyſs of Waters, and his ſubterraneous Fire over them; as alſo of his Origin of Springs, Rivers, Vapours and Rain, and of his Manner of forming Metals; but I refer thoſe Parts to abler Pens, who underſtand Diſtillation, the Calculation and Motion of Fluids, the Generation and Growth of Metals, and other Foſſils: However, I will touch a little upon the Manner of ſtocking his new Globe a ſecond Time, after his great beloved Cataſtrophe; which he extends to all the Regions of *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Europe*, and *America*, though only Part of *Meſopotomia* and *Syria* were inhabited by the *Anti-diluvians*, upon whoſe Account he will have this univerſal Diſſolution of the whole Globe of the Earth to be brought on; which is not agreeable to the uſua Methods of Providence, nor to the Wiſdom of the Divine Nature; for what Deſign could there be in deſtroying all the innocent dumb Creatures, and the Beauty of the Creation, in the uninhabited Parts, (which were above a Hundred to one, in reſpect of thoſe planted by the *Anti-diluvian* People) for the Sake only of a few wanton and luxurious *Aſiaticks*, who might have been drowned by a topical Flood, or by a particular Deluge, without involving all the Bowels of the whole Maſs, and the remote Creatures upon the Face of the Earth, in their Ruin.

The Second Part of the Firſt ESSAY; *concerning the Peopling and Planting the New World, and other remote Countries.*

THE Deſign of this ſecond Part is not to calumniate, or diminiſh the Authority of *Moſes*, who, without Diſpute, was one of the greateſt and wiſeſt Legiſlators that ever appeared in the World, not excepting *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*, or *Numa*. He brought a wandering idolatrous Nation to the Worſhip of one true God, and eſtabliſhed many excellent Laws amongſt them: He adapted his Hiſtory of the Creation and Deluge to their Capacities; and therefore it can be no Crime in one, who is no *Jew*, to comment a little upon ſome Parts of it, with a Chriſtian Plainneſs, and a philoſophical Liberty, founded upon Nature herſelf.

The *Weſt-Indies*, and the vaſt Regions lately diſcovered towards the South, abound with ſuch Variety of Inhabitants, and new Animals, not known, or ever ſeen in *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, that the Origin of them doth not

appear ſo clear as ſome late Writers pretend; eſpecially ſeeing there are no Records or Monuments of their Tranſmigrations out of *Aſia*, or any other known Parts of the World, either before, or after the Flood; and their Differences from all the reſt of the Globe, in Manners, Languages, Habits, Religions, Diet, Arts, and Cuſtoms, as well as in their Quadrupedes, Birds, Serpents, and Inſects, render their Derivation very obſcure, and their Origin uncertain, eſpecially in the common Way, and according to the vulgar Opinions of planting all the Earth from one little Spot.

The great Zeal to maintain a *Jewiſh* Tradition, put many learned Chriſtians upon the Rack to make it out. Every Corner is ſearched to find out a Word, a Rite, or a Cuſtom, in order to derive from thence many Millions of different People. Some will have *Norway*, others *Tartary* and *China*, or ſome weſtern Parts of *Africa*, to be the Source and Seminary of Creatures, unknown and ſtrange to thoſe Climates. The *Welch-men* are not wanting in their Chimeras of peopling of *Mexico* with their Colonies; and perhaps they have better Authority than any can be produced for the reſt. The *Spaniards*, becauſe they found ſome Sticks, and Pieces of Wood laid croſs-ways, would needs have the *Indians* to be of *Spaniſh* Extraction. The *Jews* fancied the *Americans* to be circumciſed (their Prepuces being only eaten with the Pox) and therefore would have them to be of *Jewiſh* Race: But we will examine the chief of theſe Opinions with Brevity and Perſpicuity.

From *Norway* the Navigation is very difficult, even to our new ſtrong built Ships; the vaſt Iſlands of Ice, and the Weather in thoſe Seas, muſt have been invincible to the little Boats, or Veſſels of thoſe Days; and the Journies over Land through *Greenland* are impracticable, by reaſon of the Mountains and Rocks of Ice and Snow; beſides, there is a great Difference in the Colour, Numbers, in the Cuſtoms, and Mechanicks of the Natives of *Canada*, *New England*, *Virginia*, &c. and of the *Norwegians*; no Foot-ſteps of Chriſtianity to be found amongſt the northern *Indians*, which are ſaid to tranſmigrate in the ninth or tenth Century. All Nations agree in ſome Words, and in ſome Cuſtoms; therefore a Reſemblance in a few of them is no Proof. But further, *John de Leat* aſſures us, that with great Diligence he found a *Mexican Dictionary*, but could not obſerve any Words to agree with any *European* Language. Beſides, many Writers, who reſided a long Time in the *Weſt-Indies*, affirm, that there are ſo many different Languages and Dialects in the ſame Kingdom, that one Province doth not underſtand another, even in *Peru* and *Braſil*; and along the Banks of the ſingle River of *Amazons*, there are above one hundred and ſixty different Tongues and Nations, compoſed of infinite Numbers of various People; ſo that this Country, with *Peru* and *Mexico*, might contend with any in *Aſia*, not only in their Inhabitants, but in their Manufactures and Mechanicks, as well as in their Civil Governments, and they might with the ſame Reaſon boaſt of their giving Birth to us, as we to them.

The Origin of moſt, if not of all Nations, is wrapt up in fabulous Traditions; Records, and Monuments are of late Dates; and when we offer at the Beginnings

Beginnings of Things, we are ſwallowed up and loſt in the Darkneſs and Depth of Time. Arts, Inventions, and many other Things might be loſt in the univerſal Devaſtations of Countries, and ſometimes revived again in Revolutions.

The Paſſage from *Tartary* into *America* is as obſcure as that from *Norway*, and the ſame Difficulties lye againſt it; the ſtretching of the *Tartarian Capes* are unknown; but if they ſhould be joined to the Back of *Northern America*, the Journey would be very dangerous (if not impoſſible) to Colonies. The *Tartars* abound more with Horſes than all the World beſides, and cannot ſubſiſt without them; therefore it is very improbable they ſhould ſwarm into *America* on Foot, (when they ride in all other Parts) and their Offspring ſhould be ſo affrighted with the Sight of a *Spaniſh* Horſe, that 1000 *Tartar-Indians* ſhould run away from a ſingle mounted Cavalier. The Land in *Tartary*, ſaid to be the high Road for this Tranſmigration out of the old into the new World, runs further *North* than *Nova Zembla*, or *Greenland*; and how the Animals, that cannot endure the Extremity of Cold, ſhould climb over inacceſſible Mountains of Ice and Snow for many Thouſands of Miles together, is hardly explicable to any thinking Man; and that thoſe Creatures, that live in a frozen Continent, ſhould not be able to travel along with tender Strangers, and delicate Paſſengers, is ſcarce credible; Horſes, Ermines, and Sables, that abound in *Tartary*, might have found a Way much more eaſily than *Indian* Creatures. A Man muſt preſs hard to ſtrain *Braſil*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, through frozen Seas, or congeal'd Deſarts, made up of Snow from the Beginning, and covered with Night for half the Year.

Neither is it probable, that either *Norwegians*, *Laplanders*, *Muſcovites*, *Tartars*, or the People of *Jeſſe*, ſhould carry along with them ravenous Beaſts, or venomous Serpents, or ſuch Animals as never flock into their Countries, as Lions, Tigers, Alligators, Monkies, Apes, Parrots, *&c.*

Navigations from *China* through the *South Sea* to *America*, are impoſſible to the Junks of that Kingdom, which cannot carry Proviſions for long Voyages; beſides, the Northern Parts of the *South Seas* are too high for them, and the Trade-winds always contrary to the Eaſt in the Latitudes of *Peru* and *Mexico*. The Compaſs (neceſſary in ſuch ſort of ſailing by long Sea) could not be known to the *Chineſe* in thoſe Ages; beſides, the Language of *China* conſiſts all of Monoſyllables, whereas thoſe of *Mexico* and *Peru* have many. The *Indians* knew nothing of Style, Pen, Ink, Paper, or any Manner of Writing, (ſo common in the the Eaſt) but reckoned the Antiquity of Time by ſtrung Beads, Knots, and Pebbles: They had neither Bellows, Saws, nor Nails, though Plenty of Iron Oar in the Country; but they knew not the Way of ſeparating, ſo long practiſed in the old World, before their traditional Paſſage out of it.

From the weſtern Coaſts of *Africa*, the ſailing is more eaſy, but then the Natives are moſt Negroes, or much blacker than the *Americans*, who have long Hair, little or no Beards, and are of an Olive Colour.

But to come closer to the Matter; the *Americans* had neither Horse, nor our Sort of Cow, Sheep, nor our barking Dogs, nor knew the Use of Iron: 'Tis wonderful they should carry so many fierce and destructive Creatures along with them, and leave the mild and useful ones behind; but more wonderful, they should exhaust the old World of many Species of Animals, never found in it since (nor perhaps before) their generally believed Transmigration.

'Twill be hard to make any Man (moderately versed in the History of Nature) confess, that the Pacos, or Glama of *Peru*, or that the Manati (a biped Animal) or many other Creatures peculiar to the *West-Indies*, should travel from *Asia*, (where they never were observed to exist) by I know not what Ways into a strange World, and all to support an old *Jewish* Tradition.

'Tis unaccountable, that the four-footed Beast, commonly called the Ignavus, or Sluggard (that lives most upon Trees, and cannot march above forty or sixty Yards in a Day) should get into *America* from *Asia*, where no Man ever saw it; and that neither Jacals, nor Musk-Deer, nimble, vagabond Creatures, nor Rhinocerots, nor Elephants, nor Camels, itinerant Animals, should ever slip over into the new World, by the same Path or Ways that the others went, which have left none of their Kind behind them.

But then suppose that *America* was stocked some Time or other in the Days of King *Arthur*, from *Norway*, *Tartary*, *China*, Land of *Jesse*, or *Africa*; yet how came those Myriads of People, and new Animals (perhaps Strangers, not only to the old World, but to the new itself) into those immense Countries, South-West, and South-East of *America*, discovered more lately by *Ferdinando Quir*, *Van Diemen*, *Tasman*, and others? The *Indian* Canoes could not transport them over such boisterous long Seas; and the Lands about the Straits of *Magellan* are so desart, that they could not afford such mighty Colonies; neither can we fetch them from the Capes of *Africa*, or *Asia*.

I see no Way at present to solve this new Face of Nature, by old Arguments fetched from Eastern Rubbish, or Rabinical Weeds, unless some new Philosopher starts up with a fresh System; in the mean Time let them all be *Aborigines*.

Some object, that *America* in former Times was joined to *Asia* and *Europe*, by large Necks of Land of easy Passage, which were afterwards broke off by Earthquakes, Storms, or Inundations; but this is begging of the Question, without any Manner of Proof; suppose the Fact was so, yet it gives no tolerable Account why the Animals of the new World should differ in Specie from those of the old; and the *Americans* themselves may with the same Probability affirm, that they planted *Asia* by these Ways, seeing they were equally, if not more populous, and excelling in Morality, and mechanick Arts: For the first *Spanish* Writers tell us, they were amazed at the Fineness and Contrivance of the *Indian* Works, especially their Artificers in Gold and Silver Wares, their Spinnings and Weavings, and Joinery, *&c.* for which *Benzo*, and *Garcilasso de la Vega* may be consulted.

But we will give all the Rope and Scope imaginable to the *Mosaick* History of *Adam*'s calling all the Animals together, and naming them, and afterwards

wards *Noah*'s taking every Species of them into the Ark, to preſerve them in the Deluge; yet their Diſperſion into *America*, and the *Terra Auſtralis*, by unknown Paſſages, will ſcarce ſolve the Difficulties in ſtocking the remote Iſlands with Men and other living Creatures above a thouſand Leagues diſtant from any Land, as the *Azores*, *Bermuda*'s, the Iſles of the *South Sea*, *&c.* moſt of which abound with Natives, Quadrupedes, Birds, and Inſects, different in Specie from thoſe of the next Continents, or *Terra Firma*.

A learned Writer urges, that the *Americans* could be of no long ſtanding there, becauſe the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* could give no Account of their being there above a thouſand Years before the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, which is a very ſtrong Argument againſt himſelf, conſidering they had not the Uſe of Letters, (which methinks they might have brought with them from the old World) nor Cyphers, nor any Way of regiſtring, but by Beads, or Stones. Beſides, ſeveral *European* Nations can give no Account of themſelves for the firſt four thouſand Years; what know we of *Britain* before *Julius Cæſar?* Or of *Greece* itſelf before the *Trojan* War?

I am not ignorant, that ſome late Philoſophers will have the new Animals in *America*, either to be generated equivocally there, or elſe to proceed from various Mixtures of Animals ſent from hence; but this Hypotheſis is of dangerous Conſequence, even to our own Hiſtory of the old World, and may evert the *Moſaick* Syſtem here at Home; for if there are equivocal Generations (eſpecially in the moſt perfect Kinds) or new Species produced every Day, what Need of a ſettled uniform Creation, and ſuch a diſtinct Number of every Species of Animals in *Paradiſe*, or in *Noah*'s Ark? But beſides, equivocal Generations do not only tend to Atheiſm, but are evidently exploded by demonſtrative Experiments; and as to promiſcuous Generations, commonly called *Hebridous*, between diſtinct Kinds, they can never propagate, as we ſee in Mules, *&c.* and 'tis eaſily proved that there can be no Propagation of any new Species, but that the Number of Creatures, as to their Kinds, have always been the ſame from the Beginning.

As many Difficulties lie againſt the *Moſaick* Syſtem of confining all Species of living terreſtrial Creatures within the *Aſiatick* or *Primæval Pardiſe*, and afterwards to *Noah*'s Ark; ſo more ſeem to ariſe againſt the Propagation of all Mankind out of one ſingle Male and Female, unleſs all Poſterity, both Blacks and Whites, ſeparated by vaſt Seas, were all included actually in Form within *Adam* and *Eve*.

The Origin of Negroes lies very obſcure; for Time out of Mind there hath been Blacks with a woolly Subſtance on their Bodies inſtead of Hair; becauſe they are mentioned in the moſt ancient Records now extant in the World. 'Tis plain, their Colour and Wool are innate, or ſeminal from their firſt Beginning, and ſeems to be a ſpecifick Character, which neither the Sun, nor any Curſe from *Cham* could imprint upon them.

Not the Firſt, becauſe many other Nations, living under the ſame Climates and Heats, are never black; as the *Abyſſines*, the *Siamites*, the *Braſilians*, *Peruvians*, &c. neither will any White ever become a Black, in *Guinea*, *Congo*,

or *Angola*, though born there; neither will any Negroes produce Whites in *Virginia*, or *New England*. The Textures of their Skins and Blood differ from thoſe of Whites.

Not the latter; for what Curſe is Change of Colour, that being only accidental to Beauty, which conſiſts wholly in Proportion and Symmetry? The old Statues in black Marble, are as much, if not more, valued than thoſe in white. Beſides, the Curſe upon *Cham*'s Account muſt have turn'd many of the *Aſiaticks*, and all the *Egyptians*, into Negroes; for they were curs'd more peculiarly than the weſtern remote Coaſts of *Africa*.

This Colour (which appears to be as ingenite, and as original as that in Whites) could not proceed from any Accident; becauſe, when Animals are accidently black, they do not procreate conſtantly black ones, (as the Negroes do) as in Dogs, Cows, Sheep, and in ſome Birds; accidental Colours vary in the ſame numerical Subject by Changes of Seaſons, of Diet, of Culture, *&c.* but a Negroe will always be a Negroe, carry him to *Greenland*, give him Chalk, feed and manage him never ſo many Ways.

Conſtantia Semina Rerum.

The Second ESSAY, *concerning the Riſe, Progreſs, and Deſtruction of Fables and Romances; with the State of Learning.*

THE bare, naked, or ſimple Way of inſtructing by Precept, being found jujune and nauſeous, a Mixture of Fable was therefore thought neceſſary to ſweeten and allure the Minds of Men, naturally ſuperſtitious and credulous; which kind of Philoſophy was firſt made uſe of amongſt the *Eaſtern* Nations, the *Hebrews* themſelves not excepted. Hence it is, that the oldeſt Books are mythological, as *Æſop*, *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Orpheus*, &c. This fabulous Way of writing paſs'd from the Poets to the Schools and Theatres. *Sed diligentèr intuere has Nænias, quantam ſub illis utilitatem reperies, nec aliud quidquam per fabellas quæritur, quam corrigatur Error ut mortalium, acuatque ſeſe diligens induſtria.* Phœdrus.

In *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, there are many Fictions, but invented only for Want of Truth; ſuch are the imaginary Originals of moſt Nations, *&c.* but the true Sort of Hiſtory is judiciouſly diſtinguiſh'd by *Diodorus*, from he mythological or fabulous; ſuch as is all that before the *Trojan* War.

Strabo affirms, that the Hiſtories of the *Perſians*, *Medes*, and *Syrians*, deſerve little Credit; the Inventors of Fables were in ſuch Vogue and Eſteem, that

that all their Writers follow'd the romantick Vein, which had reign'd long in *Egypt*.

Theſe Seeds of Fiction being tranſplanted into *Greece*, found the Soil very fertile and luxuriant. The *Greeks*, addicted to Poetry and Invention, ran all upon Figures, Allegories, Fables, and Parables. The *Egyptians* before had taught them the myſterious Way under Hieroglyphicks, under Masks and Diſguiſes, which make up their mythologick Theology. The Tales told by the *Egyptian* Prieſts to *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greeks*, fail'd not to tickle their Curioſity and Paſſion of Novelty. *Græcia Mendax* ——.

The ſacred Authors themſelves complied with this Humour of Parables and Fictions, the Holy Scripture being altogether myſterious, allegorical, and enigmatical; and our Saviour himſelf gave his Precepts under this Veil. The *Talmud* contains Millions of Fables, every one more impertinent than another. The *Arabians* excelled the *Hebrews* in Metaphors, Similitudes, and Fictions, of which their *Alcoran* is a Proof, as well as their numerous Troops of Poets, which afterwards infected *Spain* and *Provence*, with Rhodomontade and Knight-Errantry, Giants, Dragons, enchanted Caſtles, and ſuch-like Acts of Chivalry.

From theſe Fountains the Chriſtian Monks drank in the Art of lying, and compoſing of Legends; but they did not tell their Tales ſo finely as the *Greeks* and the *Orientals*. They imitate the *Sibyls* and the *Oracles* in their Cells and Hermitages, though not in the Wiſdom or Cunning of their Precepts and Doctrines; which yet *Tully* himſelf ſpoke contemptibly of. *Quid verò habet Authoritatis furor iſte, quem divinum vocamus, ut, quæ ſapiens non videat, ea videat inſanus, & Is, qui humanos ſenſus amiſerit, divinos aſſecutus ſit? Sibyllæ verſus obſervamus, quos illa furens fudiſſe dicitur*—. De Divinat. How long was it inculcated up and down, that the Devil ſpoke in the *Oracles*, and that they were all ſilenced at our Saviour's coming, till *D. Van Dale* prov'd the contrary beyond all Controverſy and Diſpute. *V. Diſſert. de Oraculis, Eorumque duratione & Auctoribus*, 8vo. *Amſtelodam*, 1683.

I might give here an Account of the famous *Edda*, which relates the wonderful Atchievements of *Woden* and his Wife *Frigga*, (whoſe Names we ſtill retain in our *Wedneſday* and *Friday*. See *Verſtegan*) with the reſt of our *Gothiſh* Anceſtors; a Book, which, for Antiquity, might contend with *Homer*, and as fabulous as the beſt.

What Stories and Tales have we of *Brute*, of *Arthur*, and *Merlin?* Every Province had their Romancers, their Strollers, and Fable-Mongers; the whole World was over-run with Lyes, and the Fictions of theſe Practitioners.

The *Eaſtern* Nations at this very Day retain their old Guſt for fabulous Inventions, aſtrological Cheats, Jugglers, Songſters, and lying Mountebanks. They affect ſtill the old Oriental Rhodomontade, which made up the prophane Learning of the *Gentiles*, and was ſanctified even in *Syria* itſelf: The ſacred Writers, complying with the Pulſe of the *Jews*, made uſe of Fictions and Parables to expreſs their Inſpirations; therefore our Holy Scripture, in the Judgment of our beſt Criticks, *Grotius*, Father *Simon*, *Le Clerc*, &c. is altogether myſterious, allegorical, and enigmatical. The *Talmudiſts* believed, that the

Book

Book of *Job* is no other but a Parable of the Invention of the *Hebrews*; the Pſalms of *David*, the *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, the *Canticles*, and other holy Songs, are poetical Works, abounding with Figures, which would ſeem bold and violent in our Writings, and which are ordinary in thoſe of that Nation. The Book of *Canticles* is a kind of Dramatic Poem, where the Paſſions of the Bridegroom and Spouſe are painted after a tender and touching Manner. In the Book of *Ruth*, and in the 23d Chapter of *Ezekiel*, there are many wanton and laſcivious Expreſſions; inſomuch that *Joſeph Scaliger* was wont to ſay, that his reading of *Ariſtophanes*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Ovid*, and other ſuch Authors, did very much enlighten him in the Interpretation of the Scriptures, in which there are many Things divinely ſaid, above the Pitch of Poets or Philoſophers.

I thought to have proceeded with Prodigies and Prophecies, and with a Hiſtory of Enthuſiaſm; but I find Dr. *Spencer*, the late Maſter of *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*, has ſo ingeniouſly and fully handled the firſt, and *Meric Caſaubon* the latter, that a Genius much higher than mine will ſcarcely attempt to come after them: I will only remark here, once for all, that Men in former Days, that knew and perform'd above the ordinary Level, were ſuſpected of Magick; and therefore the learned *Naudæus* wrote an Apology for all the wiſe Men, who have unjuſtly been reputed Magicians, from the Creation to the preſent Age; and indeed it is to be wiſh'd, that ſome able Pen would do the like for the many ſagacious *Literati*, who are at this Day moſt inhumanly accus'd of Atheiſm, becauſe they ſearch, and find, and hunt a little out of the common Field, or do not run headlong in the high Road.

Peſſima res eſt errorum Apotheoſis, & pro peſte intellectus habenda eſt, ſi vanis accedat Veneratio. Bacon. Nov. Organ.

Tam magna Penuria Mentis ubique,
In Nugas tam prona Via eſt ——
Et ſic Obſervatio creſcit
Ex Atavis quondam malè cæpta, deinde ſequutis
Tradita temporibus, ſeriſque Nepotibus aucta.

Prudent. in Symach.

To this Eſſay of Fables and Romances, the Hiſtory of Dæmonology doth properly belong, with all the terrible Troops of Spirits and Witches; but I find this Part is ſo judiciouſly and learnedly treated of by our Countryman Mr. *Hobbs*, in that Book of his *Leviathan*, called *The Kingdom of Darkneſs*; and lately by Dr. *Becker* of *Amſterdam*, in four Tomes, called *Le Monde Enchantée*, that my Labour will be all loſt, and would only prove dull Repetition; therefore I haſten to the End and Deſtruction of them in theſe Weſtern Parts of the World, by what Steps it was brought on, and how happily finiſhed.

The

The moſt early Strokes we meet with, are in *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*, in *Chaucer*, and *Wiclef*; afterwards, upon the taking of *Conſtantinople*, the exil'd *Grecians* fled into *Italy*, where, under the Wings of *Lorenzo de Medici*, ſound Learning and good Senſe began to hatch and creep Abroad, foſter'd and fed by that illuſtrious Family, cultivated by thoſe excellent Wits, *Poggius*, *Aretinus*, *Valla*, *Gaza*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Angelus Politianus*, and others, who flouriſh'd between 1400 and 1500.

The Art of Printing being invented about 1442, and ſpread up and down *Europe* by 1480 and 1490, and afterwards improved and advanced to Perfection from 1500 to 1600, under the Care and exquiſite Judgments of the *Aldi*, the *Stephani*, the *Frobenii*, *Commelin*, *Plantine*, and others; the Rays of new Light began to dart Abroad, and our Hemiſphere to be all illuminated.

Reuchlin, *Eraſmus*, *Palingenius*, *Buchanan*, &c. diſpell'd the Miſts of *Monkery*, and a Sort of Reformation appear'd in Glimmerings and Flaſhes.

The mighty Genius of *Francis* the Firſt ſprung up about this Time, and with his Royal Cloak cover'd the naked Muſes: Hobgobblings and Phantoms fled at the riſing of this Star, which ſoon grew up to be the Sun and Glory of Letters, the Father of true Knowledge, and the Patron of Arts and Sciences; in his Reign we read of the *Bellays*, the *Chaſtels*, *Budæus*, *Rabelais*, *Julius Scaliger*, *Gyllius*, *Bellonius*, *Geſner*, *Rondeletius*, and many other eminent Men, who carried Learning up to a great Height.

In the Beginning of this laſt Century, *England* had the Honour and Felicity to produce my Lord *Bacon*, a Man of wonderful Invention and Fertility in vaſt Deſigns; he ſaw the *Greeks* and *Romans* had ſpun Humanity to its utmoſt Fineneſs and Perfection, which laid buried many Ages under *Gothick* Ruins and Monkiſh Rubbiſh; he ſaw the Reſtoration of this ancient Civility and Politeneſs, and obſerved the *Belle Lettre* to re-aſſume its utmoſt Strength in *Joſeph Scaliger*, and *Iſaac Caſaubon*; therefore he drew another Plan, and laid the Foundation of a new experimental Learning upon the Obſervations of Senſe and Matter of Fact; which hath been ſince proſecuted in the Mathematicks, the Mechanicks, Natural and Phyſical Hiſtory, with a happy Succeſs in moſt Parts of *Europe*. 'Tis therefore that the preſent Age affords ſo much of real Knowledge, and will not endure empty Notions, and vain Speculations, which had ſo long amus'd and vapour'd the World; we preſently call for clear Proof, Fact, or ocular Demonſtration: What Improvements in all the Parts of Life might not be expected from ſuch ſound Principles, if we had a *Richelieu* or a *Colbert* to put the Springs and Wheels in Motion? For want of ſuch a Fund, the true Philoſophy begins to degenerate and dwindle into Goſſiping, into Tale-telling, into Jeſts, into romantick Hypotheſes, and idle Whimſies: *Nubes pro Junone.*

POSTSCRIPT.

MY LORD,

I Thought to have troubled your Lordſhip no further at preſent, my Temper diſpoſing me to ſpeak little, and write ſhort; but obſerving in many late Authors a falſe Method of making general and univerſal Concluſions from ſome Particulars, I could not but take notice of it in this Place, becauſe your Lordſhip has a true logical Head, and a ſound Way of Reaſoning.

Some Writers, becauſe they find Shells on the Shores, to be the Spoils or Exuviæ of Sea-Animals, and Plants at Land to riſe from Seed, therefore they conclude, that all other Shells, or Shell-ſtones reſembling them, muſt come from the ſame Place, and all Vegetables be produced in the ſame Manner; ſo they affirm all Inſects to be generated by animal Parents, becauſe they obſerve ſome to proceed from Eggs; as though Nature, or the Almightier Governor of the Univerſe, muſt be confined, in all the various myſterious Ways of Generation, to their ſingular or narrow Caprice, founded upon a few particular Obſervations.

Many cruſtaceous and teſtaceous Animals are peculiar to Lakes, Rivers, Thickets, Caves, Rocks, Beds of Mud and Sand, of which many Species are unknown to us at this Day; and perhaps the Land, or Freſh-water Shells may be as numerous as thoſe at Sea; therefore we need not fetch all our ſubterraneous Shell-ſtones from the Ocean; but I ſee no Contradiction or Abſurdity in Nature, in aſcribing the Origin of theſe reſembling marine Shells, to the plaſtick Power (or call it what Principle you pleaſe) of the Earth; the ſame may be ſaid of the ſubterraneous Vegetables; for this Way of explicating theſe Appearances is not attended with half ſo many, or great Difficulties, as that of bringing them in by an univerſal Diſſolution of the Earth at the Deluge.

Shells, or teſtaceous figured Bodies, may be generated in Beds of Earth or Stone, as eaſily as Animals or Plants themſelves, which are ſometimes found alive upon the breaking of Rocks and Stones aſunder, into which neither Water, nor Air, nor animal Parent, nor Seed could have any Ingreſs; eſpecially if we ſuppoſe, with the late Author of the *Eſſay towards a Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*, &c. that Quarries, or the Strata of Stone, were formed upon the Settlement of our Globe, when diſſevered, and taken all to Pieces in the Flood.

Men converſant in medical Obſervations, and anatomical Hiſtory, obſerve great Variety of Stones curiouſly figured and coloured, as alſo wonderful Diverſity of Worms, and other Inſects, to be daily formed in the Bodies of Animals, eſpecially in the Galls, Bladders, Stomachs, and Glands; but they meet with inſuperable Difficulties, when they attempt to bring them into the Microcoſm,

coſm, they know not what Ways, nor from what Places. So the ſubterraneous Speculators, viewing teſtaceous and other animal and vegetable-like Bodies in the Bowels of the greater World, are forced upon the Rack, when they endeavour to fetch them in ſome ſtrange Places. The ſafeſt Way is to take the neareſt Cauſe, and to explicate Nature by her immediate Steps and Appearances; as *Ariſtotle* did very judiciouſly upon this Occaſion: *Teſtacea interdùm ſpontè è limo proveniunt, alia ex alio; oſtreæ in cœnoſo, Conchæ, & quæ ſuprà diximus in Sabuloſo; circa Saxorum cava Papillæ ſeu Tethya, Balani ſeu Glandes, & quæ per ſumma adhærent, ut Lepades ſeu Patellæ, & Neritæ.*

Neither are Shell-like Bodies ſometimes thus propagated, but Vegetables themſelves, which will often ſpring up plentifully in Countries where they never grew before, even out of the Trunks of Trees, out of Stones, and on the Tops of the higheſt Places. What Myriads of Inſects are produced upon ſteeping Pepper in Rain-water? And ſhall we wonder to ſee Shell-ſtones, Teeth, and other Bone-like figured Bodies in the Bowels of the Earth, when we find the ſame, if not greater Wonders in our own Bodies, and in thoſe of Quadrupedes, Birds, and Fiſhes; as Teeth in Abſceſſes, perfect Shells in Glands, Bezoar in Stomachs, teſtaceous or laminated Stones in the internal Parts of cruſtaceous and finned Fiſhes, as alſo in naked Snails, beſides curious Varieties of Inſects in many Parts of moſt Animals? Of which phyſical Cauſes may be aſſigned, without taking the Microcoſm all to pieces, in order to bring them in, *vi & armis*, by diſſolving all that ſtands in their Way.

'Tis hard to conceive how ſuch innumerable aquatick Animals ſhould be deſtroy'd by a Deluge of their own Element; St. *Auſtin* knew better Things, *Animalia, quæ in Aquis vivere poſſunt, Diluvii plaga non tetigit; hæc enim terrena tantùm mortificavit*; for God inflicted this Puniſhment only upon the Earth and its Creatures. Why ſo many Millions of Fiſhes Bones and Integuments to be entomb'd in Graves or Beds, perhaps 1000 Miles below the Surface of the Earth, under Layers of Stones and Marble, where they are ſaid to fall or ſink by their ſpecifick Gravity, during the general Diſſolution of the Earth by the Deluge.

Moſes ſeems to be of a different Opinion from the Writer of the late Eſſay (though he pretends to corroborate and ſupport the *Moſaic* Syſtem) for *Moſes* gives a plain and clear Relation of the Mountains ſtanding firm and entire during the whole Scene of that Action; (Read the 7th and 8th of Chapter of *Geneſis*;) and if the Hills continued in their Antidiluvian State, I do not ſee how ſo many Millions of Shells, Teeth, and other Bones of Sea-Animals, together with ſuch Numbers of Antidiluvian Vegetables, could poſſibly be buried ſo deep in the Entrails of our Planet, fortified and encompaſſed with Arches of metallick Mines and Quarries. If the Ocean did overflow the whole Globe (againſt which many Batteries have been raiſed by the greateſt Scholars of this Iſland, *Iſaac Voſſius*, and the preſent learned Biſhop of *Worceſter*) and brought along with it many marine Bodies out of their natural Site or Beds; then 'tis probable, that the ſame fluid Principle, or Maſs, might have rolled them back again from whence it had driven them; for the Sea is ſaid to return to its

Primæval Channel immediately after the Work was over, ſo it might have carried them back again, as eaſily as it rouz'd them at firſt from their native Depths, or marine Situations.

Sir *John Narborough*, in his Voyage to *Chili*, obſerv'd in ſeveral Cliffs and Hills on the Coaſts of *Patagonia*, Lumps of Oyſter-Shells buried up and down at Land; yet he could never find any Oyſters in thoſe Seas, though he had ſounded moſt of the Ports of *Southern America*. Every Body knows that this Shell-Fiſh always breeds near the Shores; ſo that flying to the Deep can be no Subterfuge here.

In *Europe* many Shell-ſtones, or Foſſil Shells, as alſo ſubterraneous Vegetables are found, which are not to be match'd either at Sea or Land; to fancy them in dark and remote Parts of the Ocean, ſeems but a weak Evaſion, and becauſe ſome may be ſampled at Sea, therefore all muſt come from thence, is not a very ſound Concluſion.

Several Authors have attempted to prove the Strata, or Layers of our Globe, to proceed from the ſeveral Sediments of the univerſal Deluge; and that the *Lapis Judaicus*, the Aſtroites, or Star-Stone Columns (of which there are ſome of enormous Dimenſions) the Bufonites, or Toadſtone, the *Gloſſopetræ*, and *Cornua Ammonis* (though nothing like it at Sea) are really the Teeth, Spines, Bones, and other Parts of Sea-Animals, left behind in the Bowels of the Earth by the general Flood. But, I think, all theſe ingenious Writers have ſtronger Fancies than Judgments, and a meaner Opinion of the Invention, Art, and Power of Nature, than ſhe deſerves; for any common Obſerver muſt find her to vary and ſport in nothing ſo much as in the Figures, Textures, Shootings, and Growths of Foſſils.

The common Problem, that a Solid included within a Solid, muſt of Neceſſity pre-exiſt before the external or including Solid, is notoriouſly falſe, from the daily Generation of new Solids and new Animals (as ferrugineous and teſtaceous Stones, as alſo various Inſects) within the ſolid Parts of ſeveral Bodies: Neither doth this neceſſarily induce any fortuitous or æquivocal Generation, though the latter may, perhaps, ſometimes be brought about in the imperfect Kinds of Animals, by the ſame Power that intends over, and governs the univocal Generation of Inſects; for that powerful Principle is not limitted to one ſingle plaſtick Method, ſeeing Matter is capable of all Forms.

Jovis Omnia plena.

A Col-

A Collection of Advertiſements, Advices, *and* Directions *relating to the* ROYAL FISHERY *within the* Britiſh *Seas*, &c. *tranſcribed out of divers* Engliſh *Writers, Obſervators, and other Experimenters, of and in the ſaid Fiſhery-Trade, and by Approbation and Allowance of the Company of the* Royal Fiſhery *of* England.

Publiſhed in order to the inciting the People of theſe Nations, &c. *to improve the Advantages thereof, under the Countenance and Encouragements granted to the ſaid* Company *and their Succeſſors, by his late Majeſty King* CHARLES II. *in Letters-Patents, bearing Date the Twenty-fifth Day of* September, *in the Twenty-ninth Year of his ſaid Majeſty's Reign.* 1695.

THE Fiſhery-Trade has been the Subject of many Diſcourſes. Some have attempted the Thing amongſt us, but ſo, as if they had either not duly reckoned up the Coſt, Charge, and Hazard of it, or thought they might make it their Recreation, or a mere Matter of Notion and Contemplation; yea, Admiration, (as indeed it is) rather than their ſerious and diligent Employ; and ſo applying to it, it has thriven with them accordingly.

The Wiſdom of this Nation in Parliament has provided for it, by many good Laws, for encouraging and regulating Undertakers therein; that it might be to the Nation's Advantage, and have Continuance. Our Statute-Books are full of them in the Reigns of ſeveral of our Princes, Kings and Queens; and many Proclamations have been iſſued touching the ſame.

It has alſo been the Care of ſome of our Princes, to aſſert and challenge their ſingular Intereſt in, and ſole Right and Title to the Fiſhery of the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Seas; which our Neighbours have ſome Time allowed and paid, and do ſtill pay our Royal Navy the Reſpect of their Flag for; and till of late, accepted yearly Licenſes for their partaking with us in.

There are Precedents enough, and ſome of no mean Quality and Eſteem for Learning and Experience, who have highly provoked the Ingenuity of ſuch an Undertaking; ſome of our own Countrymen, who have met with it in their Travels, and reported the Fame of it; others of our Neighbours, who have practicably and profitably applied themſelves, and ſtirred up their Brethren to all Diligence and Heed therein, that it might be retained as a rich golden

golden Mine amongſt themſelves, and their Gains convince all Gainſayers that it has been ſo to them.

But theſe Things may be waved; there are Fiſh enough for us all, and it may not be convenient in this Publication to meddle with the politick Part of this Affair, farther than by glancing upon ſuch Particulars as lay in common to the publick and private Advantages thereof.

This Collection, therefore, is intended principally to be confined to ſuch Conſiderations as may incite the People of theſe Kingdoms, *&c.* to improve a Share thereof to their own Advantage, by engaging in a Joint-Stock for carrying on the ſame; to be raiſed, in Way and Manner as is propoſed, by the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*.

In order whereunto, two Things are offered to Conſideration by theſe Collections.

The firſt is, *A Narrative of what Attempts have been made, under what Encouragements, with what Stocks, and how the Undertakers have ſucceeded; to the Intent that all may be truly informed and cautioned.*

The next is, *How all Miſcarriages therein may be remedied and amended; and whence we may ground our Confidence, that in a due Management thereof, as is propoſed, we cannot miſs a deſired Effect*, Favente Deo.

For the Firſt, viz.

The late Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Courteen*, Sir *John Harriſon*, and Sir *Paul Pindar*, in or about the Year 1633, became an Aſſociation, *&c.* and for their Encouragement therein, his then Majeſty, King *Charles* the Firſt,

I. Cauſed *Lent* to be obſerved.
II. Prohibited foreign Fiſh to be imported.
III. Took his naval Supplies from the then Adventurers in that Fiſhing-Trade.

Afterwards, *viz.* in or about the Year 1654, Sir *Phineas Andrews*, &c. proceeding on the Fiſhery-Trade, for his Encouragement it was provided,

I. That Salt ſpent in the Fiſhery-Trade was exempted from Cuſtoms and Exciſe.
II. Collections were granted and made in *London*, and other Places, for building of Docks, Wharfs, Store-houſes, and renting of Ground, for the making, tanning, drying, and mending Nets.
III. Alſo Exemption from Cuſtom and Exciſe of all naval Neceſſaries, as Timber, Cordage, *&c.* uſed on ſuch Occaſions.

After

After him, *viz.* in or about the Year 1660, the ſaid Fiſhery was undertaken by *Simon Smith*, Eſq; for whoſe Encouragement was granted,

I. All the before-mentioned Advantages. And,
II. That all Commodities, returned for the Produce of Fiſh, were allow'd to be imported Cuſtom free.

Upon the Reſtauration of his late Majeſty, King *Charles* the Second, by Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the Twenty-ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, his ſaid Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute his Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, and other Perſons of Honour and Wiſdom, to be a Council of the Royal Fiſhery of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; of which his ſaid Majeſty was pleaſed to declare,

I. That himſelf and his Succeſſors would vouchſafe ever to be, and to be called, Protectors, *&c.*
II. The ſaid Council were authorized thereby to make Laws and Statutes relating to the Management of the ſaid Affair, and Government of all their Officers, *&c.*
III. To conſtitute and depute Officers neceſſary for their Service.
IV. To enjoin pecuniary Mulcts, or Pains of Impriſonment, on Contemners and Violaters of the ſaid Laws, *&c.* being not derogatory to the Statutes, Laws, Liberties, or Acts of Parliament.
V. Their Fiſhermen, Mariners, Maſters, and Servants were to be free from all Pleas or Plaints in any Courts of Juſtice, for any thing concerning the Fiſhery, *&c.* except before the ſaid Council or Judges, to be by them delegated, *&c.*
VI. Their Fiſhermen, nor Boats, *&c.* (whether at Sea or in Port) were to be arreſted or impreſſed for his Majeſty's Service or Affairs, without the Conſent of their Owners.
VII. Nor put in Aſſizes, Juries, Inquiſitions, *&c.* nor made Collectors, nor compelled to be Conſtables, or Tithing-men, againſt their Wills.
VIII. The ſaid Council were authorized to ſet up a Lottery for three Years, and to appoint a free Collection in Churches, for raiſing of Monies to be employed for erecting Wharfs, Docks, Store-houſes, and Granaries, about the River of *Thames*, and all Ports convenient for that Purpoſe.
IX. That for the Space of ſeven Years, from their firſt Entrance upon the Fiſhing-trade, no Cuſtoms, inward or outward, were to be paid for the Sale of Fiſh, either in the *Baltick* Seas, *Denmark*, *Norway*, or *France*.
X. That they might freely vend their Fiſh in foreign Parts, and make Returns thereof in the Commodities of the Place, without Interruption, by Virtue of any Power or Charter whatſoever to the contrary.
XI. That all Victuallers, Inns, Ale-houſes, Taverns, Coffee-houſes, and the like, ſhould take one, two, three, four, or more Barrels of Herrings yearly,

yearly, at the Price of thirty Shillings *per* Barrel, until foreign Vent ſhould be attained to Perfection, according as the ſaid Council ſhould order the ſame.

XII. That all Barrels of Pickled Herrings and Cod-fiſh, that ſhould be brought into *England* by the *Flemmings*, or others, ſhould pay two Shillings and Six-pence *per* Barrel to the Stock of that Place or Port where they ſhall vend the ſame.

XIII. That in caſe of Breach of Peace with any foreign Nation, his Majeſty did promiſe and grant the ſaid Fiſhery ſhould be protected in their Fiſhing-grounds, and ſhould have Convoys for their Exportation of Fiſh.

XIV. That all other Privileges and Immunities ſhould be granted unto them, in future, as Experience ſhould diſcover, for the better carrying on of this Buſineſs of the Royal Fiſhing, *&c.* But, according to the Proverb, *They had other Fiſh to fry.*

All which notwithſtanding, and that an Affair of ſuch a national Concern might be the better promoted; and at, and upon the Advice and Requeſt of the ſaid Council, for incorporating a Company; in order thereunto, his ſaid late Majeſty King *Charles* II. was pleaſed, by his Letters-Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the 25th Day of *September*, in the 29th Year of his Reign, (*viz.* about ſixteen Years after, during which Time little or nothing had been done) to conſtitute his ſaid Royal Highneſs *James* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, (now Duke of *Leeds*) and ſeveral other Perſons of Honour, and others therein named: And ſuch others, as therein after, from Time to Time, ſhould be admitted into their Company and Society, to be Traders and Adventurers with them; to be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of *the Company of The Royal Fiſhery of* England, to have perpetual Succeſſion, *&c.* Thereby alſo giving and granting unto the ſaid Company and their Succeſſors, divers beneficial Clauſes, Grants, Powers, Privileges, and Immunities, in order to the better Government of the ſaid Company, and Management of their Affairs; an Abſtract whereof here followeth, *viz.*

I. To purchaſe Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments; and to diſpoſe thereof, to the Value of one thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

II. To have and uſe a Common Seal, in and for all Cauſes and Buſineſſes of the ſaid Company.

III. To aſſemble and meet together, for carrying on their Affairs. And particularly,

IV. To elect and appoint a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees yearly, for a Court of Aſſiſtants; who, (or any three or more of them, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, to be always one) are thereby authoriſed to act in all Things according to ſuch Rules, Orders, and Directions, as ſhould from Time to Time be made and given unto them, by the General Court: And for Want of ſuch Orders, Rules, and Directions, to manage, govern, direct, and do, what they ſhould judge neceſſary

neceſſary and expedient, to the well-ordering and Government of the ſaid Company, and the Improvement of their Joint-Stock and Trade, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſame were done at, and by a General Court of the ſaid Company.

V. That the ſaid Court of Aſſiſtants, or any ſeven or more of them, as aforeſaid, as often as they ſhall find Occaſion, may ſummon a General Court.

VI. That no Aſſembly, or Meeting of the ſaid Company, ſhall be deemed a General Court, unleſs the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, ſix of the ſaid Committees, and five other Members of the Company, at leaſt, be preſent.

VII. That ſuch General Court may admit other Perſons to be Members, and may increaſe, contract, or divide their Joint-Stock, as they ſhall think fit; and the Members thereof may grant, transfer, and aſſign their reſpective Stocks, as is therein mentioned.

VIII. That ſuch General Court may ordain and eſtabliſh ſuch Laws, Ordinances, Orders, and Conſtitutions, as to them ſhall ſeem convenient, for the Government of the Company and their Affairs: And may impoſe and ſet Mulcts and Amerciaments upon the Breakers of ſuch Laws: Or may remit, pardon, or releaſe the ſame, upon the Parties Submiſſion. And, upon Conviction of any Miſdemeanor, may remove Offenders, and chuſe others.

IX. That they may fiſh in, and upon all the Coaſts, Creeks, Inlets, Eſtuaries, Rivers, Lakes, and Arms of the Sea belonging to his Majeſty's Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, or any of them; or any other of his Majeſty's Dominions, whereof the Fiſhings are not already granted, appropriated, or belonging to ſome particular or private Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate. And likewiſe, in and upon the main Sea, or any Part thereof: And have free and full Liberty to carry and tranſport their Fiſh, and Oil made of Fiſh, to all Ports, Places, and Markets, both in *England* and beyond the Seas; and to ſell the ſame for ready Monies, or Commodities.

X. That they may erect Store-houſes, Granaries, Ware-houſes, Work-houſes: And may build and make Wharfs and Docks in and upon any of his Majeſty's Waſtes, Commons, or Waſte-grounds adjoining unto, or upon any publick Rivers or Seas, within any his Majeſty's Dominions, without paying, or rendering any Rent or Duty to his Majeſty for the ſame.

XI. That neither their Maſters, Skippers, Steers-men, Ship's-Crews, Mariners, Fiſhermen, nor others employed by the Company in their Fiſhings, whether Foreigners or Natives, ſhall be impannell'd, ſworn, or compelled to ſerve on any Juries, or Inqueſts at *Weſtminſter*, the Aſſizes, Seſſions, or elſewhere.

XII. They have alſo granted unto them the yearly Sum of twenty Pounds for each and every Dogger which they had, and which, within ſeven Years, they ſhould build in *England*, or any other his Majeſty's Dominions; the ſame to be paid Quarterly out of the Cuſtoms within the Port of *London*, without further Warrant or Directions from his Majeſty. Alſo, all and ſin-

gular Privileges in the City of *London*, as fully and freely as any Company of Merchants, eſtabliſhed by Letters-Patents, or Charters, do, or may have, uſe, or enjoy.

XIII. That all and ſingular Admiral, Vice-Admirals, General, Commanders, Captains, Mayors, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Cuſtom-houſe Officers, and all other Officers, Miniſters, Liege People and Subjects of his Majeſty's whatſoever, ſhall be, in and by all Things, aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid Company, and their Succeſſors, their Factors, Agents, and Servants, in the Execution and Enjoyment of the Premiſſes, as well on Land as by Sea, whenſoever they ſhall be thereunto deſired: As they tender his Majeſty's Good-will and Pleaſure, and will anſwer the contrary at their Peril, *&c.* As in and by the ſaid Letters-Patents, Relation being thereunto had for the better Certainty thereof, may more fully and at large appear.

The Company being thus eſtabliſhed, divers particular Members thereof advanced and paid in, as a Stock, at firſt, ten thouſand, nine hundred and eighty Pounds: And, after that, about ſixteen hundred Pounds more; which was laid out in buying, equipping, and ſetting forth ſeveral Fiſhing Veſſels, *&c.* and employing of them in proſecuting the ſaid Fiſhery Affairs: But that Undertaking was rendered ineffectual, and their ſaid ſmall Stock ſoon exhauſted and conſumed, not by any thing ariſing from the Nature of the Thing itſelf (as was apparent by the Experience the ſaid Company had, in having taken and imported in one of their Doggers, in a Voyage of but three Weeks) thirty-two thouſand Cods, and proportionably thereunto, in ſeveral other of their Veſſels; and by the Advantage ordinarily made of the like Undertaking by our Neighbours, (which ſhall be demonſtrated by ſome Narrative thereof, with particular Enumeration of their ordinary Succeſſes in what follows) but by that ill Juncture of Affairs, wherein the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* were engaged in War with the *French*, who ſeized the Veſſels and Goods of the Company, as *Dutch*, being ſome, or moſt of them *Dutch*-built and manned; and principally, becauſe the Stock was not ſufficient to ſupport ſo great an Undertaking, in Caſe of any Miſadventure.

And the Company conſiſting then principally of the honourable Perſons nominated and incorporated by the Letters-Patents before recited; and they having alſo received in, admitted, and ſworn ſeveral other Perſons as Members thereof; they, looking into the Affairs of the Company, and finding them to be in Debt, upon the Accounts aforeſaid, and not likely to get out, but by a further Subſcription and Advance of Monies, as well for clearing off the ſaid Debts, as for promoting and carrying on the ſaid Trade in future, propoſed the ſame might be done by a new Subſcription of the then Members of the Company, to the Value of thirty thouſand Pounds, or twenty thouſand Pounds at leaſt. Which was accordingly agreed unto by the General Court, *&c.* Towards which, eleven of the Members of the ſaid Company only, (*viz.* of ſuch of them as had been added to the Company, as aforeſaid) began the Advance for paying off the Debts, and alſo gave Bonds of 1000 *l.* each, as

was

was agreed on, for paying off 500 *l.* a-piece to the Treaſurer of the Company, towards a Stock for entering thereupon, *de Novo*, expecting the Patentees would have done the like, which was declined. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral Meetings both of the Company in general, and of the Court of Aſſiſtants of the ſaid Company, were appointed to conſider how it might be done by other Perſons; and to receive Propoſals from any Perſons for that Purpoſe, and to report the ſame, with their Opinions, and ſuch Articles of Agreement touching the ſame, as they ſhould judge might be moſt for the Advantage of the Company, and promoting the ſaid Trade: Which, after ſeveral Meetings and Reports made of their Proceedings to the ſaid Company at their General Court, produced a Draught of a certain Deed, entitled, *Articles of Agreement between the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of* England *of the one Part, and* Sir Edward Abney, *Knight*, &c. *of the other Part*; which were agreed unto, and ordered to be ingroſſed, in order to the perfecting and confirming the ſame, under the Seal of the ſaid Company; which was accordingly done on the ſecond Day of *April*, 1683. Which, foraſmuch as the clearing the Right and Title of the preſent Members of the Company, (excluſive of the ſaid Patentees) may be of Uſe for the obviating of any Pretence of Objection, againſt the ſame: The Collector hath thought it convenient to inſert the Abſtract thereof, under the Heads, or ſeveral Sections following, *viz.*

I. There is expreſs Mention and Recital of the Names of all the original Patentees, and of their being incorporated by the ſaid Letters-Patents, for the carrying on the ſaid Affairs, by them and their Succeſſors for ever, *&c.*

II. There is, in like Manner, a Recital of the Names of ſuch of the ſaid Patentees as were then deceaſed; and, as had aſſigned and transferred their Intereſts to any others, and particularly to whom.

III. That, upon Conſideration of the ill State of their Affairs, and the Debts they had contracted in the Management thereof, they did order their whole remaining Stock ſhould be ſold for Payment of their Debts, which was accordingly done, *&c.*

IV. Notice is taken, [and Mention made thereof, *viz.*] that the Trade and Being of the ſaid Company might have then determined with their Stock, if ſome Perſons therein named, upon Propoſals made for entering upon a new Undertaking and Stock, for reviving and carrying on thereof, had not aſſiſted, by raiſing a new Stock of 2600 *l.* which was alſo conſumed and ſpent, *&c.*

V. That the ſaid Company, at a General Court held the 8th of *March*, 1682, declared it was neceſſary for the carrying on the ſaid Trade, that a Stock of 30,000 *l.* or at leaſt of 20,000 *l.* ſhould be raiſed with all convenient Speed: And that all and every of the then living Members of the ſaid Company, ſhould, at or before the 26th Day of the ſaid Month of *March*, ſubſcribe, and firmly oblige himſelf in a Bond of 1000 *l.* to *John Collins*, Secretary to the ſaid Company, to advance and pay 500 *l.* to *Richard Hawkins*, Eſq; their then Treaſurer, for their Adventures in the Stock of the ſaid Company, in Time and Manner therein ſet forth: And that every Perſon failing to make

ſuch Subſcription, Bond, and Payment, ſhould forfeit 3 *l. per Cent. per Menſem*, until he ſhould comply therewith.

VI. For the Encouragement of Perſons to become Adventurers in the Stock, and promote the Concern, in the Room of ſuch as ſhould not ſubſcribe, *&c.* it was ordered, that any five of the Court of Aſſiſtants, *&c.* ſhould receive any Propoſals that might be advantageous to the Company: As alſo, to treat, contract, and agree with the Propoſals thereof, for their being admitted into, and incorporated with the ſaid Company: And to prepare and perfect Articles of Agreement, touching ſuch Propoſals as they ſhould judge might be advantageous to the Company; to be confirmed by ſome legal Inſtrument in Writing, under the Seal of the Company.

VII. Notice is taken, that eleven Perſons, and no more, of the then Members of the ſaid Company had, in Purſuance of the Order afore-mentioned, ſubſcribed to advance their ſaid reſpective Shares, *&c.* and that the ſame, if brought in, would not be ſufficient for the carrying on the ſaid Trade, *&c.*

VIII. It recites alſo, that Sir *Edward Abney*, Knight, and others joined with him, being willing, as Members, to advance and bring in a farther Stock, *&c.* had made certain Propoſals in Purſuance of the before-mentioned Order of the 12th of *March*, for the erecting and eſtabliſhing a Bank of Credit, *&c.* in the ſaid Company, *&c.* which might have been uſeful to their Affair.

IX. Alſo, that the Committees appointed by the Company on the 28th of *March*, 1683, after ſeveral Debates and Alterations made of the Propoſals, had come to an Agreement with the ſaid Sir *Edward Abney*, &c. and that they propoſed, reported, and offered it as their Opinion, that the ſaid Articles of Agreement, ſo altered and amended, ſhould be ratified and confirmed at a General Court of the ſaid Company, under the Seal of the ſaid Company; which was accordingly done the ſecond of *April*, 1683, in the Particulars following, (among others) *viz.*

I. That the Perſons, whoſe Names are therein recited, and ſuch others as they ſhould nominate, not exceeding together with themſelves) in the Whole, the Number of 22 Perſons. And alſo, that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Abney*, *&c.* (therein alſo particularly recited) and ſuch others as ſhall be joined as Governors, or Maſters of the Bank, not exceeding (together with themſelves) the Number of 23 Perſons more; and no other, or greater Number, than 45 Perſons in the Whole, ſhall be, by the ſaid Perſons, reſpectively ſo named, choſen, admitted, or allowed to be of the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*. But, in caſe one or more of the late Members of the Company, who have not ſubſcribed, *&c.* or ſhall not pay, *&c.* as aforeſaid, ſhall, at any Time, or Times hereafter, be admitted, or allowed to be, or to act, or ſhall act as a Member or Members of the ſaid Company, whereby the Number of the ſaid Company ſhall exceed forty-five Perſons in the Whole, that then the ſaid Sir *Edward Abney*, &c. and ſuch others as ſhall be joined unto them, as the Governors or Maſters of the ſaid Bank, or the major Part of them, ſhall have Liberty to nominate the like Number of Perſons, in Balance of ſuch additional Number; and that they ſhall be admitted into the Company to ſuch further Number.

II. That

II. That the ſaid whole Company ſhall be reduced, as ſoon as may be, to the ſaid Number of forty-five Perſons, or fewer, but not under twenty-eight Perſons: And that in order thereunto, no Perſon or Perſons, former Members of the ſaid Company, who have failed to ſubſcribe, and ſecure his Proportion, ſhall, for the future, act, or vote in any of the Affairs of the ſaid Company, without the Conſent of at leaſt two Thirds of the ſaid Company.

III. That the ſaid Company, or ſuch Number or Committees of them, as according to the ſaid Letters-Patents, and theſe Articles of Agreement, ſhall be from Time to Time choſen in, may, to all Intents and Purpoſes, act, in all Matters and Things whatſoever, relating to the Fiſhery Trade, as if they and every of them, had been by Name expreſſed in and by the ſaid Letters-Patents: And that no other, or further Number of Perſons, ſhall be at any Time admitted to act, or vote as Members of the ſaid Company, without the Conſent of at leaſt three fourth Parts of the ſaid whole Number of the ſaid Company and their Succeſſors, in a General Court of the ſaid Company, ſummoned for that Purpoſe; and meeting in ſuch Manner and Place as is therein after agreed, *&c.*

IV. That the Bank of Credit, and Governors, or Maſters thereof, ſhall receive, and be capable of all Powers, Privileges, and Securities whatſoever, which the ſame is, or can, by Counſel learned in the Law, be made capable of receiving, and taking of, in or by reaſon of the ſaid Corporation, or Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, and their Charter of Incorporation, without Prejudice to the Royal Fiſhery Trade.

V. That whatſoever ſhall be concluded and agreed upon by the Committees of the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, agreeable to the Orders and Directions of a General Court, *&c.* ſhall be binding in what concerns the Royal Fiſhery Trade only: And that whatſoever ſhall be concluded, agreed, and acted by the Governors, Maſters, and chief Managers of the Bank, or any three or more of them, only ſhall be binding in what concerns the Affairs of the Bank: And that all ſhall be deemed the Acts of the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, and have Allowance, Grants, and Confirmations under the Seal thereof, where they ſhall reſpectively propoſe and deſire, or order the ſame.

VI. That before any Perſon be admitted to be a Member of the ſaid Company, he ſhall oblige himſelf to obſerve, abide by, ratify, and confirm theſe preſent Articles of Agreement, and whatſoever ſhall be done in Purſuance thereof, *&c.* as by the ſaid Articles of Agreement, Relation being thereunto had, for the better Certainty thereof, may more fully and at large appear.

So then, 'tis evident, that the preſent Members of the Company, conſiſting of the Perſons particularly named and expreſt in the ſaid Articles, for carrying on and Manangement of the Trade and Affairs of the ſaid Royal Fiſhery, and ſuch others as by them have been ſince taken in, and added, as Members, Traders, or Adventurers with them, are the legal and rightful Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, excluſive of the ſaid Patentees. And that their Proceedings thereupon, and all Acts, Orders, Conſtitutions, Laws, and Rules by them made, for the Government and Management of their Affairs;

and

and in order to the raiſing a New Stock for that Purpoſe, are unqueſtionable, and without the leaſt Pretence of Irregularity or Prejudice to any Perſons formerly concerned therein.

Since when, the Proſecution of the Affairs and Trade of the ſaid Company hath been under the Care and Management of the ſaid Perſons, who have been endeavouring the ſetting up the ſame by new Subſcriptions, deſigned and agreed by them, to the Value of ſixty thouſand Pounds, *&c.* But by Reaſon of the Death of his ſaid late Majeſty King *Charles* II. and the Troubles enſuing, *&c.* the ſame was thought fit to be ſuſpended for ſome further Time.

And the Company, about three Years ſince, (conceiving it might be ſeaſonably undertaken) aſſembled for putting their ſaid former Deſign in Execution: And finding Encouragement, from the Readineſs of divers Perſons to join therein, upon ſeveral Propoſals for a Subſcription, ſuch as, in Caſe of like Loſſes of ſome few Veſſels, the ſaid Affair might, notwithſtanding, be carried on, without the Diſcouragement of being to ſeek of a Stock ready; they have been ever ſince waiting for a fitting Seaſon, wherein they might humbly addreſs themſelves to his Majeſty, and both the honourable Houſes of Parliament, (without Interruption of the great Affair of providing for, and carrying on the War) for their encouraging this Undertaking. And,

In the Interim, that no farther Time may be loſt in Preparations for this Undertaking, (which the Parliament, by their Act paſt in *Anno* 13, *&* 14. *Car.* II. *Cap.* 28. have declared, the Publick Honour, Wealth, and Safety of this Realm, as well in the Maintenance of Trade, and Support of Navagation, as in many other Reſpects, doth in an high Degree depend upon the Improvement of the Fiſhery) the Company have ſpent their Time, and taken much Pains, and been at conſiderable Coſts and Charges, in and about the conſulting, Conſideration, and Preparation of ſuch a Conſtitution, Laws, and Rules for Management and governing of their ſaid Affairs; and framing ſuch Articles, Terms, or Conditions for admitting Perſons into the ſaid Company, to be Members, Traders, and Adventurers with them therein, as, by diſcourſing others, they hope will be ſufficiently encouraging to Subſcriptions, for the raiſing ſuch Stock for that Purpoſe. And, whereby his Majeſty and the Parliament may be the better ſatisfied; that Perſons of Honour, Intereſt, Eſtates, and publick Spirits, yea the whole Nation are, and may reaſonably be imagined, will think themſelves concerned, jointly to become engaged to carry on, and ſtand by the ſame, as far as the Nature of ſuch an Affair will admit. And,

In order thereunto, the Company have thought fit to cauſe, as well the ſaid Letters-Patents, as the ſaid Conſtitution and Terms of Subſcription, to be fairly engroſſed at large, in Books to be expoſed for Subſcriptions of a preſent Stock of three hundred thouſand Pounds, or of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds (at leaſt) to begin withal, payable at ten Quarterly Payments, in equal Proportions, (which makes the raiſing of it very eaſy) the Time and Place of which Subſcriptions will be ſeaſonably advertized, in order

Order to theſe Books being peruſed, and conſidered by ſuch as ſhall think fit to reſort thereto for their Information. And,

For as much as all Perſons, (eſpecially ſuch as live remote) may not have the Conveniency of their Peruſal, and that the Affair may become as National and comprehenſive of all, as may be (which is the Deſign and Deſire of the Company) and none have Cauſe to think themſelves neglected, precluded, or ſurprized thereby; the Collector of this Treatiſe hath thought it very conducing to the haſtening of ſuch Subſcriptions, to cauſe, as well the Abſtracts of the ſaid Conſtitution, and Terms of Subſcription, as of the ſaid Letters-Patents, to be printed and publiſhed in theſe Collections; to the End all Perſons into whoſe Hands this ſhall come, may have the Contents thereof before them, and may apply themſelves to make ſuch Subſcriptions as they ſhall think fit; wherein they are to be advertized, as they are hereby, that the Subſcribers of the firſt one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds of the ſaid Stock, will (for their Encouragement) have three *per Cent.* allowed them, to be diſcounted out of their three firſt Quarterly Payments; which is conſiderable. Wherefore,

Take next the Abſtract of the ſaid Conſtitution, entitled, *A Conſtitution, Model, or Frame and Method, for Government and managing of the Trade and Affairs of the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of* England: As alſo of ſome Rules and Laws, neceſſary to be obſerved by the Perſons concerned in the Improvement of the Stock, *&c.* viz.

I. That the chief Government of the Company ſhall be in, and conſiſt of a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees, (whereof four to be called Directors, and eight Maſters) and alſo of fifteen Aſſiſtants, *viz.* to each of them one. Alſo, eight Wardens, and twenty-five Commiſſioners, or Agents for *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and as many more of the other Members of the Company, as ſhall from Time to Time be agreed to be admitted; who, or any fifteen or more of them, together with the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor, and their reſpective Aſſiſtants, or one of them to be preſent, five or more of the Committees, five or more of the Aſſiſtants, and five or more of the other Members of the Company, are to have the chief Power of making Laws, and ordering the whole Affairs of the Company, in their General Court.

II. That the Court of Aſſiſtants conſiſt of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, the twelve Committees, and their fifteen Aſſiſtants; who, or any ſeven, or more of them, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, or their reſpective Aſſiſtants, or one of them, to be always one. Three of the ſaid Committees, and three of the ſaid Aſſiſtants, are to have the chief directing and managing of the Affairs of the Company; and to act in all Things, according to ſuch Rules, Orders, and Directions, as ſhall from Time to Time be made and given by the ſaid General Court; and for Want of ſuch, may do and execute all Things, that they ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient, as the General Court may, *&c.*

III.

III. That for the more diſtinct and regular Management of the ſaid Affairs, the ſaid Court of Aſſiſtants are divided into four Chambers, *viz.*

1. The Fiſhery Chamber.
2. The Stock or Store Chamber.
3. The Treaſury or Caſh Chamber.
4. The Accompt Chamber.

Each of which is to conſiſt of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and their reſpective Aſſiſtants, or one of them; one Director and his Aſſiſtants; two Maſters and their Aſſiſtants, and two Wardens; who, or any three or more of them, to be a *Quorum*, are to act and execute by Rules and Inſtructions to be given to them under the Seal of the Company, and not otherwiſe, in their ſeveral and reſpective Chambers.

IV. That there be twenty-eight other Members of the Company, who ſhall be called Agents, or Officers, and be employed in the ſaid reſpective four Chambers, as they ſhall be directed by the Court of Aſſiſtants.

V. That the Nomination and Election of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees, ſhall be in, and by the General Court yearly; ſave that, not above five of them ſhall be removed in any one Year, but for juſt Cauſes expreſt, *&c.* The eight Wardens, and other Agents, Officers, or Commiſſioners for *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to be nominated by the Court of Aſſiſtants, or ſixteen of them.

VI. That within twenty Days after Publication of Subſcriptions of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, a General Court ſhall be called, for electing a Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, and four Committes, by the new Subſcribers: And afterwards, Elections to be made on the thirtieth Day of *November* yearly, wherein not above five Committees to be removed, as aforeſaid.

VII. The Articles, Terms, or Conditions, touching the admitting of Perſons into the Company, *&c.* are confirmed, as a Part of the Conſtitution, inviolably to be obſerved.

VIII. That all Subſcribers, who ſhall not be choſen for Managers, *&c.* ſhall be denominated as Traders or Adventurers: And their reſpective Shares, both as to Profit and Loſs, yearly ſtated and determined, as other the Stock of the Company.

IX. That no Member of the Company, after the thirtieth Day of *November* next, after Subſcriptions are notified to be compleated, ſhall have any Vote in Elections, or making Laws, *&c.* who ſhall not have ſubſcribed, or be otherwiſe entitled to five hundred Pounds. Nor any Perſon be admitted a Member of the Court of Aſſiſtants, who ſhall not have ſubſcribed, or be otherwiſe entitled to one thouſand Pounds.

X. One Tenth Part of the clear neat Profits is ſet apart for bearing the Charges of the Company, Court of Aſſiſtants, and four Chambers, *&c.* Alſo

to

to pay Salaries, *&c.* to the managing Members, Officers, and Servants. And the Diſtributions and Proportions of each are thereby ſettled, *&c.* So as that there ſhall be no Diminution of the Joint-Stock on any Account whatſoever.

XI. The Accounts of Profit and Loſs are to be yearly ſtated by the Officers in the Account-Chamber; each Year to end on the tenth of *June*; the Court of Aſſiſtants to examine and report the ſame to the General Court on the tenth of *September* following; nine of them to ſign the brief Account thereof; and each one Share of Profits to be divided amongſt the Perſons concerned.

XII. In Caſe of Loſs in any one Year, the Stock is to be made good out of the next, before any Dividend or Apportionment to Managers, Officers, *&c.* ſave that, Servants Salaries, of thirty Pounds *per Annum* and under, may be advanced and re-imburs'd out of the next Year's Profits; and in Caſe the Profits of any firſt Years ſhall not amount to one hundred Pounds each Share, the ſame ſhall alſo be made up out of the after-years Profits aſſigned for that Purpoſe.

XIII. Mentions in what Caſes Perſons may be diſmiſt their Offices and Employments: And that the General Court, or Court of Aſſiſtants Judgment ſhall be final for the Determination thereof.

XIV. Sets the Fines on ſuch as ſhall abſent themſelves from their Attendance, when ſummoned, or upon Adjournments, or for not attending ſo many Hours as ſhall be agreed upon; unleſs in caſe of corporal Illneſs, or Licence from their reſpective Chambers.

XV. Directs the Cuſtody of the larger Seal, Letters-Patents, Deeds and Evidences of Lands granted to the Company, to be kept under two Locks, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors to have the Key of the one, and their reſpective Aſſiſtants of the other. Alſo, that the Truſtees, and each Chamber, the Secretary, and their reſpective Commiſſioners or Agents for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to have one of the leſſer Seals, to be uſed by them reſpectively in the Company's Service.

XVI. If any Differences ariſe between the Members of the Court of Aſſiſtants or ſeveral Chambers, relating to the Company's Affairs, they are to be determined by the General Court, *&c.* And the Refuſers to ſubmit thereto, or to be diſmiſt their Offices and Employments.

XVII. The ſeven Truſtees are named and ſettled; and three of the other Aſſiſtants. The other five Aſſiſtants are to be elected by them, out of ſuch as ſhall become Subſcribers to the New-Stock of the Company. Their After-Nominations and Succeſſion is alſo agreed to be, by and amongſt themſelves, or the major Part of the whole fifteen Aſſiſtants.

XVIII. The Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Committees, Aſſiſtants, and all Subſcribers, before they be admitted into any Truſt or Office in the Company, are to declare their Approbation of, and acquieſcing in the Conſtitution, and all other Conſtitutions, Laws, and Rules of the Company; as is more at large therein expreſt.

Here alſo followeth the Abſtract of the before-mentioned Articles, Terms, or Conditions, upon which all and ſingular Perſons, of what Quality ſoever, within the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c. may be admitted into the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, or be Traders or Adventurers with them, *viz.*

I. That whoſoever ſhall ſubſcribe and pay in any Sum or Sums of Money, towards a Joint-Stock for carrying on the Trade of the Company, ſhall be admitted into the ſame, and have and receive all the Benefits and Advantages thereof; ſubject to the Conſtitution, Laws, and Rules of the Company, and theſe Articles, Terms, and Conditions, *&c.*

II. That the Sum deſigned to be at preſent ſubſcribed, be three hundred thouſand Pounds, whereof one hundred thouſand Pounds by the ſurviving Patentees, their Heirs and Aſſigns, and the other preſent Members of the Company; and two hundred thouſand Pounds more, by other Perſons. The ſame to be paid into the Treaſury of the ſaid Company, in Manner following; *viz.* The firſt tenth Part thereof to be paid within thirty Days, from and after Notice or Publication of the compleating the Subſcriptions of the ſaid three hundred thouſand Pounds, or of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds at leaſt, in Part thereof. One tenth Part more within three Months next after their reſpective firſt Payments: And the other remaining eight tenth Parts, by eight equal next ſucceſſive Quarterly Payments.

III. That one tenth Part of each Sum ſo ſubſcribed ſhall be appropriated to and for the Uſe and Diſpoſal of the Truſtees, and of ſuch Perſons as they ſhall judge have herertofore been, or may hereafter be uſeful for, or in promoting the Intereſt and Service of the Company, without Account. So as the ſame nevertheleſs ſhall be and remain in the Stock, for carrying on the Trade thereof. And the remaining nine Parts, to and for the ſole Uſe and Benefit of the reſpective Subſcribers, their Executors, Adminiſtrators, and Aſſigns.

IV. That whatſoever further Sums ſhall, at any Time hereafter, be thought fit by the Company to be ſubſcribed and paid in, for increaſing the ſaid Stock, ſhall be in like Manner ſubject to the Payment of the like tenth Part, *&c.* for and towards the Re-imburſement of the Subſcribers ſaid tenth Part of the ſaid firſt three hundred thouſand Pounds.

V. That whoſoever ſhall ſubſcribe, and pay in his firſt Payment, and ſhall not make his ſecond, or any After-Payments, by the reſpective Days or Times before limitted, ſhall forfeit his firſt Payment to the Uſe of the Company, and have Credit only for ſuch After-Payments as he ſhall make.

VI. That all Shares, or Sums amounting to fifty-Pounds, and Aſſignments thereof, ſhall be entered and regiſtered; and Certificates thereof exemplified under the Seal, be given for the ſame, to ſuch Perſons as ſhall deſire it.

VII. That no Perſon ſhall be hereafter admitted a Member of the Company, unleſs he ſhall, at the Time of his Subſcription, declare his Approbation of, and ſubmitting to theſe Articles, and engage himſelf to obſerve and keep the

ſame

ſame inviolably: And alſo all ſuch Conſtitutions, Laws, and Rules of the Company, as they have or ſhall make for the Management and Regulation of their Trade, purſuant to the Letters-Patents, and the preſent Conſtitution; as appears more at large therein.

And ſo much ſhall ſuffice for Anſwer of the firſt Particular propoſed to be conſidered by the Collector hereof, *viz. The Narrative of what Attempts have been made; under what Encouragements; with what Stocks and Succeſſes, both for Information and Caution.*

For the Second, *viz. How all Miſcarriages in the ſaid Fiſhery may be remedied and amended, and whence we may ground our Confidence, That in a due Management of the ſaid Affair for the future (as is propoſed by the ſaid Company) they cannot miſs of a deſired Effect upon their undertaking it*; the Collector hath thought fit to offer the Peruſal of a ſmall Treatiſe, entitled, *The Sovereignty of the* Britiſh *Seas*, proved by Records, Hiſtory, and the municipal Laws of this Kingdom. Written by Sir *John Burroughs*, Knight, in *Anno* 1633, and printed *Anno* 1651. Which being hard to be gotten, ſome few Pages thereof are thence tranſcribed; being ſo much as the Author thereof hath recommended under the Head or Title of, *The ineſtimable Riches and Commodities of the* Britiſh *Seas*; which are as followeth, *viz.*

I. The Coaſts of *Great Britain* do yield ſuch a continual Sea-Harveſt of Gain and Benefit to all thoſe that with Diligence do labour in the ſame, that no Time or Seaſon in the Year paſſeth without ſome apparent Means of profitable Employment, eſpecially to ſuch as apply themſelves to Fiſhing: Which, from the Beginning of the Year unto the latter End, continueth upon ſome Part or other of our Coaſts; and therein ſuch infinite Shoals and Multitudes of Fiſhes are offer'd to the Takers, as may juſtly move Admiration, not only to Strangers, but to thoſe that daily be employ'd among them.

II. The *Summer* Fiſhing for Herrings beginneth about *Midſummer*, and laſteth ſome Part of *Auguſt*. The *Winter* Fiſhing for Herrings laſteth from *September* to the Middle of *November*. Both which extend in Place from *Boughones* in *Scotland*, to the *Thames* Mouth.

III. The Fiſhing for Cod at *Alamby*, *Whirlington*, and *Whitehaven*, near the Coaſt of *Lancaſhire*, from *Eaſter* until *Whitſuntide*.

IV. The Fiſhing for Hake at *Aberdeen*, *Abveſwhich*, and other Places between *Wales* and *Ireland*, from *Witſuntide* to St. *James*'s-*tide*.

V. The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling about *Padſtow* within the Land, and of *Severn*, from *Chriſtmas* to *Mid-lent*.

VI. The Fiſhing for Cod on the Weſt Part of *Ireland* (frequented by thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Galicia*, and *Portugal*) from the Beginning of *April* until the End of *June*.

VII. The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling on the North and North-Eaſt of *Ireland*, from *Chriſtmas* until *Michaelmas*.

VIII. The Fiſhing for Pilchards on the Weſt Coaſt of *England*, from St. *James*'s-*tide* until *Michaelmas*.

IX. The Fiſhing for Cod and Ling upon the North-Eaſt of *England*, from *Eaſter* until *Midſummer*.

X. The Fiſhing for great Staple Ling, and many other Sorts of Fiſh lying about the Iſlands of *Scotland*, and in the ſeveral Parts of the *Britiſh* Seas, all the Year long.

XI. In *September*, not many Years ſince, upon the Coaſt of *Devonſhire*, near *Minigal*, five hundred Ton of Fiſh were taken in one Day; and about the ſame Time, three thouſand Pounds-worth of Fiſh, in one Day, were taken at St. *Ives* in *Cornwall*, by ſmall Boats, and other poor Proviſions.

XII. Our Five-Men-Boats and Cobbles, adventuring in a Calm to launch out among the *Holland* Buſſes, not far from *Robin-hood*'s Bay, returned to *Whitby* full fraught with Herrings; and reported, that they ſaw ſome of thoſe Buſſes take ten, twenty, twenty-four Laſts of Herrings at a Draught; and returned into their own Country with forty, fifty, and an hundred Laſts of Herrings in one Buſs.

XIII. Our Fleet of Colliers, not many Years ſince, returning from *Newcaſtle*, laden with Coals, about the Well near *Flamborough-Head* and *Scarborough*, met with ſuch Multitudes of Cods, Ling, and Herrings, that one among the reſt, with certain Sheep-hooks, and other like Inſtruments, drew up as much Cod and Ling, in a little Space of Time, as were ſold, well near, for as much as her whole Lading of Coals: And many Hundred of Ships might have been there laden in two Days and two Nights.

Out of which wonderful Affluence, and Abundance of Fiſh ſwarming in our Seas, that we may the better perceive the infinite Gain which foreign Nations make, I will eſpecially inſiſt upon the Fiſhing of the *Hollanders* in our Coaſts, and thereby ſhew how, by this Means, principally they have encreaſed.

I. *In Shipping.*
II. *In Mariners.*
III. *In Trade.*
IV. *In Towns and Fortifications.*
V. *In Power Externe or Abroad.*
VI. *In Publick Revenue.*
VII. *In Private Wealth.*
VIII. *In all Manner of Proviſions, and Store of Things neceſſary.*

Firſt, *Encreaſe of Shipping.*

Beſides ſeven hundred Strand-boats, four hundred Evars, and four hundred Sullits, Drivers, and Tod-boats, wherewith the *Hollanders* fiſh upon their own Coaſts; (every one of theſe employing another Ship to fetch Salt, and carry

carry their Fiſh into other Countries, being in all three thouſand Sail, maintaining and ſetting on work at leaſt forty thouſand Perſons, Fiſhers, Tradeſmen, Women, and Children;) they have one hundred Dogger-boats, of one hundred and fifty Tons apiece, or thereabouts: Seven hundred Pinks and Well-boats, from ſixty to one hundred Tons apiece, which altogether fiſh upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, for Cod and Ling only; and each of theſe employ another Veſſel for providing of Salt, and tranſporting of their Fiſh; making, in all, one thouſand ſix hundred Ships, which maintain and employ Perſons of all Sorts, forty thouſand at leaſt.

For the Herring Seaſon, they have ſixteen hundred Buſſes at the leaſt, all of them fiſhing only upon our Coaſts, from *Boughonnes* in *Scotland*, to the Mouth of the *Thames*: And every one of theſe maketh Work for three other Ships that attend her; the one to bring in Salt from foreign Parts; another to carry the ſaid Salt and Caſk to the Buſſes, and to bring back their Herrings; and the Third to tranſport the ſaid Fiſh into foreign Countries: So that the total Number of Ships and Buſſes, plying the Herring-fare, is ſix thouſand four hundred; whereby every Buſs, one with another, employeth forty Men, Mariners and Fiſhers, within her own Hold, and the reſt ten Men apiece, which amounteth to one hundred and twelve thouſand Fiſhers and Mariners; all which maintain double, if not treble ſo many Tradeſmen, Women, and Children at Land.

Moreover, they have four hundred other Veſſels, at leaſt, that take Herrings at *Yarmouth*, and there ſell them for ready Money: So that the *Hollanders* (beſides three thouſand Ships before-mentioned fiſhing upon our own Shores) have at leaſt four thouſand eight hundred Ships, only maintained by the Seas of *Great Britain*; by which Means principally, *Holland* (being not ſo big as one of our Shires of *England*, containing not above twenty-eight Miles in Length, and three in Breadth) have encreaſed the Number of their Shipping to at leaſt ten thouſand Sail; being more than are in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Ruſſia*; and to this Number they add every Day, although their Country itſelf affords them neither Materials, Victuals, nor Merchandize to be accounted of, towards their ſetting forth.

Secondly, *Encreaſe of Mariners.*

The Number of Ships fiſhing on our Coaſts being, as aforeſaid, eight thouſand four hundred; if we allow but twenty Perſons to every Ship, one with another, the Total of Mariners and Fiſhers amounteth to one hundred ſixty-eight thouſand; out of which Number they daily furniſh their longer Voyages to all Parts of the World: For, by this Means, they are not only enabled to brook the Seas, and to know the Uſe of the Tackles and Compaſs, but are likewiſe inſtructed in the Principles of Navigation and Pilotage; inſomuch as from hence their greateſt Navigators have their Education and Breeding.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Encreaſe of Trade.*

By reaſon of thoſe Multitudes of Ships and Mariners, they have extended their Trade to all Parts of the World; exporting, for the moſt Part, in all their Voyages, our Herrings, and other Fiſh, for the Maintenance of the ſame: In Exchange whereof they return the ſeveral Commodities of other Countries, *viz.*

From the Southern Parts, as *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; for our Herrings they return Oils, Wines, Prunes, Honey, Wools, *&c.* with Store of Coin in Specie.

From the *Streights*, Velvets, Sattins, and all Sorts of Silks, Alloms, Currans, Oils, and all Grocery-Wares, with much Money.

From the Eaſt Countries, for our Herrings, and other *French* and *Italian* Commodities before returned, they bring home Corn, Wax, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Soap-aſhes, Iron, Copper, Steel, Clap-board, Wainſcot, Timber, Deal-Boards, Dollars, and *Hungary* Gilders.

From *Germany*, for Herrings, and other Salt Fiſh, Iron, Steel, Glaſs, Mill-ſtones, *Rheniſh* Wines, Button-plate for Armour, with other Munition; Silks, Velvets, Raſhes, Fuſtians, Barratees, and ſuch-like *Franckfort* Commodities, with Store of Rix Dollars.

From *Brabant*, they return, for the moſt Part, ready Money, with ſome Tapeſtries and Hull-ſhop; yea, ſome of our Herrings are carried as far as *Brazil*.

And that which is more ſtrange, and greatly to our Shame, they have four hundred Ships with Fiſh, which our Men of *Yarmouth*, within *Kent*, almoſt at Land, do vent our Herrings amongſt us here in *England*; and make us pay for the Fiſh taken upon our own Coaſts, ready Money, wherewith they ſtore their own Country.

Fourthly, *Encreaſe of Towns and Forts.*

By this their large Extent of Trade, they are become, as it were, Citizens of the whole World, whereby they have ſo enlarg'd their Towns, that moſt of them within theſe four hundred Years, are full as great again as they were before. *Amſterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Middleborough*, having been lately twice enlarg'd, and their Streets and Buildings ſo fair and orderly ſet forth, that, for Beauty and Strength, they may compare with any other in the World; upon which they beſtow infinite Sums of Money, all originally flowing from the Bounty of the Sea: From whence, by their Labour and Induſtry, they derive the Beginning of all that Wealth and Greatneſs; and particularly, for the Havens of the aforeſaid Towns, whereof ſome of them coſt forty, fifty, or an hundred thouſand Pounds. Their Fortifications alſo, both for Number and Strength, upon which they have beſtow'd infinite Sums of Money, may compare with any other whatſoever.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *Encreaſe of Power Abroad.*

Such being then the Number of the Ships and Mariners, and ſo great their Trade, occaſion'd principally by their Fiſhing, they have not only ſtrengthned and fortified themſelves at Home, to repel all foreign Invaſion, (as lately in the War between them and *Spain*) but have likewiſe ſtretch'd their Power into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*; in many Places whereof, they are Lords of the Sea-Coaſts; and have likewiſe fortified upon the Main, where the Kings and People are at their Devotion: And, more than this, all neighbouring Princes, in their Differences, by reaſon of this their Power at Sea, are glad to have them of their Party; ſo that, next to the *Engliſh*, they are now become the moſt redoubted Nation at Sea, of any other whatſoever.

Sixthly, *Encreaſe of publick Revenue.*

Moreover, how mightily the publick Revenue and Cuſtoms of that State are encreaſed by their Fiſhing, may appear, in that, above thirty Years ſince, over and above the Cuſtoms of other Merchandize, Exciſes, Licences, Waſtage and Laſtage, there was paid to the States, for Cuſtom of Herrings, and other Salt Fiſh, above three hundred thouſand Pounds in one Year, beſides the tenth Fiſh and Caſk paid for Waſtage, which cometh, at the leaſt, to as much more, among the *Hollanders* only; whereto, the Tenth of other Nations being added, it amounteth to a far greater Sum.

We are likewiſe to know, that great Part of their Fiſh is ſold in other Countries for ready Money, for which they commonly export of the fineſt Gold and Silver; and, coming Home, recoin it of a baſer Allay, under their own Stamp, which is not a ſmall Means to augment the publick Treaſure.

Seventhly, *Encreaſe of private Wealth.*

As touching their private Wealth; if we conſider the abundant Store of Herrings, and other Fiſh by them taken, and the uſual Prices that they are ſold for; as alſo the Multitude of Tradeſmen and Artizans, that by reaſon of this their Fiſhing, are daily ſet on work, we muſt needs conclude, that the Gain thereof, made by private Men, muſt of Neceſſity be exceeding great; as by obſerving the Particulars following will plainly appear.

During the Wars between the King of *Spain* and the *Hollanders*, before the laſt Truce, *Dunkirk*, by taking, ſpoiling, and burning the Buſſes of *Holland*, and ſetting great Ranſom upon their Fiſhermen, inforced them to compound for great Sums, that they might fiſh quietly for one Year: Whereupon, the next Year after, the Fiſhermen agreed among themſelves to pay a Dollar upon every Laſt of Herrings, towards the Maintenance of certain Ships of War, to waft, and ſecure them in their Fiſhing: By reaſon whereof there was a Record kept of the ſeveral Laſts of Herrings taken that Year; and it appear'd thereby,

by, that in one half Year, there were taken three hundred thouſand Laſts of Herrings, which, at twelve Pounds *per* Laſt, amounteth to three Millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds: And at ſixteen, twenty, thirty Pounds the Laſt, they are ordinarily ſold, then tranſported into other Countries, it cometh to, at leaſt, five Millions; whereunto, if we add the Herrings taken by other Nations, together with the Cod, Ling, Hake, and the Fiſh taken by the *Hollanders*, and other our Neighbours, upon the *Britiſh* Coaſts all the Year long, the Total will evidently ariſe to be above ten Millions.

The great Trade of Fiſhing, employing ſo many Men and Ships at Sea, muſt likewiſe neceſſarily maintain as great a Number of Tradeſmen, and other Artizans on Land; as Spinners, and Hemp-winders to Cables, Cordage, Yarn-twine for Nets and Lines; Weavers to make Sail-cloths, Cecive packers, Tollers, Dreſſers, and Couchers, to ſort and make the Herrings lawful Merchandize; Tanners to tan their Sails and Nets; Coopers to make Caſks; Block and Bowl-makers for Ships; Keel-men, and Labourers for carrying and removing their Fiſh; Sawyers for Planks; Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Carmen, Boatmen, Brewers, Bakers, and a Number of others, whereof many are maimed Perſons, and unfit to be otherwiſe employ'd; beſides the Maintenance of all their ſeveral Wives, Children, and Families. And further, every Man and Maid-Servant, or Orphan, having a poor Stock, may venture the ſame in their fiſhing Voyages, which affords them ordinarily a great Encreaſe, and is duly paid, according to the Proportion of their Gain.

Eighthly, *Encreaſe of Proviſions.*

And to conclude, it is manifeſt, that *Holland*, only affording itſelf ſome few Hops, Madder, Butter, and Cheeſe, aboundeth notwithſtanding (by reaſon of this Art of Fiſhing) in plentiful Manner, with all kind of Proviſions, as well for Life, as in Corn, Beef, Mutton, Hides and Clothes; as for Luxury, in Wines, Silks and Spices; and for Defence, as in Pitch, Tar, Cordage, and Timber: All which they have, not only in competent Proportion for their Uſe, but are likewiſe able, from their ſeveral Magazines, to ſupply their Neighbour-Countries.

The Premiſes conſider'd, it maketh much to the Ignominy and Shame of our *Engliſh* Nation, that God and Nature offering us ſo great a Treaſure, even at our own Doors, we do notwithſtanding neglect the Benefit thereof, and by paying Money to Strangers for the Fiſh of our own Seas, impoveriſh ourſelves to make them rich; inſomuch, that for want of Induſtry and Care in this Particular, two hundred twenty-five Fiſher-Towns are decay'd and reduced to extreme Poverty; whereas, on the contrary, by diligently endeavouring to make uſe of ſo great a Bleſſing, we might, in a ſhort Time, regain theſe decay'd Towns of the Kingdom, and add both Honour, Strength, and Riches to our King and Country; which, how eaſily it may be done, will appear by ſome few Obſervations following.

I. By

I. By erecting two hundred and fifty Buſſes, of reaſonable Strength and Bigneſs, there will be Employment made for a thouſand Ships, and for at leaſt ten thouſand Fiſhermen and Mariners at Sea, and conſequently for as many Tradeſmen and Labourers at Land.

II. The Herrings taken by the Buſſes will afford his Majeſty yearly Cuſtom outward, and for Commodities returned inward, thirty thouſand Pounds, and above.

III. We have Timber ſufficient, and at reaſonable Rates, growing in our own Kingdom, for the building of Buſſes. Every Shire affordeth hardy and able Men, fit for ſuch Employment, who now live poorly, and idle at Home.

IV. We have Victuals in great Plenty, ſold at eaſy Rates, without Payment of Exciſes or Impoſt.

V. Our Shoars and Harbours are near the Places where the Fiſh do haunt.

VI. For Drink or Nets, ſalting and packing our Fiſh, and for Succour in Streſs of Weather, we may bring our Fiſh to Land, ſalt and pack it; and from ſome Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions, be at our Markets in *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, before the *Hollanders* can arrive in *Holland*.

VII. We have Means to tranſport our Fiſhing into ſome Northern Countries, where the *Hollanders* ſeldom or never come; and though we had as many Buſſes as the *Hollanders*, yet is there Vent for all, or more: For in the Eaſt and Northern Countries, and in many other Places, Herrings are every Day's Meat, *Winter* and *Summer*, as well to draw on Drink, as to ſatisfy Hunger: And in moſt Places, the greateſt Part of the Year, they are ſcarce to be had; for preſently after *Michaelmas*, the *Sound* and Rivers are frozen up, ſo as no Herrings can be tranſported into twenty ſeveral Kingdoms and Free States, until *July*, which is for thirty Weeks together; ſo that, when *Lent* comes, there are few to be bought for Money.

VIII. *Laſtly*, Since by Care and Induſtry we gained from the *Flemmings*, doubtleſs, ſo by the ſame Means we may as eaſily grow expert in the Art of Fiſhing, and in Time make it a Staple-commodity of our own: But this we ſhall the better and ſooner do, if we conſider, and endeavour to reform certain Wants and Abuſes, which hitherto have hindred us from effecting that good and great Work; whereof theſe that follow are none of the leaſt.

I. General Liberty of eating Fleſh, contrary to old Cuſtoms, and the Statute-laws provided for obſerving Fiſh-days; from whence Scarcity and Dearth of Fiſh proceedeth: For where Fleſh is ordinarily ſpent, Fiſh will not be bought; and Want of Sale decayeth all Trade, Gain being the Nurſe of Induſtry.

Secondly, Want of Order and Diſcretion in our Fiſhing, every Man being left to himſelf, and permitted to fiſh as beſt liketh him; whereas, amongſt the *Hollanders*, two of the beſt experienced Fiſhermen are appointed to guide the reſt of the Fleet; all others being bound to follow them, and to caſt their Nets according to their Direction.

III. The *Hollanders*, and other Nations, ſet forth with their Buſſes in *June*, to find the Shoal of Fiſh; and having found it, dwell amongſt it till *November*; whereas we ſtay till the Herrings come Home to our Road-ſteads, and ſometimes ſuffer them to paſs by before we look out; our Herring-fiſhing containing only ſeven Weeks at the moſt, and theirs twenty.

IV. The *Hollanders* Buſſes are great and ſtrong, and able to brook foul Weather; whereas our Cobbles, Crayers, and Boats, being ſmall and thin-ſided, are eaſily ſwallowed up by a rough Sea; not daring to adventure far in fair Weather, by reaſon of their Weakneſs, for fear of Storms.

V. The *Hollanders* are induſtrious, and no ſooner are diſcharged of their Lading, but put forth for more, and ſeek for Markets Abroad, as well as at Home; whereas our *Engliſh*, after they have been once at Sea, do commonly never return again, until all the Money taken for their Fiſh be ſpent, and they in Debt; ſeeking only to ſerve the next Market.

VI. The *Hollanders* have certain Merchants, who, during the Herring Seaſon, do only come to the Places where the Buſſes arrive, and joining together in ſeveral Companies, do preſently agree for thirty or forty Buſſes at once; and ſo being diſcharged, they may ſpeedily return to their former Fiſhing: Whereas our Fiſhermen are uncertain of their Chapmen, and forced to ſpend much Time in putting off their Fiſh by Parcels.

Theſe and other Defects would carefully be taken into Conſideration, and certain Orders made, to make our Fiſhing proſperous and ſucceſsful; eſpecially conſidering the fearful Miſchiefs the Neglects hereof hath brought to the King and Kingdom in general, and to many good Towns and Corporations in particular; as by Authority (even of Parliament itſelf, in the Statute of 33 *Hen.* VIII.) is plainly teſtified; which I have ſummarily here ſet down, to avoid the Prolixity of the Original, *viz.*

"I. Becauſe the *Engliſh* Fiſhermen, dwelling on the Sea-Coaſts, did leave off "their Trade of fiſhing in our Seas, and went the Half-Seas over, and there, "upon the Seas, did buy Fiſh of the *Pickards*, *Flemmings*, *Normans*, and "*Zealanders*; by reaſon whereof, many Incommodities did grow to the "Realm; *viz.* the Decay of the Wealth and Proſperity, as well of the "Cinque-Ports, and Members of the ſame, as of other Coaſt-Towns by the "Sea-ſide, which were built and inhabited by great Multitudes of People, by "reaſon of uſing and exerciſing the Craft and Feat of Fiſhing.

"II. The Decay of a great Number of Boats and Ships. And,

"III. The Decay of many good Mariners, both able in Body, by their "Diligence, Labour, and continual Exerciſe of Fiſhing; and expert, by "reaſon thereof, in the Knowledge of the Sea-Coaſts, as well within this "Realm, as in other Parts beyond the Seas. It was therefore enacted, that "no Manner of Perſons, *Engliſh*, Denizens, or Strangers, at that Time, or "at any Time after, dwelling in *England*, ſhould buy any Fiſh of any "Strangers in the ſaid Ports of *Flanders*, *Zealand*, *Piccardy*, *France*, or "upon the Sea, between Shoreand Shore, *&c.*" Which Act, by many Con-

Continuations, was continued from Parliament to Parliament, until the firſt of Queen *Mary*, and from thence to the End of the next Parliament, and then expired.

For Concluſion. Seeing by that which hath formerly been declared, it evidently appeareth, that the Kings of *England* (by immemorable Preſcription, continual Uſage and Poſſeſſion, the Acknowledgement of all our Neighbour States, and the municipal Laws of the Kingdom) have ever held the ſovereign Lordſhip of the Seas of *England*; and that unto his Majeſty, by reaſon of his Sovereignty, the ſupreme Command and Juriſdiction over the Paſſage and Fiſhing in the ſame rightfully appertaineth: Conſidering alſo, the natural Scite of thoſe our Seas, that interpoſe themſelves between the great Northern Commerce of the whole World, and that of the Eaſt, Weſt, and Southern Climates. And withal, the infinite Commodities that by Fiſhing in the ſame is daily made, it cannot be doubted, but his Majeſty, by Means of his own excellent Wiſdom and Virtue; and, by the Induſtry of his faithful Subjects and People, may eaſily, without Injuſtice to any Prince or Perſon whatſoever, be made the greateſt Monarch for Command and Wealth, and his People the moſt opulent and flouriſhing Nation of any in the World. And this the rather, for that his Majeſty is now abſolute Commander of the *Britiſh* Iſle; and hath enlarged his Dominions over a great Part of the Weſtern *Indies*: By means of which Extent of Empire, (croſſing, in a Manner, the whole Ocean) the Trade and Perſons of all Nations (removing from one Part of the World to the other) muſt, of Neceſſity, firſt or laſt, come within the Compaſs of his Power and Juriſdiction.

And therefore, the Sovereignty of our Seas being the moſt precious Jewel of his Majeſty's Crown, and (next under God) the principal Means of our Wealth and Safety; all true *Engliſh* Hearts and Hands are bound, by all poſſible Means and Diligence to preſerve and maintain the ſame, even with the utmoſt of their Lives, their Goods, and Fortunes.

Thus far the Author of that incomparable Treatiſe, on that Head, *viz.* Of the ineſtimable Riches and Commodities of the *Britiſh* Seas.

In the next Place.

The Collector hereof conceives it uſeful to tranſcribe and publiſh ſome of Sir *Walter Rateigh*'s Obſervations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander* and other Nations: Proving, that our Sea and Land Commodities enrich and ſtrengthen other Countries againſt our own; which he humbly preſented to his Majeſty King *James* I. *Anno* 1618, in the Words following, *viz.*

" *May it pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider theſe Points following:*

" 1. Whether it be not fit, that a State-Merchant be ſettled within your " Dominions, which may both diſpoſe more profitably of the Riches thereof;

" and encounter Policies of Merchant Strangers, who now go beyond us in " all Kind of profitable Merchandizing.

" 2. Whether it be not neceſſary, that your native Commodities ſhould " receive their full Manufactury by your Subjects, within your Dominions.

" 3. Whether it be not fit, the Coals ſhould yield your Majeſty and Sub- " jects a better Value, by permitting them to paſs out of the Land; and that " they be in your Subjects Shipping only tranſported.

" 4. Whether it be not fit, your Majeſty preſently raiſe your Coin to as " high Rates as it is in the Parts beyond the Sea.

" 5. Whether it be not neceſſary, that the great Sea Buſineſs of Fiſhing be " forthwith ſet forwards.

" If it pleaſe your Majeſty to approve of theſe Conſiderations, and accord- " ingly to put them in a right Courſe of Execution; I aſſure myſelf, by " God's Help, in a ſhort Time your Majeſty's Cuſtoms, and the continual " coming into your Coffers, will be exceedingly increaſed; your Ships and " Mariners trebled; your Land and waſte Towns, which are now out of " Gates, better repleniſhed; and your People employed, to the great Enrich- " ing and Honour of your Kingdom; with the Applauſe, and to the Com- " fort of your loyal Subjects, *&c.*"

Touching Fiſhing.

The great Sea Buſineſs of Fiſhing doth employ near twenty thouſand Ships and Veſſels; and four hundred thouſand People are employed thereby yearly, upon your Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; with ſixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three thouſand Ships to fiſh withal, and fifty thouſand People are employed yearly by them upon your Majeſty's Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Theſe three thouſand Fiſhing-Ships and Veſſels of the *Hollanders*, do employ near nine thouſand other Ships and Veſſels; and one hundred and fifty thouſand Perſons more by Sea and Land, to make Proviſions, to dreſs and tranſport the Fiſh they take, and return Commodities; whereby they are enabled, and do build yearly a thouſand Ships and Veſſels, having not one Timber-tree growing in their own Country, nor Home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred Ships; and yet they have twenty thouſand Ships and Veſſels, and all employed.

King *Henry* VII. deſirous to make his Kingdoms powerful and rich, by Increaſe of Ships and Mariners, and Employment of his People, ſent unto his Sea-Coaſt Towns, moving them to ſet up the great and rich Fiſhing, with Promiſe to give them needful Privileges, and to furniſh them with Loans of Money, if Need were, to encourage them; yet his People were ſlack.

Now, ſince I have traced this Buſineſs, and made my Endeavours known to your Majeſty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, who have ſet down under their Hands for more Aſſurance; and promiſed to diſburſe large

Sums

Sums of Money, for the building up of a ſtrong, rich, and large Sea City; which will increaſe more Strength to your Land, give more Comfort, and do more Good to all your Cities and Towns than all the Companies of your Kingdoms, having fit and needful Privileges for the upholding and ſtrengthening of ſo weighty and needful a Buſineſs.

For Example, twenty Buſſes built and put into a Sea-Coaſt Town, (where there is not one Ship before) there muſt be to carry, recarry, tranſport, and make Proviſion for each Buſs, three Ships: Likewiſe, every Ship ſetting on Work thirty ſeveral Trades and Occupations; and four thouſand Perſons by Sea and Land; inſomuch, as three hundred Perſons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four Months for the Buſſes; which is no ſmall Employment.

Thus, by twenty Buſſes, are ſet on Work eight thouſand Perſons by Sea and Land, and an Increaſe of above one thouſand Mariners, and a Fleet of eighty Sail of Ships, to belong to one Town, where none were before, to take the Wealth out of the Sea, and to enrich and ſtrengthen the Land, only by raiſing twenty Buſſes. Then, what good one thouſand or two thouſand will do, I leave to your Majeſty's Conſideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how neceſſary Fiſhermen are to the Commonwealth; and how needful to be advanced and cheriſhed, *viz.*

1. For taking God's Bleſſing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwiſe we loſe.
2. For ſetting the People on Work.
3. For making Plenty and Cheapneſs in the Realm.
4. For encreaſing of Ships to make the Land powerful.
5. For a continual Nurſery, for breeding and increaſing our Mariners.
6. For making Employment of all Sorts of People; as blind, lame, and others, by Sea and Land; from ten or twelve Years and upwards.
7. For enriching your Majeſty's Coffers, for Merchandizes returned from other Countries, for Fiſh and Herrings.
8. For the Encreaſe and Enabling of Merchants, which now droop, and daily decay.

Furthermore. *Some Particulars needful to be conſidered of*, viz.

The mighty huge Fiſhing that ever could be heard of in the World, is upon the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: But the great Fiſhery is in the *Low-Countries*, and other petty States, wherewith they ſerve themſelves, and all *Chriſtendom*, as it ſhall appear.

In four Towns in the Eaſt Kingdoms, within the *Sound* (*Queenſborough*, *Elbing*, *Statten*, and *Dantzick*) there are carried and vented in a Year, between thirty and forty thouſand Laſts of Herrings; which, ſold but at fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſt, is about ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds; and we none.

Beſides

Beſides *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweeden*, *Leafland*, *Rye*, *Nevil*, the *Nerve*, and other Port-Towns within the *Sound*, there is carried and vented above ten thouſand Laſts of Herrings, ſold at fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſt, is one hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds more yearly. And, in ſuch Requeſt are our Herrings there, that they are often ſold for twenty, four and twenty, thirty, and thirty-ſix Pounds the Laſt; and we ſend not one Barrel into all thoſe Eaſt Countries.

The *Hollanders* ſend into *Ruſſia* near fifteen hundred Laſts of Herrings, ſold for about thirty Shillings the Barrel, which amounts to twenty-ſeven thouſand Pounds; and we but about twenty or thirty Laſts.

To *Stoad*, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, *Embden* upon the River of *Elbe*, *Weaſer*, and *Emby*, are carried and vented of Fiſh and Herrings, about ſix thouſand Laſts, ſold about fifteen or ſixteen Pounds the Laſts, which is about one hundred thouſand Pounds; and we none.

Cleaveland, *Gulickland*, up the River of *Rhine* to *Cullen*, *Franckford*, or the *Maine*, and ſo over all *Germany*, is carried and vented Fiſh and Herrings near two and twenty thouſand Laſts, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, which is four hundred and forty thouſand Pounds; and wen one.

Up the River of *Maeſe*, *Leigh*, *Maeſtricht*, *Dendlow*, *Sutphin*, *Diventer*, *Camben*, *Swoole*, and all over *Lakeland*, are carried and vented ſeven thouſand Laſts of Herrings, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, which comes to one hundred and forty thouſand Pounds; and we none.

To *Guelderland*, *Artois*, *Hainault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-duke's Country, is carried and vented between eight and nine thouſand Laſts, ſold at eighteen Pounds the Laſt, which is one hundred ſixty-two thouſand Pounds; and we none.

The *Hollanders* and others carried off all Sorts of Herrings to *Roan* only, in one Year, beſides all other Parts of *France*, fifty thouſand Laſts of Herrings, ſold at twenty Pounds the Laſt, which is one Million of Pounds; and we not one hundred Laſts thither. They are ſold oftentimes for twenty-four, and thirty Pounds the Laſt.

Between *Chriſtmas* and *Lent*, the Duties for Fiſh and Herrings came to fifteen thouſand Crowns at *Roan* only. That Year the late Queen deceaſed, Sir *Thomas Parry* was Agent then there, and *S. Savors*'s Man knows it to be true, who handled the Buſineſs for pulling down the Impoſitions. Then, what great Sums of Money came to all in the Port-Towns, to enrich the *French* King's Coffers, and to all the Kings and States throughout *Chriſtendom*, to enrich their Coffers?

Beſides the great Quantity vented to the *Streights*, and the Multitude ſpent in the *Low Countries*, which there is likewiſe ſold for many a hundred thouſand Pounds more yearly, is neceſſary to be remembered; and the Stream to be turned to the Good of this Kingdom; to whoſe Sea-Coaſts God only hath ſent and given theſe great Bleſſings, and Multitude of Riches for us to take, howſoever it hath been neglected, to the Hurt of this Kingdom; that any Nation ſhould carry away out of this Kingdom yearly great Maſſes of Money for Fiſh

taken

taken in our Seas, and ſold again by them to us, which muſt needs be a great Diſhonour to our Nation, and Hindrance to this Realm.

In a Word, the main Bulk and Maſs of Herrings, from whence they raiſe ſo many Millions yearly, that enrich other Kingdoms, Kings, and States Coffers, and likewiſe their own People, proceedeth from our Seas and Lands: And the Return of the Commodities and Coin they bring Home in Exchange of Fiſh and other Commodities are ſo huge, as would require a large Diſcourſe apart. And all the Amends they make us, is, they beat us out of Trade in all Parts, with our own Commodities.

III. It is alſo thought meet here to publiſh an Extract out of a Book printed in *Holland*, *Anno* 1669, put out by the late Penſionary *John de Witt*, entitled, *A Repreſentation of the wholſome political Grounds and Maxims of the Republick of* Holland, *and* Weſt-Frieſland. Wherein

He makes an Eſtimate of the Number of Souls Subjects of the States General, and concludes they are in Number 2,400,000.

And ſays, theſe Perſons maintain themſelves as followeth, *viz.*

By Fiſhing at Sea, and to ſet them out as Fiſhers with Ships, Rigging, Casks, Salt, and other Materials, or Inſtruments, and the Traffick that depends thereon,	450,000
By Land Husbandry, Inland Fiſhing, Mowers of Downs, and Turf-makers; with thoſe that are to furniſh thoſe Trades, with all Sorts of Materials, as they are Husbandmen,	200,000
By making all Manner of Manufacturies, Ships, Mechanick, or Handicraft-works, which are conſumed in Foreign Parts; as alſo, Traders relating to the ſaid Manufactures,	650,000
By Navigation, or Sailing for Freight and Trade only, whereby I mean Freight or Carriage into Foreign Parts, to ſell and to buy; as alſo, to carry from and to *Holland*, all ſuch Wares and Merchandizes, which pertain not to Fiſhing and Manufactures, nor depend thereon: And laſtly, I include herein all Inhabitants that are ſerviceable to ſuch Traders and Owners of Ships let out to Freight, amounting in all to	250,000
By all theſe Inhabitants, as they are Men, Women, and Children, to provide with and work about all that is ſpent in this Land; as Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Houſing; Arts neceſſary for Eaſe, Pleaſure, or Ornament; Houſhold Goods to ſell or make,	650,000
By the Labour and Care of all the above-mentioned Perſons, idle Gentry without Callings, Rulers and Officers in Polity, Uſurers, Soldiers, Hoſpital-men, Beggars, *&c.*	200,000
In all	2,400,000

That

That HOLLAND *lies very commodiouſly to fetch its Proviſions out of the Sea, and to provide for its Maintenance by other Arts and Expedients; and how great a Means of Subſiſtence the Fiſhery may tend to us.*

TO procure its Food out of the Sea, which is common to all Men, *Holland* is very well ſituate; not only on a Sea abounding with great Store of Fiſh near the *Dogger-Sand*, where Haddock, Cod, and Ling, may, in great Abundance be taken and ſalted; but alſo, near the Herring-Fiſhery, which is no where elſe but on the Coaſt of *Great-Britain*, *viz.* from *St. John's* to *St. James's*, about *Hitland*, *Phagril*, and *Bohennes*, in the deep Waters, Eaſtward of *Yarmouth*. And this Herring-Fiſhing, now of two hundred Years ſtanding, ſince *William Benkelſon* learned firſt to gill, ſalt, and pack them up in Caſks, with the Cod-Fiſhery, is become ſo effectual a Means of Subſiſtence for theſe Lands, (eſpecially ſince ſo many neighbouring People, by reaſon of their Religion, are obliged, upon certain Days and Weeks of the Year, wholly to refrain eating of Fleſh) that the *Hollanders* do only fiſh in a Time of Peace with more than one thouſand Buſſes, from four and twenty to thirty Laſts Burthen each; and with one hundred and ſeventy ſmall Veſſels fiſh for Herrings, within the Entrance of *Texel:* So that thoſe thouſand Ships being ſet to Sea for a Year, wherein they make three Voyages, do coſt above ten Millions of Guilders, accounting only the Buſs with its Tackle, at four thouſand five hundred and fifty Guilders; and the ſetting forth to Sea, five thouſand five hundred Guilders, there remaining nothing of all its Preparation the ſecond Year but the bare Veſſel; and that much worn and torn, and needing great Preparation.

If theſe thouſand Buſſes do take yearly at leaſt forty thouſand Laſts of Herrings, counting them worth two hundred Guilders the Laſt, they will produce to *Holland* more than eight Millions of Guilders.

And ſeeing People have begun of late to make uſe of Whale-Oil and Whale-fins; and that they are taken to the Northward, not far from us, ſo that we, by Southerly Winds, can ſail thither in ſix or eight Days, the Trade of Fiſheries and Salt may eaſily be ſettled and fixed to us; or, as it were, entailed to our Country: For to fix theſe Fiſheries, and many Manufactures, and conſequently the Trade and Returns of them, depending upon the Navigation and Freighting of Ships; we muſt well conſider, that the greateſt Difficulty to enable ſo innumerable a Number of People to ſubſiſt on its own Bottom, is the powerfulleſt Means to draw all Foreign Wares into *Holland*; not only to ſtore them up there, and afterwards to ſend them up the Countries through the *Maeſe*, *Waal*, *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine*, (making together one River)

River) to numerous Towns and People lying on the Side of them, (the moſt conſiderable in the World for the Conſumption of Goods) but alſo, to conſume the ſame imported Goods, or to have them wrought up at home. It being well known, that no Country in the World, of ſo ſmall a Compaſs, has ſo many People and Maſter-workmen as we have. And beſides this,

Hereunto may be added, That no Country in the World is ſo wonderfully trenched or cut through for navigable Rivers, whereby all Merchandize may be carried to and fro, with ſo little Charge.

Emanuel Van Materan, in his Hiſtory ſays, " That in three Days Time, " *Anno* 1601, there ſailed out of *Holland* to the Eaſtward, eight or nine hun- " dred Ships, and fifteen hundred Buſſes, on Herring Fiſhing." And that Fiſhing is ſuch, if that may be credited which the *Engliſh* Authors have written, [viz. *Gerard Malines*, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and which *Lieven Van Aitzma*, *Anno* 1653, Page 863, ſeems, in ſome Meaſure, to confirm] *viz.* " That there are yearly taken and ſpent by the *Hollanders*, " above three hundred thouſand Laſts of Herrings, and other ſalted Fiſh :" And, that the Whale-Fiſhing takes up above twelve thouſand Men, which ſail out of theſe Countries. For, ſince the *Greenland* Company is diſſolved, and the Whale-Fiſhing ſet open for all Men, that Fiſhing is increaſed from one to ten ; ſo that we compute that all theſe Fiſhing-Veſſels are built here; the Ropes, Sails, Nets, and Caſks made here, and provided with Salt: One may eaſily imagine, that there muſt be an incredible Number of People that maintain themſelves thereby ; eſpecially when we add thereunto, that all the People have Need of Meat, Drink, Cloathing, and Houſing; as alſo, that the Fiſh, when caught, is tranſported by the *Hollanders*, by Shipping, throughout the whole World.

And indeed, if it be true, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* affirms, (who made diligent Scrutiny thereinto, in the Year 1618, whereby to inform K. *James*) that the *Hollanders* fiſhed on the Coaſt of *Great-Britain*, with no leſs than three thouſand Ships, and fifty thouſand Men : And that they employed and ſet out to Sea, both to tranſport and ſell the Fiſh ſo taken, and to make Returns thereof, nine thouſand Ships more, and one hundred and fifty thouſand Men beſides. And if we hereunto add what he further ſays, *viz.* that twenty Buſſes do maintain eight thouſand People ; and that the *Hollanders* had, in all, no leſs than twenty thouſand Ships at Sea.

As alſo, that the Fiſheries, Navigation, and Traffick by Sea, with its Dependencies ſince that Time, to the Year 1667, is increaſed one Third more: I ſay, if it be ſo, we may then eaſily conclude, that the Sea is a ſpecial Means of the *Hollander*'s Subſiſtence ; ſeeing *Holland*, by this only Way, affords by its own Induſtry, above three hundred thouſand Laſts of ſalted Fiſh taken on board Ships: So that,

If we add hereunto the Whale, Oil, and Fins, and our *Holland* Manufactures; with that which all our Rivers within our Dominions afford us, it muſt be confeſſed, that no Country in the World can make ſo many Ships lading of Merchandize out of itſelf, as *Holland* alone.

To which the Collector thinks he has the Freedom to add, *viz.*

That the Foundation of all this, is the Fiſh taken out of the *Britiſh* Seas, belonging to *England*, &c.

IV. Take a Copy of ſome farther Conſiderations, in all Humbleneſs propounded to his late Majeſty King *Charles* II. by Dr. *Benjamin Worſley*, ſometime Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lords of his ſaid Majeſty's Council for Plantations and Trade, *&c.* which ſaid Copy hath come to the Hands of the Publiſher, who well knew him to be a Perſon of great Ingenuity and Truth; and had ſpent ſome Years, and Hundreds of Pounds, in making himſelf Maſter of this Craft, by his Travels into *Holland*, &c. worthy the Acceptance of all Perſons, who incline to be concerned in the Fiſhery Affairs. He aſſerts,

1. That the leaſt Valuation that hath been hitherto generally put upon the Herring-Fiſhing, is, three Millions of Pounds Sterling *per* Year.

2. That the Reaſonableneſs of this Valuation may appear, by the Number of Buſſes uſually imployed in the ſaid Fiſhing, which are ſaid to be at leaſt ſixteen hundred; by the Quantity of Fiſh uſually caught in each of the ſaid Buſſes; by the Regiſtries kept of Import and Export of the ſaid Fiſh in ſeveral Cuſtom-Houſes of *Holland* and *Friezland*; and by the known Price that the ſaid Fiſh uſually bears in all Markets.

3. That, according to this Valuation, the Fiſhing alone doth amount to more than either the whole Manufacture and Commodities of *England* apart; or the whole Manufacture of *France* apart; and conſequently, to more than the whole Plate and annual Production of *Spain*, conſidered apart.

4. That the Fiſhing therefore being added to all the reſt of the Manufactures of *Holland*, (both Woollen and Linnen) and to the Greatneſs of its *Eaſt-India* Trade, doth unavoidably caſt a Super-balance upon *Holland*, more than upon any State of *Europe* beſides, even near to the double, and by this Means a Super-balance alſo of Stock and Strength at Sea proportionably.

5. That, on the other Hand, if the Scale of the ſaid Fiſhing may by any Means poſſibly be removed from *Holland*, and transferred into any other Nation; the Fiſhing ſo transferred, ſhall, and muſt caſt near as great an Overbalance of Trade upon that Nation, wherein it is, and as great an Advantage of Stock, Commerce and Strength at Sea, as *Holland* itſelf now hath.

6. That the Fiſhing then, is the very Goal or Prize of Trade, and the very Goal or Prize of the Dominion of the Sea; and that Thing ſingly, which whoſoever gains, makes himſelf Maſter of both theſe. And that very Thing, which, whoſoever miſſeth, doth miſs of both theſe.

7. That, if we ſhall therefore wholly relinquiſh the ſaid Fiſhing to the *Hollander*, with all the Gain and Advantage of it, we ſhall and muſt relinquiſh of Courſe to him, both the Superiority of Trade, and the Superiority of the Power at Sea. Yea, we ſhall and muſt alſo deprive ourſelves of all Capacity for ever, to hinder him in either of theſe two; both becauſe of the extreme Loſs we have had of our Seamen of late; and becauſe we have neither any moral,

moral, or rational Way, or Poſſibility left us, of recovering the ſaid Loſs again, unleſs by ſetting upon the ſaid Fiſhery.

VIII. That the Herring-Fiſhing, though proper only to his Majeſty's Dominions, and though frequently attempted by us, hath nevertheleſs, hitherto, always miſcarried with us, even from the very End that hath been propounded to ourſelves in it: Which is, the Example of the *Hollanders*, and the Gain he makes of it, and the Neceſſity we ſuppoſe there is of following the ſame Method which we obſerve him to take in it; which is, to catch and ſave the ſaid Fiſh in Herring-Buſſes.

IX. That this our Miſcarriage conſtantly in it hath produced, not only a General Indiſpoſition, but a General Deſpondency upon the Nation, any more to undertake it, or adventure upon it; as having entertained a certain ſecret Perſuaſion at length, through our Unſucceſsfulneſs in it, that our Nation hath not a Genius for it; and that there is a Myſtery in it, which though the *Dutch* do well underſtand, yet we cannot reach it.

X. Whereas indeed the proper Cauſes of all our Miſcarriages hath (as I humbly conceive) been rather produced from the Deficiencies following.

1. Becauſe we have not thoroughly conſidered, that the *Dutch* have many more Conveniencies for proſecuting the ſaid Fiſhing than we can poſſibly have, if we will make *London* to be the principle Scale, Seat, or Staple for the ſaid Fiſhing-Trade (as hitherto we have done) and ſhall reſolve to bring all the Fiſh that is caught, here, into the *Thames*, to be ſhipp'd off hence; even as the *Dutch* do uſually bring theirs into *Holland*, before it can be any where tranſported. And therefore,

2. Have not well weighed the great Diſadvantage of this very Foundation itſelf; in regard, it is not a Matter of Election that the *Dutch* do bring in all their Herring firſt into *Holland*, before it be ſhipped, but is a Matter of abſolute Neceſſity that lieth unavoidably on them, rather than of Choice.

3. Foraſmuch as the *Hollanders* have now for near a whole Age been Maſters of the ſaid Fiſhing, and of the preſent Method of it, in managing it by Buſſes: And foraſmuch as they have been now for ſo long a Time poſſeſt of ſuch a vaſt Stock, both of Buſſes, Boats, Nets, and all Manner of Proviſions, and Conveniencies for it, which no other Nation beſides hath; and which none can in any reaſonable Time, nor without the Expence of at leaſt a Million of Pounds *Sterling*, ever be able to compaſs. They muſt, for theſe Reaſons, of Neceſſity be in a Capacity of Huſbanding the ſaid Fiſhery in the preſent Order of it, to a far greater Degree of Advantage, than it is poſſible for any Nation to do beſides, who ſhall endeavour only to follow them, and imitate them in their Way, and in the preſent Manner of their ordering of it.

4. It ſeems not to have been duly conſidered, that the Fiſhing hath not only of late, but for many Years, been made the very Intereſt of the *Netherland* State; and being looked upon by them as ſuch an Intereſt, without which it is every Way impoſſible that they ſhould be able to uphold the Greatneſs of their Stock, Power, or Trade. And,

5. Such an Intereſt therefore, that as they will never ſuffer themſelves to be beaten or treated out of it, either by Prudence or Force; ſo will they never ſuffer any to ſhare with them in it, if they can any Way poſſibly hinder or avoid it. And conſequently,

6. That inaſmuch as this is ſuch an Intereſt as upon which they themſelves know, that the whole of their Stock, Power, Strength, and Commerce by Sea, doth not only in Part, but altogether depend; they muſt bend the Chief of their Policy, Counſel, and Force, not only to diſcourage any that ſhall attempt it, but utterly to beat out any that ſhall undertake it; even though it ſhould be with never ſo much Loſs to themſelves for a Seaſon.

XI. That, as it is for theſe Cauſes, and upon theſe Grounds therefore, that we have hitherto loſt all the Stock, that we have ever employed about the ſaid Fiſhing: So, while the ſaid Cauſes and Grounds do remain, it ſeems altogether impoſſible that we ſhould avoid the loſing of whatever Stock we ſhall hereafter adventure in it, or employ about it. Seeing, if we ſhall proceed in no other Method than that we have hitherto accuſtomed ourſelves to, it will always be in the Power of the *Hollander* to under-ſell us; and he will be ſure purpoſely to anticipate, clog, and prevent the Market of us, where we ſhall trade for the ſaid Fiſh; provided, we continue only in his Courſe, and ſet not upon the ſaid Fiſhing in any other better or more advantageous Order, than that which he is himſelf ſo very well ſeen, verſed, and experienced in.

XII. That by Reaſon of the many Advantages which it is known that the *Hollander* hath of us in this Buſineſs; and by Reaſon of the Experience which we have ſo often had of our own Loſs and Miſcarriage in the ſaid Fiſhing, we come likewiſe to lie under this further Diſadvantage at preſent, *viz.* That there can be no Ground rationally to expect that any Stock ſhould for the future ever again be raiſed to ſet on Foot the ſaid Fiſhing, out of the voluntary Contribution of ordinary and private Perſons.

XIII. That theſe Things being thus truly ſtated, theſe Deductions following ſeem neceſſarily conſequent.

1. That it is altogether in vain ever to expect any Advantage from the ſaid Fiſhing, unleſs ſome Courſe can rationally be propounded, whereby we may ſet upon the ſaid Fiſhing, without that extraordinary Preparation and Charge, which the *Hollanders* are neceſſarily put unto at preſent in it. Nor, without we can be able to make the ſaid Fiſh cheaper than the *Hollander* now does in the Way wherein he is. Nor unleſs we can be able to under-ſell him ſomething in it, without any conſiderable Loſs to ourſelves. Nor, without we can alſo hope (upon ſuch Grounds and Inductions as are reaſonable) that we ſhall be able to go to Market with the ſaid Fiſh before him.

2. That the ſetting alſo upon the ſaid Fiſhery ſeems wholly unpractical, if not impoſſible, unleſs ſuch a Stock may be raiſed and found out for it, that ſhall not be dependent upon the Subſcriptions, or Pleaſures of any private Perſons;

Perſons; and that ſhall nevertheleſs be not only ſufficient to begin it, but ſufficient alſo, by being applied conſtantly to it, by Degrees to promote it: And may be ſufficient alſo, in Time, with the Bleſſing of God upon it, both to defend it, and protect it; and therefore to bear the Hazard of ſuch extraordinary Caſualties in it, which is not to be expected can, or ever will be borne by the Fortune of private Perſons.

3. That the ſaid Fiſhing, being ſo great an Intereſt of State, as it is in *Holland*, it can never increaſe therefore with any Succeſs in theſe Kingdoms, but it muſt expect to meet with many Indignities, Diſcouragements, and Affronts to be put upon it, from our Neighbours, in order to hinder it; and therefore it can never be ſo far purſued in *England*, as to arrive to any viſible Head, and much leſs attain to any Manner of Growth or Completion, without the expreſs Authority of the Government to countenance it, and without the thorough Reſolution of his Majeſty to defend it, and protect it, in the juſt and merchantable Methods of it.

XIV. Which Foundations, as thoſe which are the main and principal ones, being now premiſed, for the full, clear, and entire ſettling of the whole Affair of the Fiſhery, theſe Particulars following are therefore, in all Humbleneſs, ſuppoſed to be requiſite.

1. The ſignal and expreſs Countenance of his Majeſty in it, with the publick Authority of Parliament.

2. A Correſpondency through his Majeſty's ſpecial Favour, Aſſiſtance and Grace, with the Government and Subjects of his Majeſty's Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

3. An exact Method for purſuing of the ſaid Fiſhery in ſuch Manner as may not only be eaſy, feaſible, and practical, but as ſecure, and free from all Hazards, as we can rationally or morally propound Things to be.

4. Such a different Manner and Order of catching, curing, and ſaving the ſaid Fiſh, as ſhall be every Way more cheap, than that which the *Hollander* is in the preſent Practice of, and ſuch as may be ſoon expedited and diſpatched alſo, as that the Foreign Markets of the *Hollander* ſhall be generally always anticipated by our Shipping.

5. Such a Body of Inſtructions therefore, as ſhall be ſufficient to give Light into each Particular that may rationally be ſuppoſed to be of Moment, with reference to the whole Affair of the ſaid Fiſhing.

6. A ſelect Choice of ſuch Perſons, as a Council or Directors of the ſaid Fiſhing (not exceeding ſeven) as may not only be of Integrity, but of ſufficient Ability to manage all Things tending to the promoting of the ſaid Fiſhery, purſuant to the ſaid Method and Inſtructions that ſhall be propounded: And conſequently, ſuch Perſons as are ſkilled in the practical Part of the Trade of the ſaid Fiſhing.

7. That the ſaid Council or Directors have the ſame Powers and Authorities given them, as have been uſually heretofore granted to ſuch Councils, as have been

been appointed for the Royal Fiſhing, together with ſuch other Powers as to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty ſhall be thought fit: And that the ſaid Powers and Authorities be confirmed by Act of Parliament. And,

8. That grand Commiſſioners be alſo appointed, for the chief Over-ſight of the ſaid Fiſhing, conſiſting of the principal Officers of State, and of ſo many others, as to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty, and of the Parliament ſhall be thought fit.

9. That the ſaid grand Commiſſioners have full Power to call the ſaid Council or Directors of the ſaid Fiſhery to an Account, once every half Year; and to ſee, by the Entries of their Journal, Letters, Orders, and Inſtructions, what Progreſs they do from Time to Time make in the ſaid Buſineſs. To the End that his Majeſty may have a perfect Account of it, and their Faithfulneſs or Negligence in it: And of whatever Accident may at any Time happen to impede it, protract it, or diſcourage it.

10. That to this End, Duplicates of the ſaid Council's Journal, Books of Letters and Inſtructions, be conſtantly tranſcribed, not only for the Uſe of the ſaid grand Commiſſioners, but that they may be the better preſerved, and remain upon Record.

11. That the ſaid grand Commiſſioners may have Power, with the Leave of his Majeſty, to propound ſome *Præmium* as an extraordinary Reward from his Majeſty, to encourage the Diligence of the ſaid Directors; which *Præmium* therefore is to be only out of the clear Gain that ſhall be made of the ſaid Trade, through the prudent and faithful Management and Conduct of the ſaid Directors: And ſhall be therefore ſuch a Part of the ſaid clear Gain only, as to his Majeſty's Wiſdom ſhall be thought fit.

12. That the ſaid grand Commiſſioners have further Power, with the Conſent of his Majeſty, to give Directions in all ſuch Caſes of Difficulty, as ſhall at any Time ariſe about the ſaid Fiſhery. As alſo to hear and determine all ſuch other Debates relating to the ſaid Affair, as the ſaid Directors may be doubtful in, or may not be able to agree amongſt themſelves fully about.

13. That if upon the good Succeſs and Bleſſing of God upon the ſaid Fiſhery, any of the Nobility, Gentry, or other private Perſons, ſhall deſire to incorporate themſelves, for the further Aſſiſtance and carrying on of the ſaid Deſign, and for the making the Trade of the ſaid Fiſhing the more compleatly a publick and national Concern; or if the ſaid Directors ſhall find it for the Service of his Majeſty, and of abſolute Neceſſity for the promoting of the ſaid Fiſhing, to take into Aſſociation any of his Majeſty's Subjects of *Scotland*, or of *Ireland*, with reference to the Fiſhing of either of the ſaid Kingdoms; In either of theſe Caſes, ſuch a Method is to be ſet down by the ſaid Directors for the Manner of it, as is to be wholly approved by his Majeſty, and the ſaid grand Commiſſioners.

14. That ſuch a Fund or Stock, that may be both Annual and certain, be by the ſpecial Grace and Favour of his Majeſty granted and aſſigned, for the undertaking and carrying on the ſaid Fiſhing; and not only for the Increaſe, but for the better Protection and Defence of it, and for the defraying the

Salaries

Salaries and Contingencies of ſuch as ſhall be appointed the immediate Directors of it.

15. That for the better preventing either any Impediment or Interruption that may be endeavour'd to be given by any, at any Time hereafter, in or about the ſaid Fiſhing, it is further humbly propounded, that the Application of the ſaid Fund or Stock entirely for the carrying on of the ſaid Fiſhing, and for the Ends now mentioned, may be ſettled by Act of Parliament; together with ſo many of theſe Propoſals, or of ſuch others, as ſhall be thought fit to be allowed or approved by his Majeſty.

16. For the greater Encouragement of the ſaid Fiſhing, and as a particular Mark of the Parliament's Approbation of it, and of their Deſire to promote it: It is further humbly propounded, that all ſuch Perſons as ſhall ſubſcribe a Stock towards the Advancement of the ſaid Fiſhing, and all ſuch others as ſhall be any ways employ'd for, or in the managing of it, or for purſuing ſuch Inſtructions and Directions about it, as ſhall any way be derived from his Majeſty's Authority in it, ſhall be expreſly declar'd to be taken into Protection by the Government, whether they be Natives of his Majeſty's Dominions, or whether they be Foreigners; together with all ſuch Ships, Buſſes, Boats, and all other Veſſels or Craft whatſoever, that ſhall be employ'd by any of the Perſons ſo aſſociated in the ſaid Fiſhing, or by any deriving Authority from his Majeſty in it: And likewiſe, that all Ships and Veſſels which ſhall be built or bought by the Stock appointed for the ſaid Fiſhing, or by any that ſhall further ſubſcribe to it, or be aſſociated with it, ſhall be exempted from paying Duty, Cuſtom, or Impoſt, for the Fiſh which they ſhall export: Or for whatſoever Salt, Barrel-ſtaves, Net-Yarn, Flax or Hemp, for making the ſaid Net-Yarn, which they ſhall import for the ſaid Fiſhing, during ſuch Time, as to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty and the Parliament ſhall be thought fit.

17. That for the greater Encouragement of Merchants, and others of Wiſdom, Knowledge, and Experience, to ſubſcribe towards the carrying on the ſaid Fiſhery; and for the better making the ſaid Undertaking, the general Concern of this Nation, it is further humbly propounded, that all ſuch Loſſes as ſhall proceed from the mere Caſualty of the Seas by Storms or Shipwrecks; and all ſuch Loſſes as ſhall happen through any Injury or Violence that ſhall be offer'd us by any of the Subjects of the neighbouring Princes or States about us, ſhall be ſo far borne and eaſed, out of the ſaid publick Stock (which ſhall be deſigned towards it) as to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty and of the Parliament ſhall be thought fit.

18. That for the farther Encouragement of all Sorts of Perſons to ſubſcribe to the ſaid Fiſhing, and for encouraging all Perſons of Quality the more, to make the ſaid Undertaking the general Concern of this Nation, it is likewiſe humbly propounded, that as ample Privileges may be given, by his Majeſty and the Parliament, to all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be incorporated in the ſaid Fiſhing Stock, as have been of late granted by the Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, for the general Undertaking of the ſaid Fiſhing in that Kingdom.

XV. And

XV. And in regard not only the Valuableneſs, but the entire Practicableneſs of all theſe Propoſals, doth wholly depend upon the finding out ſuch a Fund or Stock as is herein mentioned; and upon clearing the Feaſibility of carrying on the ſaid Fiſhing, in a Way of more Advantage than the *Hollander* is in at preſent, and forming ſuch Inſtructions as are propounded: Wherefore, in order to the compaſſing both the ſaid Ends, as ſuch a Method or Practice is herewith humbly tendered, and ſuch a Body of Inſtructions for purſuing the ſaid Fiſhing, as may be anſwerable to the Ends which are now laid down, and to the Advantages herein mentioned: So there are ſome Gentlemen, who, out of their Affection to his Majeſty's Service, and out of the great Senſe they have, how much the gaining of the ſaid Fiſhing doth import and concern this Nation, have digeſted ſome Propoſals to tender to his Majeſty, about the Præ-emption of Salt, with ſuch a moderate Duty upon it, as may be neither grievous to the Nation, nor burthenſome to the Manufacture of it. By the Benefit of which Præ-emption alone, nevertheleſs it is hoped, that about twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling *per* Year, or more, may be eaſily raiſed, as a Fund or Stock, that may not only give a Beginning to the ſaid Fiſhing, but by a conſtant Application to it, may by Degrees encreaſe it, and in Time be able to perfect it; and may, if the Bleſſing of God give Succeſs to it, encourage divers others of the Nation to contribute both their Eſtates and Advice for the farther Help of it; ſo as, as it is hoped, nothing will be wanting, that may conduce to the compleating our Deſire and Deſign, of undermining the *Hollander* in the preſent Poſſeſſion he hath of the ſaid Fiſhing; which, as it is the main and principal Scope of this Paper, ſo of the Diſcourſe hereunto annexed.

XVI. That both the ſaid Diſcourſes, and the ſaid Propoſals, about the Præ-emption of Salt, have the rather been tendered at this Seaſon, in regard of the preſent Treaty which his Majeſty is in with *Holland*; and that, conſidering how much his Majeſty and his Subjects have ſuffer'd from that Nation, it is hoped, that nothing, in this Conjuncture of Affairs, will prove more grateful to the Parliament, or more obliging to the Nation itſelf; and therefore, that nothing may be more for his Majeſty's preſent Service.

XVII. That by how much the more plainly and obviouſly it doth appear, that the promoting of the Fiſhery is for the neceſſary Good and Intereſt of this Nation; and by how much the more highly grateful and obliging it muſt needs be, to ſee ſuch a Foundation laid, as may, in Probability, every Way tend to the exceeding Greatneſs of it; by ſo much the more injurious and diſtaſteful it muſt juſtly render the *Dutch*, to the Generality of this Nation, if they ſhall either wrongfully diſturb us in it, or if they ſhall endeavour by Violence to force us from it.

XVIII. This Propoſal is the rather preſented at this Seaſon, that upon this Occaſion the ancient Rights of his Majeſty, and the known Cuſtoms of this Kingdom, may be farther examined and enquired into, *viz.* For the granting, not only a Guard and Protection, but expreſs Licence to all Fiſhers whatſoever, for Fiſhing in any Part of the Seas, from the Weſt of *England* even unto *Scotland*;

land; and for the demanding a Duty upon all Fiſh ſo caught in any Part of the ſaid Seas, towards defraying the Charge of the ſaid Guard and Protection, not only from the Subjects belonging unto *France*, but from the Subjects belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Dukes of *Britany*; and that if the ſaid Cuſtom of giving Licence and Protection to all Fiſhers, be found to be the undoubted Right of his Majeſty, and of this Kingdom, the ſaid Cuſtom may receive ſuch farther Sanction, Aſſertion, and Confirmation from his Majeſty, and from the Parliament, as to the Wiſdom of his Majeſty, and of the Parliament, ſhall at this Juncture of Time be judged moſt convenient.

XIX. Laſtly, This Propoſal is the rather tendered, becauſe, notwithſtanding the extraordinary Gain which the *Hollander* doth continually reap from our own Seas by the ſaid Fiſhing; and notwithſtanding the many Laws which he hath made for the encouraging, regulating, and promoting his own Fiſhing; [which are about thirty] and notwithſtanding the ſeveral Affronts that have been offered, both in *Scotland*, and in our own Channel, by their Fiſhers; and notwithſtanding that both his Majeſty's Father and his Majeſty's Grandfather have been conſtrained, by their reſpective Proclamations, to vindicate their Rights againſt the Inſolencies of the ſaid *Dutch*, both to the ſaid Seas, and to the ſaid Fiſhing; yet no Parliament of *England* hath hitherto either made any Law purpoſely or principally for encreaſing the ſaid Fiſhing; or hath ever raiſed or appointed any Stock towards it; or hath erected any Council about it; or hath encouraged the Nation itſelf to undertake it; or hath warranted them their Protection in it.

V. In the next Place, ſhall be ſuper-added a few Pages of a Treatiſe, written by Mr. *Andrew Yarranton* (entitled, *The Second Part of* England's *Improvement by Sea and Land*) who, upon much Travel and Obſervation, (among other Things) thought fit to give his Furtherance and Advice towards the Undertaking and Management of the Fiſhery: Evincing how we may outdo our Neighbours therein; [which may ſerve by Way of Anſwer to their Objection, who would have us believe, that we cannot do it to the like Advantage, and at lower Charge, *&c.*] which is tranſcribed in his own Words, as followeth, *viz.*

So prodigiouſly rich is the Fiſhing-Trade, and ſo plainly the Right of the King of *England*, that with good Reaſon is our Negligence taken Notice of by all *Europe*, and our Prudence queſtioned by it; that we keep ſo little a Share of it to ourſelves as we do, and let our Neighbours grow great and haughty, by the peaceable and full Enjoyment of that conſiderable Trade. 'Twas a moſt unlucky Piece of Goodneſs, that ſome of our former Princes ever ſuffer'd a foreign Buſs to viſit the *Engliſh* Coaſts: The Tributes and Acknowledgments were paid them then, in return of that Favour. And moſt unlucky ſtill it was, that the ſad calamitous Times, in the Reign of King *Charles* I. prevented his Reſolution of correcting the *Dutch*, and keeping the Wealth of the Seas to his own People: And that the Civil Wars, ſome time after, gave

Occaſion to the *Hollanders* to fix themſelves in that Trade; and 'tis now a difficult Matter (by Force) to diſpoſſeſs them of it.

This only Trade hath been the Occaſion of their preſent Greatneſs. This hath given them their mighty Numbers of Seamen, their vaſt Fleets of Ships, and a Foundation of all their other Trades: But they could not ſo eaſily have ingroſſed the Fiſhery to themſelves (notwithſtanding thoſe Opportunities they have had of advancing themſelves, whilſt we have not had Leiſure to look Abroad) if at other times we had uſed a due Prudence to withdraw it from them.

We have endeavour'd, with Force, and a prodigious Expence of Treaſure and Blood, to bring down their Hearts, and level their Trades: And had they dared to meet us in open Sea, no doubt we had done their Buſineſs, and our own; but they are too wiſe to do ſo, without all the Advantage in the World, and therefore have commonly ſo manag'd themſelves, by ſtanding on the defenſive Part, by prolonging a War, by retiring within their Sands, and natural Defences of their Seas, that we have been hardly able, at any time, to do any Thing conſiderable upon them; never to vindicate the Fiſhery to ourſelves, nor indeed to bring them to their Acknowledgment for that Privilege.

We have endeavour'd otherwiſe alſo to raiſe our Fiſhery, and depreſs theirs; as, by raiſing Joint-Stocks for the buying Buſſes and Nets, and all other Neceſſaries for ſo great an Affair; and by making Companies, and gathering large Sums of Money, to be employ'd in the ſame Manner. But all theſe induſtrious Attempts have had ill Succeſs, and have ended in nought but a viſible Loſs to the Undertakers, and Reproach to the Nation.

How there ſhould be theſe Miſcarriages, it may ſeem wonderful to moſt Men, when the Fiſh are on our own Coaſts, when we have had good Harbours, and the whole Nation praying for the Proſperity of the Undertaking; and if you read all the Books that have been wrote on this Subject of the Fiſhery, you ſhall not find one give the Reaſon of our Failures.

You ſhall find them plentiful in ſetting forth the great Riches attending thereon; the mighty Encreaſe of Seamen; the conſtant Employ of the Poor, and the Enlargement of their ſeveral Trades; not one Word of the Grounds of our ill Succeſs, or of the Reaſons of the Proſperity of the *Dutch*, or of the Remedies to be made uſe of by us to recover our Loſs and Credit. Alas! without theſe laſt Enquiries, what ſignify the firſt, but to raiſe our Grief and Torment, when we know the Advantages of the Fiſhery, but cannot attain to them? Methinks, if they had not been very ingenious and prudent Men, which had paſſed by theſe Enquiries, I could preſently be ſatisfied, that I could give a Reſolution to them; nor do I nevertheleſs deſpair that I can: For, the Things are ſo evident to myſelf, that I cannot doubt but they will be ſo to all others alſo.

What then is the Reaſon, why our *Engliſh* Fiſhery is unproſperous, and the *Dutch* ſucceſsful?

'Tis, in ſhort, that we fiſh intolerably dear, and they exceeding cheap.

What

What alſo, if this Inconveniency of ours might be remov'd, by being taught to fiſh cheaper than the *Dutch* poſſibly can? For it is not to be doubted, but as Cheapneſs is one of the moſt eſſential Parts of Trade; and as he that can ſell a Commodity cheapeſt, ſhall certainly have the Trade of that Commodity; ſo, becauſe the *Dutch* fiſh cheaper than we now, and therefore can ſell cheaper, they therefore conſequently have the Trade of the Fiſhery; and by the ſame Reaſon, when we are able to fiſh cheaper than they, we ſhall carry away the Fiſhing-Trade from them alſo: For the Trade muſt neceſſarily be there where 'tis carried on cheapeſt. No other Reaſon can there poſſibly be, why the *Dutch* ſhould get the Fiſhery to themſelves.

If you ſay, the Regularity of their Trade, or their Induſtry may effect this, and deny that they fiſh cheaper; you may eaſily be anſwer'd, as to the two firſt Parts of your Aſſertion; for they are both reſolved into Cheapneſs. Induſtry promotes Cheapneſs, and ſo does Regularity; both of them are but Promoters of that which I have told you is the Supporter of the *Dutch* Trade: And as to the latter Part of the Aſſertion, you muſt be convinced by Fact.

I will therefore ſhew you, *Firſt*, How the *Dutch* manage their Fiſhery to the beſt Advantage.

Secondly, In what chargeable Ways the *Engliſh* proceed in the Fiſhery. And then, at laſt,

Thirdly, I will endeavour to ſhew you, how the Defects of our *Engliſh* Fiſhery may be removed, and made cheaper than it is with the *Dutch*.

As to the Management of the Fiſhery to the beſt Advantage by the Hollanders.

The great Trade of building Buſſes, making Nets, and doing all other Things which are convenient for the Fiſhing-Trade, is at *Enecuſen*, upon the *South-Sea*, and at ſeveral Places adjoining; ſo that, all the Conveniencies for that Trade lying near together, it is carried on with the greater Expediteneſs and Cheapneſs. It is not in the Power of any Man to run the Prices of Things high, where there is a mighty Number of the ſame Profeſſion about him, who all of them work with the greateſt Diligence that can be, that they may not be underſold by another.

In other Places, (where two or three only of the ſame Trade reſide) they very often preſume upon the Neceſſity of the neighbouring Countries dealing with them, and therefore live profuſely, and demand intolerable Prices for their Commodities; which (according to their Way of living) they cannot afford cheaper. Here is no Ground for ſuch an Extravagancy; you muſt live moderately, and ſell cheap, or you cannot drive a Trade in theſe Parts.

What promotes eſpecially the building their Buſſes as cheap as they do, but their good Huſbandry, in always being provided with Timber, fitted to all Dimenſions? So that, they can no ſooner reſolve on building a Buſs, but the Timber is inſtantly laid out for its Foundation and Bones, and with mighty Expedition the Buſs is raiſed.

And now the Buſs is raiſed, what can they do leſs than take care to preſerve it from all Storms and Bruiſes, whilſt it lies at Home in Harbour? And therefore they have cut Rivers and Channels for its quiet Repoſe, which requires not the Charge either of Cable or Anchor, or of any Perſon to look to it, when not employed in Fiſhing. Theſe are great Advantages; but ſee what mighty ones follow: The Buſſes and Nets, and the Tackling belonging thereto, are always to the Owners ſufficient Credit to take up ready Money, either to be employed in the Voyage, or to buy Salt or Victuals, or for any other neceſſary Occaſions; and the Title to the Buſs never ſo much as queſtionable, ſhe being always under a Regiſter: A Thing of no ſmall Importance to all Perſons therein concerned, were it well conſidered. For, thereby all Men whatſoever are made capable with Swiftneſs to run their Money into the Fiſhing-Trade, and buying a Part of, or the whole Buſs. And ſince there is ſuch Security, what! Should the Money lay ruſting in the Bags? No; it is not ſo; it tumbles out into Trade immediately; the Owner either willingly running the Hazard himſelf, or letting it at three in the Hundred Intereſt; nay, ſometimes for two, the Fiſherman hath enough to ſerve his Occaſions. An unſpeakable Benefit is this to him, and a prodigious Advancement to the Trade in general.

But, oh! This Trade is ſo ſweet, (ſee the Care and Diligence of the States about it) no leſs than forty Placarts made by them, for the curing, and well-ordering of the Herrings, as the Seaſon of the Year ſhall require. What quick Diſpatches has the Fiſhery in all its Affairs, whenever it comes before the Body of the States? They give them all ſufficient Guards, whilſt they are laborioufly drawing up into their Ships the Riches of the Sea; and permit the Fiſhers to end all their Differences by Men of their own Trade, that it may be concluded with Quickneſs, and ſmall Charge. So great are all theſe Advantages of the Fiſhery, that one would think, that one need not have another; and yet they have a conſiderable one: They make Salt upon Salt, with *Portugal* Salt and Sea-water mixt together; and by this Means they have this Commodity cheap, which is uſed ſo conſiderably in the Fiſhery; and under theſe beneficial Circumſtances is the Fiſhery of *Holland* (at all Times) managed.

I do not here intend to ſpeak of their Benefits and Returns in the Fiſhing-Trade, by the vaſt Exchange and Barter which they make with their Fiſh, for other Commodities, in moſt Parts of the World. It is enough for my Purpoſe, that I have given you the ſeveral Conveniencies that do attend them, until their Fiſh (caught and cured) be brought into their Harbours.

But now, let us ſee how bleſſedly the *Engliſh* Fiſhery is managed. We are likely indeed to keep Pace with the *Dutch* in that Trade, when it is carried on ſo, as if we had ſtudied to make it as chargeable as it could be.

The building of Buſſes is hardly known by us; or, where it is known, it is a mighty Charge above what the *Dutch* build at; ſuch bad Huſbands are we in providing Stores of Timber, and ſorting it out for all the Dimenſions of our Buſs: Beſides, our Timber coſts us more (though we have it off our own Soil)

Soil) than it doth the *Hollander*, that fetches every Plank of it from *Germany*, or other remote Places.

Our Nets, and all our Tackle, convenient for the Fiſhery, are not here to be had, but at much greater Rates than what the *Dutch* pay for them; and if they chance to want mending at any Time, it is impoſſible, as Matters go with us now, we cannot, with Speed enough, have them done here, but muſt be forced to ſend them over to *Enecuſen*, in *Holland*, to have them mended, with greater Expedition and Cheapneſs.

And now perhaps the Fiſhing-Time is over, and the Buſs is brought into Harbour, (not into Cuts or Channels for that Purpoſe) but ſhe muſt have Anchor and Cable to keep her to her Station: She continually ſuffers the Unkindneſs of frequent Tides: And here only is the Care of our Buſſes eminent, that we provide Men to look to them, and are even expenſive, rather than ſuffer them to lie alone: So great is our Negligence, and ſo ſmall is our Policy!

But we even outdo ourſelves in the Concern of Salt; our Folly, even in this alone, is ſufficient to ruin the Fiſhing-Deſign; for we have no Salt-Works wholly applicable to, and at the Command of our Fiſhery, and therefore we expoſe it to all the Uncertainties in the World: Let but a War fall out between us and ſome potent Prince or State, and preſently Salt riſes to ſuch exceſſive Rates, that the Fiſhery cannot be carried on, while it continues ſo: Trade cannot endure ſuch a mighty Inconvenience, and is impatient of ſtaying any where, but where it may be even and clever.

Well, the Fiſherman has Need of a little Money, to mend or buy ſome Nets, or ſome Proviſions for his Voyage; let us ſee after what Faſhion he will be furniſhed: The Property of his Buſs is not ſo certain, as to take up Money upon it, nor draw in a Partner. If the poor Man would any ways procure a Supply, he muſt bring his Sureties, and pay at leaſt ſix in the hundred, and let him be ſure to obſerve the very Minute of Payment, or he will be ſwinged unconſcionably by his Creditor. But, perhaps, he cannot get Security, and then his Voyage is hinder'd, and no-body has the Benefit of his Diſappointment but the *Dutch*, and his Wife, who, by this Means, has his Company the longer. I need not declare any other Diſadvantages of the *Engliſh* Fiſhery, as a long Proceſs of Law upon Controverſies, few or no Directions for its Management from publick Authority, and Perſons employ'd therein many times very unfitting for that Buſineſs.

What I have already ſhewn, is enough to convince any Man, that we manage our Fiſhery baſely, and at a vaſt Expence, in Compariſon of the *Dutch*, and that we are deficient of the Encouragements that they enjoy.

I ſhould now proceed to the Redreſs of theſe Miſchiefs, but I muſt firſt vent my Sorrow, and lament a while, that we have thus long lain under theſe Inconveniencies, to the utter ſuppreſſing this Trade, which would have given the Nation a mighty Strength and Treaſure; which would have employ'd Thouſands of poor People, who heretofore, and now, want Bread to maintain them for want of Work; and to the raiſing ſome of our Neighbours (as well *Hanſ-*

men

men as *Dutch*, though I have not named them) to great Riches; to a Power and Impudence of confronting ourſelves, and maintaining their Inſolence by that very Strength which our Remiſſneſs and Negligence has given them.

I come at laſt to ſhew how theſe Miſcarriages may be retrieved; how we may gain the Fiſhery to ourſelves, and exclude the *Dutch* who have enjoy'd it ſo long already: And certainly this can never be done, but by putting ourſelves in a Way to ſell the Commodity cheaper than they. I would have ſaid alſo, we ought to ſell our Fiſh as well-conditioned as they, but that it is plain, Goodneſs is included in Cheapneſs; for I may ſell a Commodity not cheaper than another, though I ſell it at a lower Price, if the Commodity be not comparable to his in Goodneſs.

This Thing, Cheapneſs, is, as before I have ſaid, the great Controuler of all Trade; and is, as it were, the Waiting-Gentlewoman to Trade, who muſt be obtained before ever 'tis poſſible to gain the Miſtreſs. This is ſo clear, that I need not recount the common Inſtances of its Effects over all the World: By this Means Empories have been ſhuffled from one Place to another; and it hath been the common Artifice of ſuch as have deſired to engroſs the Trade of their Neighbours, to act by ſuch Methods.

I will go on therefore, and endeavour to inform you, how this Cheapneſs may be introduced; and, in order to it, will uſe this Method.

Firſt, To ſhew you how, and where ſufficient Iron and Timber may be had to build Buſſes, and how it may be contrived, that we may build them cheaper than the *Dutch*.

Secondly, To recommend a Place to you, where we may have Cuts and Channels, and all other Conveniencies for the receiving in of Buſſes, as well as they in *Holland*.

Thirdly, Propoſe where a convenient Sea-City may be built for thoſe that are employ'd in the Fiſhery, to inhabit in, and how it may be conveniently erected.

Fourthly, To ſhew you, that we have ſo great a Conveniency for the making of Salt, that we may, at all times, afford it much cheaper than the *Dutch* can; and that this Salt will be much better for curing Fiſh, than any that is now extant. And,

Fifthly, Offer ſome Reaſons, for the allowing certain Privileges to the Sea-City, and the Inhabitants thereof, for their Encouragement and trading cheap.

As to the firſt Propoſal of making Buſſes cheap.

In many Places of *Ireland*, Timber lies waſting and decaying for want of Money to make the Ways paſſable to ſome Rivers, and the making ſuch Rivers navigable, for the bringing down Timber for its Exportation; ſo that, at preſent, the Timber is of little or no Advantage to the Owners, or the Publick: And this is ſo, more eſpecially in the County of *Wexford*, near the River *Slane*. There is a Wood, with prodigious Quantities of Timber, which may be brought to a convenient Place upon the ſaid River, for eight Shillings

the

the Ton, or Load; there all the Timber and Beams of the Buſs may be fixed, and then ſhe may be taken off the Stocks, and the River (with four or five thouſand Pounds Charge) may be made ſufficiently uſeful for that Purpoſe: Then ſhe may be convey'd towards the Sea by ſeveral Flaſhes, from Place to Place, till you come to *Eniſcorthy* or *Scarawalſh*, where ſhe may be fitted up and finiſhed. In like Manner may all Sorts of Timber be convey'd down the *Slane* for Exportation.

As to what Iron is neceſſary towards the Building of Buſſes, it may be made upon this River, with the vaſt Timber that now lies rotting, and the Offal of ſuch Timber as ſhall be uſed in the building of Buſſes; and of the Foreſt of *Dean*, Cinders and Iron-Stone, which Metal makes the beſt Iron in the World, except what is made of Iron-Stone, dug out of the Clay-Hill near *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*: And the Price of this Iron, ſo made, will not be above nine Pounds the Ton, in the Bar, and eleven Pounds drawn out into Bolts, as it is in *Germany*, for the Uſe of the *Dutch* in building their Shipping.

For your better Satisfaction, take here the Rates of making one Ton of Iron, fifteen Miles upon the *Slane*.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Of Iron, Stone, and Cinders, carried out of the Foreſt of *Dean*, by Sea, to *Wexford*, and ſo unto the Place where it is to be converted to Iron; two Tons of Cinders, and one Ton of Iron-Stone (which three Ton of Mine will make one Ton of Iron) deliver'd in *Weymouth*, will coſt	0	18	0
The Carriage of three Ton of Iron-Stone and Cinders, from *Weymouth* to *Wexford*,	2	0	0
The Carriage of three Ton from *Wexford* to the Place intended for the Furnace,	0	12	0
Two Loads and half of Charcoal, to make one Ton of Sow-Iron, at 8 *s. per* Load,	1	0	0
Founders Wages for making one Ton of Sow-Iron,	0	4	0
So the Ton of Sow-Iron made in the Place, will be	4	14	0
Two thouſand ſeven hundred of Sow-Iron, will make one Ton of Bar-Iron, whereof the Charges of making one Ton of Bar-Iron, will be	6	8	6
For making one Ton of Bar-Iron to the Finery, or Hammer-Man,	1	0	0
Three Load of Charcoal to make one Ton of Bar-Iron, at 8 *s. per* Load,	1	4	0
All which makes the Ton of Bar-Iron deliver'd in the Place,	0	12	6
For drawing one Ton of Iron into Bolts the *German* Way,	2	0	0

So

So the Charge of Iron drawn, into Bars, is 8 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* and in Bolts, 2 *l.* in all, } 10 12 6

And that which will contribute much to the Cheapneſs of working Iron into divers and various Commodities is, that within twelve Miles of the Place, fit and convenient for this Deſign of building Buſſes, there is the beſt and durableſt Pit-coals fit for Smiths, that ever yet I ſaw; it is called *Kilkenny* Coals. Here are therefore redundant Advantages, beſides the Promotion of the Cheapneſs of building Buſſes, that the Trade of working Iron into Commodities may be highly advanced; ſo that, in that alſo, we may outdo, and underſell our Neighbours.

But to come narrowly to the Conſideration of what I have ſaid in relation to Buſſes; Timber is, by that Means, to be had at the third Penny the *Dutch* now pay for theirs, which they are forced to fetch out of *Germany*, and Iron at two Thirds the *Dutch* now pay for theirs.

When the Buſs is building, we ſhall have Advantages alſo; for Proviſions may be had for the Workmen at two Thirds of what it coſts the *Dutch*: And certainly all this conſidered together, there will be no ſmall Aſſiſtance found out, for procuring Cheapneſs in our Fiſhery, and underſelling the *Hollanders*.

Yet, to ſet out and compleat the Buſs, there are ſtill wanting Pitch, Tar, and Maſts, which may be brought with as little Charge to the Place propoſed, for erecting Buſſes, betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as it is now to *Holland*. Rope and Canvas (if we pleaſe) may be alſo procured, as cheap as by them.

And now the Buſs is fitted out, let her be laded with all Sorts of Timber, ready prepared for Shipping, as alſo with Iron-Bolts, Trindle-pins, and Planks, to be carried to the new Sea-City, hereafter mentioned, to be uſed either for building or repairing other Fiſhing-Buſſes; or for Occaſions in Shipping or Building.

I am ready to juſtify the cheap building of Buſſes, I have here propoſed, to any Man whatſoever, that denies it. Nor am I ſtinted up only to the Woods upon the River *Slane*; for there are ſeveral other Woods in *Ireland*, that lie very conveniently, and may be almoſt as uſeful as thoſe. So that, upon the Whole, I dare aver, that *Ireland* may be made as beneficial, or more to *England*, than *Norway* is to the *Dane*; if Matters were but fitly applied, and the Cheapneſs it would give us in Trade, taken hold of.

For Places to be made to hold the Buſſes when not employed Abroad, and thereby to ſave all that needleſs Expence we are at preſent at, to preſerve the Buſſes from the Damage they commonly receive, when they lie in our great Rivers; and thereby to make our Husbandry as great as it is with the Dutch.

Certainly, there cannot be a greater Conveniency than is in the *Iſle of Dogs*, or *Blackwall-Level*, an Iſle ſeated in the *Thames*, (one of the beſt Rivers in the World) juſt over-againſt *Greenwich*. This Level lies ſo low within its Banks, that

that the *Thames*, at high Water, riſes five or ſix Feet above its Surface: By which Means, the Channels may, with very little Charge, be cut, the Earth not being to be carried away, but thrown up to raiſe a Bank, for making the Channels ſufficient to keep in the Tide. If the Channels be cut ſix Feet deep, the Water will be eleven Feet deep in them; ſo that any Buſs fully laded, there will be Water ſufficient for to ſwim in and out.

And upon the Banks of theſe Cuts may be built the Sea-City, before propoſed for the Conveniency of Fiſhermen, and others concerned in the Fiſhery; and then the Buſs may be laid up juſt under (or before) the Fiſherman's Houſe; and the Water (Bye-locks) may be kept back at the Re-flowing of the Tide, for the more convenient and quiet living of the Buſs: Here will be no Need of Anchor or Cable, or Man to look after the Buſs.

Here alſo may be made all Manner of Ropes and Nets for the Uſe of the Fiſhery; and here may be made Docks convenient to build Ships and Buſſes, and Yards, to receive in all Things that may be wanting, for the equipping of the Buſs.

And that the building ſuch a City is neceſſary for the carrying on ſo great a Deſign, we may conſider how eaſily a new Undertaking is deſtroyed in the Beginning, without all the Encouragements and Helps in the World, that may be afforded.

This hath been apparent in the ſetting up all Manufactures whatſoever, and from whence it has been a common Policy to ſettle a Staple in ſome certain Town, where it is beſt to be regulated, by the Members of the Trade living together. And this Cohabitation has been a frequent Cauſe of Induſtry, and great Improvements: One Man advancing the Husbandry and Invention of another; it has prevented Cheats and Cozenages, and extravagant Prices: For every Man is cautious that he deals honeſtly, and ſells at a moderate Price, when he knows he ſhall be otherwiſe ſupplanted in his Trade, by his more honeſt Neighbour: But how much does it concern us to provide theſe Conveniencies for the Advancement of the Fiſhery, when we ſhall not be able to make any thing of it, unleſs we are able to underſel the *Dutch*, (a vigilant and induſtrious People, already fixed in that Trade) who know their Support and Being depends upon it; and, therefore will, by all Means whatſoever, endeavour to ruin the Enterprize?

Next comes the Conſideration of Salt.

It has been for many Years diſputable in *Holland*, what Salt is beſt for curing the Herrings; and what Sorts of Salt are fitteſt to be uſed in the ſeveral Fiſhing Seaſons. And there hath been much Labour, and practical Experience uſed, to bring the Salt to ſuch Perfection as it is now with them. But, notwithſtanding all their Practice and Enquiry, there are many good Arguments to be produced, which may prove, that great Part of the Salt now uſed in curing their Fiſh, is not ſo good as the World takes it to be.

I am not at preſent for Controverſies; but I dare affirm, and ſhall be ready at any Time to make it appear, that there is in *England* Salt Brine running at Waſte, of ſuch noble and good Quality, that if it were made and converted into good ſizeable Salt, fit for ſalting Herrings, it would ſurpaſs any Salt that is now extant; and make the Herrings that are ſalted therewith, bring at all Markets more Money by the Barrel, than twice the Value of ſuch Salt, as will be uſed in ſalting ſuch Herrings ſhall come to.

This is a rare Salt indeed; and removes not only thoſe Miſchiefs, which, at preſent (in the Fiſhery) have Relation to Salt, but ſeems, in a mighty Meaſure, to promiſe us the Fiſhing Trade.

Salt was a Charge before to us, but now it will be the Occaſion of a greater Gain; affording us upon the Return, by the Sale of the Fiſh, double its Charge and Worth: And it will be much better for us to uſe Salt thus, than if Fiſh could be cured without Salt, and ſold at the Price it is now at. Whilſt this Advantage is enjoyed by us, ſtill muſt the *Dutch* be at the ſame Expence for their Salt: They muſt firſt fetch their Salt from *France* or *Portugal*; and if they make Salt upon Salt, they muſt fetch their Brine from Sea to mix with *Portugal* Salt: This is toilſome and chargeable; but ours will come at much lower Rates. It may be delivered in *Cornwal* for ſalting the Pilchards, and at the *Dogger-Sands* for ſalting Herrings, even at twelve Pence the Buſhel: For the Salt Brine lies ſo conveniently, that it may be conveyed in Pipes to a Place plentiful of Coals, and joining to a great navigable River, by which a Ship of fifty Tons may come to it.

A Sample of this Salt ſhall be at Mr. *Man*'s Coffee-houſe, at *Charing-Croſs*; at *Jonathan*'s Coffee-houſe in *Exchange-Alley*, and at *Richard*'s at *Temple-Bar*; where ſome Perſons of Honour will atteſt the Truth of the Diſcovery, and of the Quantity that may at all Times be had. And how can we now fear (if what I have ſaid be true) but that the Fiſhery muſt certainly be ours? We ſhall have cheaper Timber, cheaper Iron by far, than the *Dutch*; other Things neceſſary for a Buſs, as cheap as they. Salt incomparably better, as convenient Channels and better, being ſeated in the Middle of a well-ordered Town. But,

To theſe mighty Advantages, how happy ſhould we be, if one more were given us? *viz.* To have great Privileges and Immunities conferred upon the Sea-faring City. As much may be ſaid for this, and more than what was urged before, for a City's being granted. How can there be too great Immunities given, for the ſettling ſo great a Deſign as the Fiſhery? Great Privileges will draw in Numbers of Inhabitants, from at home and abroad; does alſo cauſe Cheapneſs, (the eſſential Part of Trade:) And indeed is as convenient for raiſing the Fiſhing Enterprize, as any Thing that can be named.

I therefore laſtly humbly offer theſe Privileges may be granted the Fiſhing City.

I. A Freedom from Taxes for a certain Number of Years.

II. Freedom

II. Freedom from Cuſtoms, for all Goods that ſhall be uſed about the Fiſhing Trade, and in making Buſſes, *&c.*

III. That the Houſes in the City, and Buſſes, may be put under a Regiſter, and ſo become transferrable Credit.

IV. That Granaries, and Lumber-houſes to take in Corn, and Pawns, by way of Regiſtry, may be allowed.

V. That Naturalization may be allowed to all Strangers and Foreigners, and Liberty of Conſcience, *&c.*

VI. That a Fund be fixed, for Maintenance of all ſuch as ſhall fall into Want, who are employed in the Fiſhing Trade, and did not break by their own Knavery, or Negligence.

VII. That all Differences betwixt Party and Party, relating to the Fiſhing Trade, may be ended by Members of the ſaid City and Trade.

Theſe Privileges propoſed for the Fiſhing City, and what before I offered the Redreſs of the ill Managements in our Fiſhery, will, no Doubt, anſwer the intended End. Nothing being amiſs in our Fiſhery, but a Way is ſhewn how it may be corrected; nothing good and commendable in the *Dutch* Fiſhery, but a Diſcovery is made, how we may outdo and underſel them.

As I have ventured on the Grounds and Reaſons of the Fiſhing Trade, I doubt not, but (if the Parliament approve of my Sentiments upon it) they will be willing to raiſe a ſmall Sum for the Advancement of this vaſt Deſign of the Fiſhery: But it is ſtrange, that a certain Gentleman ſhould adviſe the Parliament (in Print) to raiſe ſix hundred thouſand Pounds for this Enterprize, without giving any Reaſons how the Obſtructions that make ſo noble a Deſign ineffectual in the End, might be removed.

VI. To draw towards a Concluſion of this Collection, take an Abſtract of the Laws, *&c.* reſpecting the Fiſhery Trade, and Encouragements thereto, taken out of the laſt Impreſſion of the Collection of Acts of Tonnage and Poundage, and Book of Rates, *Anno* 1689, (and other Statutes) which being in moſt, or many Merchants Hands, they may examine the ſame, and find the Contents of them more at large, in the ſeveral Pages of the ſaid Book herein after mentioned, *viz.*

Page 44. Under the Head of Fiſh, it is noted, that all Sorts of Fiſh, *Engliſh* taken, and brought in *Engliſh* Ships, ought to pay no Cuſtom, as by the Statute of 5 *Eliz. Regin. cap.* 5.

Page 115. By the Act of 12 *Car.* II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for encouraging and increaſing of Shipping and Navigation*: That Fiſh, Fins, and Oil, not made and cured by *Engliſhmen*, ſhall pay double Strangers Cuſtoms, upon their Importation.

Page 121. By the ſame Act it is provided, this Act ſhall not extend to lay Aliens Duties on Salt made in *Scotland*; nor to any Fiſh caught, ſaved, and

cured by the People of *Scotland*, and imported directly in *Scotch*-built Ships, *&c.*

Page 139. In the Act of 12 *Car.* II. entitled, *A Subſidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage*, &c. it is provided, that all Manner of Fiſh, *Engliſh* taken, and brought by *Engliſh* Bottoms into this Realm; and all Manner of freſh Fiſh and Beſtial, that ſhall come into this Realm, are excepted and foreprized.

Page 141. In the ſame Act it is provided, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to all and every his Majeſty's Subjects, at his and their Will and Pleaſure, to convey and tranſport out of this Realm, all and any Kind of Herrings, and other Sea-Fiſh, to be taken in the Sea, by any the Subjects aforeſaid, from, or out of any Port, or Harbour of this Realm, to any Place out of your Majeſty's Dominions, without paying any Cuſtom, Subſidy, or Poundage-Money for the ſame Herrings, or other Fiſh ſo carried and tranſported; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

In an Act paſt *Anno* 13 *&* 14 *Car.* II. *Regis*, *cap.* 24. entitled, *An Act Declaratory concerning Bankrupts*; it is enacted, that no Perſon, or Perſons whatſoever, who have adventured, or put in, or who hereafter ſhall adventure, or put in any Sum, or Sums of Money, in the *Eaſt-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, or into any Joint-Stock or Stocks of Money, by them, or either of them, made or raiſed, or to be made and raiſed, for and towards the maintaining and carrying on the Trade by the ſaid *Eaſt-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, managed, or to be managed, or who have formerly, or ſhall hereafter adventure, or put in any Sum, or Sums of Money, into any Stock, or Stocks of Money, for the maintaining and carrying on of the Fiſhing Trade, or the Trade now called *Royal Fiſhing Trade*; and ſhall receive, and take his or their Part, or Dividend of Fiſh, Goods, or Merchandizes in Specie, and ſhall ſell, or exchange the ſame; ſhall, for, or by Reaſon only of ſuch Adventure of Monies ſo put into the ſaid *Eaſt-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, or into any Stock, or Stocks, for and towards the ſaid Fiſhing Trade; or for, or by Reaſon only of the receiving and taking ſuch Fiſh, Goods, and Merchandizes in Specie, or ſelling for Money, or exchanging the ſame again, be adjudged, taken, eſteemed, or reputed a Merchant or Trader, within any Statute, or Statutes for Bankrupts, or be liable to the ſame, *&c.*

Page 165. In the Act of 14 *Car.* II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for preventing Frauds*, &c. the King, by his Commiſſion, may appoint lawful Keys, *&c.* for the Shipping and Lading of Goods, and that no Goods ſhall be laden or diſcharged, but at ſuch lawful Places: Fiſh taken by his Majeſty's Subjects, Beſtials, and Salt only excepted.

Page 169. In the ſame Act, Pitch, Tar, Salt, Roſin, Deal-Boards, Fir, Timber, *&c.* from the *Netherlands*, or *Germany*, are prohibited to be imported in any Sort of Ships whatſoever, on Penalty of the Loſs of the ſaid Goods and Ships, *&c.*

Page

Page 175. In the ſame Act it is provided, that it ſhall and may be lawful to export, from any his Majeſty's Dominions, Fiſh, into any Parts of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, in any *Engliſh* Ship or Veſſel whatſoever; provided, that one Moiety of her full Lading, be Fiſh only. And, in ſuch Caſe, to import any Wares or Merchandizes in the ſame Ship for that Voyage, without paying any other Rates or Duties of Tonnage or Poundage for the ſame, than were heretofore accuſtomed. And,

Page 176. That all Salt imported from *Scotland*, ſhall pay one Half-penny for every Gallon *Wincheſter* Meaſure, at the lading thereof, to his Majeſty.

Page 194. In the Act of 15 *Car.* II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of Trade*, it is provided, that it ſhall and may be lawful to ſhip and lade, *&c.* Salt, for the Fiſheries of *New-England* and *Newfoundland*, &c. and the ſame to tranſport into any the Lands and Places therein named; any thing in the foregoing Clauſe to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Page 199. In the ſame Act, for the Encouragement of Herring Fiſheries, is this Clauſe, *viz.* And for the Encouragement of the Herring and North Sea, *Iceland*, and *Weſtmony* Fiſheries, be it enacted, *&c.* that from, and after the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1664, no freſh Herring, freſh Cod, or Haddock, Coal-fiſh, or Gull-fiſh, ſhall be imported into *England*, *Wales*, &c. but in *Engliſh*-built Ships, or Veſſels, or in Ships or Veſſels *bonâ Fide*, belonging to *England*, &c. and having Certificates thereof, *&c.* and which hath been fiſhed, caught, and taken in ſuch Ships or Veſſels, and not being bought or had of any Strangers born, or out of any Strangers Bottoms, under Pain of Forfeiture of Goods and Veſſels, *&c.*

Page 209. In the Act of 18 *Car.* II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act againſt Importing Cattle from* Ireland, *&c.* for the better Encouragement of the Fiſhery of this Kingdom, it is enacted, that if any Ling, Herring, Cod, or Pilchard, freſh or ſalted, dried or bloated, or any Salmon, Eels or Congers, taken by any Foreigners, *&c.* ſhall be imported, uttered, ſold, or expoſed to Sale in this Kingdom, the ſame ſhall be ſeized, ſold, *&c.*

Page 245. In the Act of 25 *Car.* II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Greenland *and* Eaſtland *Trade, and for the better ſecuring the Plantation Trade*; Liberty is given for all Perſons to trade thither, and to import into this Kingdom, all Sorts of Oil, Blubber, and Fins, *&c.* and to uſe and exerciſe all other Trade, to and from thoſe Parts, without paying any Cuſtom or Duty, for any ſuch Goods brought in by any *Engliſh* or *Welch* Veſſels: But if, by any Shipping of the King's Colonies and Plantations, then to pay the ſeveral Rates mentioned in this Act, *&c.* and the *Engliſh*, who are to have the Benefit of this Act, muſt proceed from *England* to *Greenland*.

Page 249. In the ſame laſt before-mentioned Act, it is alſo enacted, for the Encouragement of the *Eaſtland* Trade, that all Perſons ſhall have free Liberty to trade into, and from *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, &c. any thing in the Charter of the Governor, *&c.* or any other Charter, Grant, Act, *&c.* to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that any Perſons of this Realm, that ſhall

deſire

deſire it, may be admitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip of Merchants of *Eaſtland*, paying for his Admiſſion forty Shillings, and no more.

Page 255. In the Act paſſed *Anno primo Regni Jac.* II. intitled, *An Act for the ſettling the Revenue on his Majeſty for Life*, was ſettled on his ſaid late Majeſty for his Life, *&c.*

Alſo, in the Act paſſed *Anno* 5 *&* 6 of *W. & M.* (whereby it is enacted, that from and after the 25th Day of *March*, 1694, there ſhall be paid to their Majeſties, until the 17th Day of *May*, 1697, and no longer, for Salt, the Rates and Duties therein mentioned) it is provided, that for all ſuch Fiſh, therein after mentioned, as ſhall be exported from any Port or Place in *England*, *Wales*, and *Berwick*, into any Parts beyond the Seas, ſhall be repaid to the Exporter, theſe Rates following, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For every Veſſel of Pilchards, containing fifty Gallons,	0	12	0
For every Barrel of White Herrings, —— ——	0	2	6
For every Barrel of Red Herrings, —— ——	0	2	0
For every Barrel of Salmon, —— ——	0	5	0
For every Hundred of Cod-fiſh, Ling, Conger, or Hake,	0	15	0

And ſo proportionably for a greater or ſmaller Number or Quantity; which ſhall be paid by the Officer appointed to collect the Duties upon Salt, payable by the ſaid Act: And, if the Officer have not Money in Hand to pay the ſame; then, upon his Certificate, the principal Commiſſioners of Exciſe ſhall pay it; and if the Officer refuſe to pay or give ſuch Certificate, he ſhall forfeit double the Sum; [as by the ſaid Act, Relation being thereunto had, for the better Certainty thereof, it doth, and may more fully and at large appear.]

To all which Premiſes, for the further Encouragement of Perſons to become Subſcribers and Engagers in this Fiſhery Affair, it is thought meet to conclude with the Abſtract of a Paper (come to the Collector's Hands) which contains the Subſtance of the Things before written, under the Title of *Some Preliminary Conſiderations and Advertiſements*, &c. *viz.*

The Advantages thereof may have Demonſtration and Evidence, by the great Power and Wealth which our Neighbours have arrived unto thereby, in Multitudes of Ships and Seamen employed therein; and publick Revenues, and private Advantages of their Merchants, by and with the Commodities and Monies returned, for the Fiſh they take; whereas, we have not one Ship of War built or maintained thereby, nor Mariners bred up (or very few, comparatively, of equal Skill, Hardineſs, or Strength, for Labour or Service) nor Trade by Fiſh conſiderable, but buy, and are ſupplied by our Neighbours, at ſo dear Rates, as none but Perſons of great Eſtates can eat Fiſh with us. And moreover, conſume and ſpend our Coin abroad, for the Neceſſaries relating to our Manufactures; which, by the ſetting up this Trade, would be prevented and increaſed: And alſo, our Towns on the Sea-Coaſts (deſtroyed or neglected, through the Decay of the Fiſhery and Manufactures) might become re-edified and peopled. Our publick Revenues would become augment-

ed

ed to a Sufficiency of preſerving the Dominion of theſe Seas: Our Trade would be vaſtly ſpread, even to many unknown, or, at leaſt, untraded Parts: Our poor and idle People would be maintained, and their Earnings in the Manufactures, relating to the Fiſhery, would enable them, both to buy Cloaths and Victuals, and ſave the vaſt Collections made every Year, for their Maintenance in Idleneſs and Sloth. In ſhort, we might hereby become the Mart of all Trade, and be furniſhed at all Times with Magazines and Stores of all Sorts, both for War and Peace, for ourſelves and all our Neighbours; being better ſituated for Markets, than any other trading Nation whatſoever; which would multiply our Silver and Gold, and reduce it to its Par, as in our moſt *Halcyon* Days.

Queſt. If it be enquired, how ſhall this Affair be diſpoſed, ſo as to prevent former Miſcarriages and Diſcouragements?

Anſw. 1. By a large Stock for carrying on the ſame to the utmoſt Extent it will bear.

2. By making a preſent Entrance upon this Trade, by the Company, under the Conſtitution, Laws, and Rules framed and fixed for that Purpoſe.

3. By his Majeſty's and the Parliaments further Grants of Aid, Countenance, and Protection.

Obj. If it be alledged, it is a Time of War and Hazard, ſhould it be now undertaken?

Sol. 1. There are ſeveral Things requiſite to be prepared and provided; ſeveral Manufactures relating to the Trade to be erected, and Perſons to be trained up and employed therein for ſome Time, before it can be actually engaged in (after ſome Stock is provided) in which, the Stock, as it comes in gradually, will be improved to the Adventurers Advantage, for their Encouragement, to begin the ſame; and, it may be hoped, the War will have an End.

2. There are ſeveral Fiſhing Places ſo ſituated, as that they may be made Uſe of very profitably, without conſiderable, if any Hazard, Loſs, or Damage: For that ſome Veſſels will ſeldom need to lie or labour out of Sight and Protection of our own Shores; whereby we may be enabled to furniſh our Home Markets with Fiſh, at reaſonable Rates.

3. If ſome Veſſels ſhould be loſt, the Stock being great, and managed by a Corporation for a Joint-Account, the Damage would ſcarce be felt, and ſoon recovered, in ſo gainful a Trade.

4. A ſmall Convoy, or Guard, on ſuch Coaſts will ſecure them; which the Letters-Patents provide for.

Obj. If it be ſaid, we cannot build our Veſſels, or ſail them, nor manage our Affairs to that Advantage that our Neighbours do.

Sol. Many ſuch Objections have been caſt in, and probably will be revived, to diſcourage the Undertaking, by amuſing ignorant Perſons.

But

But the Error thereof is before evinced, by the Collections aforeſaid, to the full Satisfaction of all that conſider what is written; touching either the providing Timber and other Materials for building Fiſhing-Veſſels; or the Rates of Buildings within his Majeſty's Kingdoms and Dominions; or the providing of Salt, both better and cheaper; or the ſaving the Duties impoſed, both on the Salt, and the Exportation of the Fiſh, *&c.* or the Conveniencies of our Situation for exporting the ſame to Countries that will take them off: And many other Things obſervable out of what is collected as aforeſaid. To which might have been added, an Abſtract of Sir *Roger Le Strange*'s brief Treatiſe to that Purpoſe, entitled, *A Diſcourſe of the Fiſhery*; briefly laying open, not only the Advantages and Facility of the Undertaking, but likewiſe, the abſolute Neceſſity of it, in order to the Well-being both of King and People, printed *Anno* 1674. And,

Q. If any be deſirous to know, or have an Eſtimate of the ordinary Charge of building and equipping a Fiſhing-Veſſel of about ſeventy Ton, for the firſt Year of its ſetting out, and ſo afterwards for twenty Years, in repairing and amending the ſame, and all its Furniture. As alſo, what may be the Annual Profits thereof one Year with another, *&c.*

Anſ. None may preſume on what depends on God's Providence and Bleſſing in the moſt prudent and diligent Management of this Affair, more than o any other maritime and merchantly Adventurers. But, computing the Particulars of Profit and Loſs, by others Obſervations and Experience, it may be reaſonably expected, that the Diſburſe of about one thouſand Pounds, in building, equipping, victualling, and Wages of a Fiſhing-Veſſel of about ſeventy Ton, may produce *Cent. per Cent. per Annum.* For, ſo have very prying and experienced Men in the Fiſhing-Trade computed; and ſuch Eſtimate thereof has been formerly preſented to a Committee of Parliament, appointed to enquire about the Fiſhery-Affair; and is evidenced, by a ſmall Treatiſe, called *Britain*'s *Buſs*, printed *Anno* 1615, and re-printed *Anno* 1630, ſetting forth the Particulars.

But, ſuppoſing it to be but Half ſo much, or one Quarter, (*viz.* 25 *l. per. Cent.* clear Gains) 'twere ſufficient Encouragement and Motive to incite all Perſons to be concerned therein by their Subſcriptions; and the rather, for that 'tis ſo eſſentially requiſite to the Strength, Safety, Wealth and Trade of theſe Kingdoms; and therefore is worthy the moſt ſerious Conſideration and Regard of all true-hearted *Engliſh* Men, of whatſoever Characters and Denominations amongſt us; and ought accordingly to be ſo managed, as all the People of theſe Nations, who are able to contribute towards the Stock thereof, may be admitted ſo to do; and thereby become engaged in Intereſt, to ſtand by, and defend the Rights and Privileges of theſe Kingdoms, in the Fiſhings aforeſaid; and not to be limited within the ſole Power and Advantage of a few, the Subſcribers of the firſt Stock (propoſed for the entering upon this Affair) excluſive of after-Subſcriptions, to as far as the Trade and Affairs thereof will bear and require.

In

In order whereunto, the Company of the Royal Fiſhery of *England*, incorporated as aforeſaid, in Proſecution of this great Affair and Deſign, have cauſed, as well the Letters Patents for their Incorporation, as the Conſtitutions Laws, and Articles, Terms or Conditions of Subſcription, and bringing in Perſons into the ſaid Company, to be Members of, or Traders, or Adventurers with them therein, to be fairly ingroſſed and publiſhed in Books, to be expoſed and opened for Subſcriptions. As alſo, Abſtracts of them to be printed and publiſhed, in order to Perſons having the Contents thereof before them for their Conſideration, before they do ſubſcribe.

The preſent Stock propoſed by them is three hundred thouſand Pounds; or one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds (at leaſt) to begin the ſame withal: 'Tis made payable at ten ſeveral quarterly Payments; and not any Part thereof to be paid till thirty Days, from and after Notice or Publication of the compleating the ſaid Subſcriptions of the ſaid firſt 150,000 *l.* as by their publick Advertiſements may appear.

Out of all which, 'tis evident, that their is (1.) a legal Foundation, *viz.* By Letters Patents, or Charter from his late Majeſty King *Charles* II. (2.) A regular Conſtitution and Laws, for the Management of the Affairs of the Company, ſo as may be both ſafe and eaſy; unto which all the Members of the Company are to ſubſcribe, for the Conſervation, obſerving and keeping the ſame inviolably. And, (3.) Conſiderable Encouragements to the Subſcribers of the ſaid firſt 300,000 *l.* not only by their Re-imburſment of their tenth, by the Subſcribers of the next 300,000 *l.* as aforeſaid, which is propoſed to be allowed for the firſt Patentees, and ſuch Diſburſements, Loſſes, Charges and Damages, as the Members of the Company have ſuſtained, in the Management and preſerving the Patent, *&c.* in being, to this Time; and other uſes of the Company, entruſted by the Conſtitution, to be diſtributed by the Truſtees of the Company; but by three *per Cent.* allowed to the Subſcribers of the firſt one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds thereof, out of their three firſt quarterly Payments, by equal Proportions: All which, notwithſtanding, is alſo to be made good unto the Stock of the Company, by and out of the ſaid tenth Part, propoſed as aforeſaid.

And to the End that Perſons in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the remote Parts of *England*, might not be ſurprized or excluded the firſt Subſcriptions and Benefits thereof, (if they ſhould think fit to begin ſo early) the Company, by their Order of the third Day of *June* laſt, deferred their taking Subſcriptions unto the third Day of *September* following; and reſolved, that ſhould have been the Day of opening their Books, for the ſaid whole Sum of 300,000 *l.* And that they would ſpeedily agree, and notify the Place, or Places, for doing thereof; which having been notified, ſeveral worthy Perſons of the City of *London* and Parts adjacent, became engaged in Subſcriptions and Promiſes, to the Value of about 50,000*l.* (in caſe the Books ſhould be then opened for that Purpoſe) Whereupon the Company thought meet to have their Books opened accordingly for ſuch Value. But,

Upon further Conſiderations, (as namely, that moſt Members of Parliament, and others of the Nobility and Gentry, were out of Town, and were not likely to come ſooner than about the Beginning of the next Term: And, that it was meet for the Company to provide they ſhould not be precluded of any Advantages, propoſed to the Subſcribers of the firſt 300,000*l.*) The Company therefore, by their further Order of the 31ſt Day of *Auguſt* laſt, thought fit, upon the Subſcriptions of the ſaid 50,000*l.* to reſtrain any farther Subſcriptions, or opening of their Books for that Purpoſe, until the fourth Day of *November* next; and having in nine Days Time received Subſcriptions of the ſaid 50,000*l.* they ſhut up their Books accordingly; and have ordered the ſame ſhould be publiſhed; and that they will no longer, than the ſaid fourth Day of *November* next, delay the Subſcriptions, that any Perſons ſhall think fit further to make, for raiſing the ſaid Stock, and ſettling their other Affairs, relating to the Management thereof. And, in the mean Time, will live in Hopes of the Parliaments Confirmation of, and Additions to their Privileges, herein before-mentioned, to have been formerly granted to the Undertakers; whereunto they are encouraged, by the Judgment of the Parliament of this Kingdom, declared in the Preamble of an Act, paſt in the fourteenth Year of his late Majeſty King *Charles* II. *Cap.* 28. wherein is this Expreſſion, *viz.*

The publick Honour, Wealth, and Safety of this Realm, as well in the Maintenance of Trade, and Support of Navigation, as in many other Reſpects, doth in an high Degree depend upon the Improvement of the Fiſhery, &c.

Which may be thus paraphraſed, *viz.* The Fiſh of the *Britiſh* Seas, and other his Majeſty's Dominions, within the Grant afore-ſpecified, (which coſts us nothing but the taking) being added to our other uſeful and neceſſary Products and Manufactures, wherewith theſe Kingdoms and Dominions are bleſſed, beyond any other trading Nations of the World; wherein alſo conſiſts the Honour of theſe Iſlands, may be exported to double, yea treble the Value of all neceſſary Imports of Merchandizes from other Countries, and ſo muſt neceſſarily produce great Wealth of all Kinds, and particularly Plenty of Monies, for its Balance. And, the Fiſhings train up Multitudes of the hardieſt and ſkilfulleſt Seamen for our other Navigations and Defence: In the Improvement whereof principally, lies the Safety and Strength of theſe Nations; and the Situation of theſe Iſlands being ſuch, as may juſtly challenge to be the Emporium, or Mart of Trade beyond all others, we ſhall not need to fear the Vent of ſuch Surpluſage of ſuch Imports, for ready Monies of all Countries who need them. And, if ſo, (not regarding the malicious and clandeſtine Whiſperings and Backbitings of ſuch as envy and bear Ill-Will to our Nations, flouriſhing under our preſent Government, and the Ways and Means propoſed for the Management of this Affair, (which they underſtand little of) let all the cordial Promoters thereof be up and doing: and if our only Strength fail us not, we may bid Defiance in his Name to all the Might of *Europe*; which ſhall conclude this Subject: With this brief Avertiſement

ment of the Collector hereof, touching the preſent State of theſe Kingdoms, with reſpect to the preſent Advance of our Gold and other Monies, above the common Standard and Denomination, at which they are coined; *viz.* That the ſame is impoveriſhing and deſtructive to the Trade, Proſperity and Wealth of theſe Nations. That yet the Government may be eaſed of the Burthen of our clipped Monies, without Charge or Loſs to the Nation; yea, to the great enriching thereof, and ſo as may tend to the carrying on the Fiſhery; the preſent War with the *French*, and all its Tradings whatſoever, to the Exceſs of Profit and Commodity before-mentioned; the Methods and Means of which he reſerves to the further Proſecution of what he hath heretofore humbly propoſed.

A LETTER *to a* Convocation-Man, *concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of that Body. By Sir* BARTHOLOMEW SHOWER, *Knight.*

SIR,

I Will be as good as my Word with you, and give you an Anſwer to thoſe three Queſtions which you were pleaſed to put to me in our laſt Converſation: 1. What Occaſion there is at preſent for a Convocation? 2. What Law there is, that commands, or permits their Sitting and Acting, but the abſolute free Pleaſure of the Prince? 3. Of what Validity their Acts and Reſolutions are, unleſs confirmed and approved by Parliament?

The firſt of theſe three Queſtions I ſhould regularly have aſk'd you; the particular Courſe of your Thoughts and Studies has made you better able to anſwer it, than I am; and I think your Attendance on Convocations has left you Leiſure enough to do it: However, ſince you tell me you expect my Opinion upon it, I, who can deny you nothing, will not deny you that. In plain *Engliſh* then, I think, that if ever there was Need of a Convocation, ſince Chriſtianity was eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, there is Need of one now; when ſuch an open Looſeneſs in Mens Principles and Practices, and ſuch a ſettled Contempt of Religion and the Prieſthood have prevail'd every where; when Hereſies of all kinds; when Scepticiſm, Deiſm, and Atheiſm itſelf have over-run us, like a Deluge; when the Moſaic Hiſtory has, by Men of your own Order, been cunningly undermined and expoſed, under Pretence of explaining it; when the Trinity has been as openly denied by ſome, as the Unity of the Godhead ſophiſtically oppoſed by others; when all Myſteries in Religion have been decried as Impoſitions on Mens Underſtandings, and nothing is admitted as an Article of Faith, but what we can fully and perfectly comprehend: Nay, when the Power of the Magiſtrate and of the Church is ſtruck at, and the Indifference of all Religions is endeavour'd to be eſtabliſh'd, by

Pleas for the Juſtice and Neceſſity of an univerſal, unlimitted Toleration, even againſt the Senſe of the whole Legiſlature; at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch an Age, you and I, Sir, and all Men that wiſh well to the Intereſts of Religion and the State, cannot but think, that there is great Need of a Convocation.

There is Need of it, to give a Check to the farther Proceeding of theſe looſe and pernicious Opinions; or, if that cannot be done, yet, at leaſt, to remove the Scandal which their Growth and Impunity have brought upon this Church and Nation; eſpecially when we conſider the ſad Effects of theſe Opinions with regard to the Corruption of Mens Morals.

Sir, It is no News to either of us, (who are ſometimes uſed, you know, to look Abroad, and ſee how the Wind ſtands from *Holland)* that the *Socinians* and other Anti-Trinitarians there, and their Abettors, are free enough in claiming our Church to their Party; Men of their boaſted Probity and Reaſon would not, we may well think, pretend to it without ſome Grounds; the avowed Doctrines and Principles of our Church, we are ſure, afford them none; and we are not able to gueſs whence they ſhould have any, unleſs from the private Encouragements and Furtherance they have found in their ſecret Correſpondence with ſome of our Members, that now make a very conſiderable Figure in it. Some Letters that have appear'd not long ſince, in the Account, a notable *Socinian* [y] has given us, of the Reaſons of his embracing the Romiſh Religion, have ſtartled many conſidering Men amongſt us, and made them doubt, there is ſomewhat more in theſe Boaſts of that Sort of Men, than yet appears above-board; and inclined them to conclude, that the honeſt Divine in *Holland* was not very much miſtaken, who, on that [z] Occaſion, about ſix Years ſince, expreſſed himſelf thus concerning them and us. "On "this Score, *ſays he*, I ſhall add, that the Church of *England*, which is the "moſt illuſtrious Part of our Reformation, owes us Something for our Edifi- "cation: God forbid we ſhould give any Credit to the Accuſations made on "that Account againſt her; but in Conſideration of the Confidence where- "with the Pleaders for an univerſal, unlimited Toleration, on this Side the "Water, accuſe her for being in their Opinions, I muſt take the Boldneſs to "ſay, ſhe ought not to refuſe a publick, and, in ſome ſort, ſolemn Diſ- "avowal of them, to refute thoſe Calumnies."

[a] About the ſame Time we were thus called upon from thence, the Synod of the *Walloon* Churches of the United Provinces aſſembled at *Amſterdam*, being inform'd by the Memorials and Inſtructions of their Churches, and by a [b] Letter from between thirty and forty of the *French* Miniſters here at *London*, that ſeveral of their Communion did, both there and here, teach the *Socinian* Hereſies, ſome of them openly; and that others of them more artificially hid their Poiſon under the Cover of an unbounded Toleration: This Synod, I

[y] Mr. *Papin.* [z] *Jurieu Tableau du Socinianiſme, à la Haye*, 1690. *Prim. Part*, 5. *Lettre, p.* 211. [a] *r. Extrait des articles reſolu au Synod del Egliſes Wallones*, &c. *Lettre* 8. *p.* 565. *Tableau du Socinianiſme.* [b] *Ibid.* 559.

ſay,

ſay, then thought it neceſſary, ſolemnly and unanimouſly to condemn ſeveral Propoſitions of that Nature and Tendency, as falſe, ſcandalous, and pernicious; forbidding, under the higheſt Cenſures, all Perſons, Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, to vent them, either in their Sermons, Lectures, or even private Converſations; and ordering the private Perſons, found faulty in that kind, to be excommunicated, and the Miniſters to be ſuſpended from their Charge, till the next Synod ſhould determine farther concerning them.

We have Reaſon to honour this Synod, upon the Account of its laudable Zeal for the Faith; you may well remember, on another Occaſion, with what Warmth and Eagerneſs the Judgment and Example of the Reformed Abroad have been preſſed upon us; and our being permitted now to follow their Example, cannot reaſonably be oppoſed by thoſe, who have, upon other Occaſions, laid ſo great a Streſs upon it, eſpecially when the Danger from thoſe Opinions is now ſo much encreaſed, and the Occaſion ſo much more preſſing: For though the many *Socinian* Pamphlets, then publiſh'd without Controul, did great Miſchief among us at Home, and gave ſome Grounds Abroad for the Brags on the one Side, and the Suſpicions on the other concerning us, yet the (falſly ſtiled) *Vindication of the holy and ever bleſſed Trinity*, &c. with the ſeveral bold Defences of it, the ſophiſtical Account of the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, the Treatiſe call'd, *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, and the Diſcourſe concerning the *Divinity and Death of Chriſt*, had not then appear'd, nor was the ſhameful Correſpondence above-mention'd then diſcover'd.

Indeed, to be plain, there ſeems to be an univerſal Conſpiracy amongſt a Sort of Men, under the Stile of *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, Deniers of Myſteries, and pretending Explainers of them, to undermine and overthrow the Catholick Faith: There ſeems too much Reaſon to fear, there is no Order, Degree, nor Place among us, wholly free from the Infection; and as a Convocation, regularly meeting and acting freely, is the greateſt Fence againſt theſe Miſchiefs, and the moſt proper Inſtrument to apply a Remedy; ſo you cannot allow yourſelves to doubt, but that my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Piety and Zeal will move his Grace to repreſent it ſo, and incline his Majeſty (who has run ſo many Hazards Abroad for ſecuring our moſt holy Religion pure and uncorrupted) to think, there is now a proper and needful Occaſion of uſing this Means to preſerve it at Home.

You cannot imagine the miſchievous Effects, which theſe various Opinions and Hereſies, of late publiſhed and vindicated, have produced amongſt the Laity; they are ſuch, that a Convocation ſeems neceſſary, not only for the ſake of the Faith and Doctrine of our *Engliſh* Church, but even to preſerve the Belief of any Revelation: Such are the Inferences which the Gentlemen of this Age make from the Books above-mention'd, and the Opinions deliver'd in them, as command your Declaration, that there is a Religion enjoined by Heaven; for otherwiſe you muſt expect, that the next Age will believe none: I am loth to be more particular, but the Cauſe and the Effect are both plain.

Sir, I am ſenſible, that there are two or three Things, which may be objected to this Propoſal. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that my Lords the Biſhops

Biſhops have a ſtanding Juriſdiction, and Courts of their own, wherein they may proceed and judge of Hereſy, and cenſure the Perſons guilty of it; that the Univerſities have the like Power within themſelves; and that his Majeſty, by Virtue of his Supremacy, hath Power, according to the Laws of the Land, to oblige them to do their Duty in this, as well as in other Inſtances: That ſome of the heretical Opinions, from whence ſo much Danger is pretended, have been cenſur'd in this Way, and the Offenders puniſh'd; and that his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to give his Directions to my Lords the Biſhops, forbidding the Uſe of any new Terms in the explaining of our Faith, and commanding and encouraging the Biſhops to uſe their Authority therein; and that therefore theſe Miſchiefs may be prevented in the ordinary Way, without having Recourſe to a Convocation, where Mens Minds may be eaſily put into a Ferment; and *from which Sort of Meetings*, a great Man, not long ſince Preſident of it, has been reported, by his Creatures, to have ſaid, *he never knew any Good to come.*

Now, as to the Power and Juriſdiction of my Lords the Biſhops in Matters of Hereſy, whatſoever it be originally, and of eccleſiaſtical Right, yet it is, you know, by the Laws of *England*, confined within particular Bounds; and beyond thoſe Bounds they are not allowed to have any Authority to determine or puniſh, and are, conſequently, in very great Peril, if they exceed them: And whether they do or not, is to be judged in the Temporal Courts, where theirs are eſteemed and treated as Foreign Courts, and as derogatory to the Crown and its Prerogative, altho' all of them are holden by the ſame Law, and under the ſame Authority.

Under ſuch a Limitation of their Powers, and an Uncertainty of what Conſtruction ſhall be made of their Uſe of them, and an Hazard of their Liberties and Eſtates if a Conſtruction be made in their Prejudice, it cannot be pretended reaſonable to expect the Suppreſſion of Hereſy from their ſingle Endeavours, (and they cannot Act otherwiſe than ſingly, unleſs in Convocation) and therefore this Objection can proceed only from ſuch as do in good earneſt deſire and endeavour the Progreſs and Increaſe of Hereſy.

You need not doubt but that their Lordſhips are ſufficiently ſenſible of the great Power and Malice of their Enemies, and may well hope to be excus'd to all conſidering Men, if they do not haſtily run into the Snare which ſuch treacherous Pleaders for their Authority would lay for them.

The only Prelate I can think of, who has had the Boldneſs to enter the Liſts with theſe Men, agreeably to the ancient Courage of his Family, and to that Zeal for the Honour of God, and of his Church, which is ſo confirmed and diſtinguiſhing a Part of his Character, how baſely was he every where traduced by this ſet of Men? How falſly repreſented, even where it concerned him, and the Cauſe he was embarked in moſt, to appear in a juſt and true Light? Such and ſo many expenſive Diſcouragements were enough to have ſhaken and tired any Man of leſs Reſolution and Integrity: And tho' his Lordſhip had the Honour and Satisfaction of ſeeing the greateſt Credit and Support of the Bench all along, and the higheſt Court of *England* at laſt, declare in his

his Favour; 'tis an Honour you cannot expect that many will contend for, a Satisfaction that very few will care to purchaſe at ſo dear a Rate. The Man thus excommunicated by that Biſhop, and ſolemnly condemned by the Univerty for notorious Hereſy, enjoys (as I am informed) a Living, with Cure of Souls, untouched, and even unqueſtioned by another, who wants not Courage or Zeal, we know for the Honour of his Character, but is more wary than to caſt himſelf into the Expence and Uncertainties of a long Law-Suit.

As to the Authority of the Univerſities in this Caſe, the Coercive Part of it (the only Part that can do any Good in ſuch a corrupt Age as this) extends only to their own Members. An[c] Author I have lately mentioned, had not elſe in publick Converſations diſperſed his pernicious Notions in one of them ſo long as he did, unpuniſhed; nor choſen to leave it at laſt, rather tired with the Succeſsleſſneſs of his Endeavours, than ſcared with any ill Conſequence that might attend them. It is ſo far from that, that I am told, he has entertained new Reſolutions of returning thither, and of entering the Town in Triumph upon his late fancied Defeat of Myſteries. The Congregation *de propagandâ Infidelitate* have, it ſeems, thought fit to diſpatch this warm Miſſionary into thoſe Parts, once more to try his Fortune in making Proſelytes; in which they have ſome Hopes he will ſucceed better than formerly, ſince he has erected himſelf into an Author, and has had the Honour of being anſwered, and has made ſome little Noiſe in the World.

If they and he continue in their Reſolutions, the Univerſity will, I queſtion not take ſuch Meaſures as are proper for her Safety; ſhould ſhe have no direct Authority over a Stranger; yet ſhe can hinder him from holding Commerce with any of her Members, or from entering into any of her Libraries; and this, I dare ſay, ſhe will do, if he ever preſumes to fix himſelf there, and to diſturb the Peace of that Place, a ſecond Time.

Whatever further Powers *Univerſities* may be thought to have in theſe and the like Caſes, yet thoſe Powers have, you know, been uſed but ſparingly, and not without ſome Difficulty and Check, and have, when exerciſed, been purſued always with the Calumnies and Outcries of the whole Party—— Some good Effect indeed the exerting of them has had in one of thoſe learned Bodies, but the Influence of it has not reached ſo far as we might have wiſhed and expected.

His Majeſty's Authority over the Biſhops and them can reach no farther than the inforcing the Exerciſe of thoſe Powers, which I have ſhewn, and Experience proves, to be too ſhort, or clogged with too much Difficulty and Diſcouragement to attain the End we all ſo much want and contend for. And though the Church has great Acknowledgments to make to his Majeſty, for thoſe very pious Admonitions and Inſtructions he has been pleaſed to give the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, in his excellent Letter to them; which has not only ſerved to countenance the Orthodox, but in ſome Meaſure, to quiet and depreſs the Inſolence of the bold Innovators in the Faith, and the prevaricating Interpreters of it: Yet even that Letter itſelf has been broadly hinted by ſome

[c] *T——d.* of

of them (however, we are well aſſured, with much Untruth) as intended in their Favour. And ſo long as theſe Books paſs uncenſur'd and unretracted, under the Stile and Name of Men of great Place and Character in the Church, the Miſchief, which the Authority they have yet left with ſome Men, may be able to do, is not ſufficiently prevented, nor the Scandal wiped off from our Faith and Nation.

So that all we can conclude from what his Majeſty has done in this Matter, is, that he hath diſcover'd by it a godly Concern for the Support of the Catholick Church in his Dominions, of which he is the avow'd Defender, and a Readineſs to do yet more for its Defence and Encouragement, when the true and only proper Means of doing it, the humble Advice of his Clergy, aſſembled in Convocation, ſhall be ſeaſonably and fully laid before him.

If there ſhould be any of that venerable Body, who ſhould have the Boldneſs to attempt to raiſe a Ferment in it, in Defence of Doctrines or Perſons too juſtly liable to Cenſure, it is not to be doubted but that the Piety, Moderation, and Chriſtian Courage of the reſt will be ſoon able to ſuppreſs it, and to advance the good Ends for which they are call'd. But as it is eaſy to be obſerv'd, that none are ſo great Enemies to the frequent Uſe of Parliaments, as they, who by the Diſappointment of their Ends upon them, have taken a Diſguſt; or by their corrupt Dealings in the Courſe of their Miniſtry, have moſt Reaſon to fear them; ſo the like Uſe of a Convocation cannot, with any Grounds, be diſtruſted by any, but ſuch as have either been defeated already in their Practices upon it, or elſe have leſs Concern for the preſerving the Unity and Integrity of the Catholick Faith, than for ſome new-fangled Opinions of their own, which expoſe them to Cenſure.

If, after all, it ſhould be pretended, that the proper Way of redreſſing theſe Miſchiefs and Grievances, is by Parliament ——That there are Lords Spiritual and Temporal, *&c.*——To this it may be replied, that, as it is certain in fact, notwithſtanding the Urgency of the Occaſion, yet no Relief has hitherto been effected that Way; and though the Commons have a ſtanding Committee for Religion, yet nothing, as I remember, has, ſince the Revolution, been done by them in Behalf of it: So it is farther conſiderable, that ſuch a Method is, in the Nature of the Thing, improper; 'tis a little too much to ſuppoſe Country Gentlemen, Merchants, or Lawyers, to be nicely ſkill'd in the Languages of the Bible, Maſters of all the Learning of the Fathers, or of the Hiſtory of the primitive Church, which they muſt, in ſome Meaſure be, who ſit Judges of religious Doctrines and Opinions. The Biſhops Concurrence in the Houſe of Lords is not required to a Vote, (though their Summons is neceſſary to make a Seſſion) they may be, and frequently are, out-number'd by the Lay-Peers: Their calling thither is upon another Principle; *viz.* by reaſon of their Baronies. Beſides, the aſcribing ſuch a Power to either of the two Houſes, or to both of them together, is to confirm the Grounds of the Papiſts Cavil at our Reformation, when they ſay, that our Religion is merely Parliamentary, and changeable at the Will of the Prince, and of the Majority of the Peers and Commons; an Aſſertion, which, I believe, there is no worthy

Member

Member of either Houſe, but would reject with Diſdain, as zealous as they are for their juſt Powers and Privileges upon other Occaſions. I have that Opinion of thoſe noble and worthy Men, that compoſe the two Houſes, as not to doubt, but that they, if they were to ſit Judges of this Controverſy, would certainly determine in favour of that holy Faith, into which they were all baptized, and would readily and warmly aſſert its Intereſts; and I have, at the ſame Time, that Opinion of them too, as to think, that, were the Controverſy laid before them, they would certainly decline giving Judgment in it, and remit it to its proper Tribunal, a Convocation. For the ſame Reaſon, that they are concern'd to maintain the Rights and Privileges of their own Body, they would be careful not to invade thoſe of another. They are wiſe enough to know, that the preſerving the Conſtitution as it is, is the beſt Way to preſerve their true and real Intereſts; and that the Conſtitution can be no otherwiſe upheld, than by the ſeveral Parts of it being preſerv'd in their juſt Rights and Powers, allow'd to act in their proper Spheres, and circumſcrib'd within them: This, I ſay, they are Wiſe enough to know, and within juſt enough to own, that a Convocation is as much a Part of the Conſtitution as a Parliament itſelf.

Suffer me, Sir, to conſider that Opinion, which puts the Management of Powers, merely Eccleſiaſtical, into the Hands of Laymen; ſuffer me, I ſay, to conſider it a little farther, and to the Bottom. 'Tis ſomewhat without the Bounds of my Study; and I may therefore talk wildly; if I do, you, who have drawn the Trouble upon yourſelf, muſt e'en bear it patiently.

It is agreed, I think, that Almighty God is the Author of all lawful Power, whether it be ſpiritual or temporal, eccleſiaſtical or civil: At leaſt, if there ſhould be any Difference of Opinion concerning Civil Magiſtracy, and the Origin of that, yet no Chriſtian, I ſuppoſe, will deny the Original of Eccleſiaſtical Authority to have been from Heaven. None will ſay otherwiſe, but ſuch, who eſteem Religion to be merely an human Invention, ſet a-foot for the better Government of the World; and even they muſt agree, when they diſcourſe to the Governed, that it is of divine Inſtitution, even for the Sake of their own pretended Policy, or elſe, its Influence is loſt.

Theſe Powers are diſtinct in their End and Nature, and therefore ought to be ſo in their Exerciſe too: The one relates to the Peace, Order, Health, and Proſperity of the Man in this Life, as a ſociable Creature; the other concerns his eternal State, and his Thoughts, Words, and Actions preparative thereto: The firſt is common to all Societies, whether Pagan or Chriſtian; the latter can rightly be exerciſed among Chriſtians only, and among them, not as incloſed with any civil State or Community, but as Members of a ſpiritual Society, of which Chriſt Jeſus is the Head, who has alſo given out Laws, and appointed a ſtanding Succeſſion of Officers under himſelf, for the Government of this Society. And theſe Miniſters of his did actually govern it, by thoſe Powers committed to them from him for near 300 Years before any Government was Chriſtian: From whence it follows, that ſuch ſpiritual Juriſdiction cannot be, in its own Nature, neceſſarily dependent on the temporal; for then it could

never have been lawfully exerciſed, till Kings, States, and Potentates became Chriſtian. And as Chriſtianity could not, at this rate, have been planted at firſt, till Kings were converted, ſo muſt it ſtill be very precarious as to its Duration and Continuance; and removeable at Pleaſure, whenever any Prince ſhall not think fit to encourage it.

It was the Opinion, indeed, of a late great Preacher, that Chriſtians under a Mahometan or Pagan Government, ought to value the Peace of the Country above the Converſion of the People there.——But, for all that, few, I dare ſay, who have read, and believe the New Teſtament, can forbear thinking, that the Laws of Chriſtianity oblige thoſe to whom they are publiſh'd, though living under the Dominion of a Turk, or an Heathen; and conſequently, that there may be amongſt ſuch Chriſtians the Exerciſe of an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, not dependent on the temporal Power of that Place.

The Church then is a Society inſtituted in order to a ſupernatural End; and, as ſuch, muſt have an inherent Power in it, of governing itſelf in order to that End; for a Society without a Power of Government, is a Bull in Polity.

There being in this Society a diſtinct Order of Men, particularly impowered and qualified to teach, inſtruct, and govern the whole Body, in relation to the Ends of it, and the ſupernatural Means of exerciſing theſe Powers (immediate Illumination) not being by the Author of its Inſtitution thought neceſſary to its Continuance, it is, on that ſcore, left to ſuch ordinary and natural Means as conduce beſt to its End; ſuch as aſſembling, debating, and, by Majority of Voices, deciding, concerning ſuch Rules and Principles as the Society is to be govern'd by.

The Law of this Society is indeed made to their Hands: They have no Power of changing, adding, or diminiſhing; but the applying this Law to particular Caſes, explaining the Doubts that may ariſe concerning it, deducing Conſequences from it in Things not explicitly determined already by that Law, and the enforcing Submiſſion and Obedience to their Determinations, are the proper Objects of their Power and Juriſdiction.

This Power having been actually claimed and exerciſed, by the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, without Regard, nay, in Oppoſition to the Heathen temporal Authority, is therefore, we ſay, not neceſſarily, in its own Nature, dependent on ſuch Authority. And if we ſhould ſay farther, that this Society has an inherent and unalterable Right to the Exerciſe of this Power, it would be no more than what every Sect and Party among us claims and practiſes; and what the Defenders of an univerſal and unlimited Toleration, by their own Principles, are bound to allow and juſtify: And we may preſume, ſuch ſtrict Pretenders to Reaſon will not ſay, that the Church of *England*, declar'd free by *Magna Charta*, eſtabliſh'd, fenc'd, and ſupported by our Laws, is, even by that Means, in a worſe Condition, than the moſt inconſiderable Sect or Party, now indulg'd or tolerated among us.

But this is what, at the preſent, we neither do, nor need ſay, though it is more than the Objectors will eaſily reply to; ſuch, I mean, as are really of any

any Religion among us: But for ſuch, indeed, as have no Religion at the Bottom, nor any Notion of a Church, however, for their worldly Intereſt, they may pretend to this or that Party, by joining themſelves to its Communion (and too many ſuch, we may juſtly believe, there are among us) that ſuch may be for ever ſilenced in this Queſtion, it will be proper to ſhew them, what the Law of their Country ſays in this Caſe; that Law, the Obligation of which, whatever elſe they think fit to diſclaim, they cannot but own and acknowledge. They are to know therefore, that

A Convocation is an Eccleſiaſtical Court or Aſſembly, eſſential to our Conſtitution, and eſtabliſh'd by the Law of it, by the ſame Law as the Gentleman receives his Rent, or the Member enjoys his Privilege. And my Lord *Vaughan* therefore, who made as great a Figure in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, as ever he did on the Bench, agrees, that a lawful Canon is the Law of the Kingdom, as well as an Act of Parliament; and whatever is the Law of the Kingdom, is as much the Law as any thing elſe is ſo: For there are no Degrees of Compariſon in the Matter; a Law cannot *ſuſcipere magis & minus*. But the fuller State of this Point will more properly fall under the two remaining Enquiries, in one of which you have oblig'd me to ſhew,

What Law there is that commands or permits their aſſembling, conferring, or reſolving, as a Convocation, but the abſolute free Pleaſure of the Prince?

Before I give a direct Anſwer to this Queſtion, I ſhall take leave to ſay, that ſhould it be admitted, that the aſſembling of Convocations is entirely dependent on the Sovereign's Will, yet, conſidering the great Need there is, at preſent, of one, we cannot doubt of the King's gracious and ready Concurrence to this Purpoſe, upon the leaſt Motion of his Grace my Lord Archbiſhop. And notwithſtanding the Diſuſe of a Convocation, and the defeating the Ends of it by repeated unwarrantable Adjournments, during the Life of the laſt Metropolitan, yet the preſent, we queſtion not, would zealouſly move and promote their Aſſembly and Seſſion, to the Honour of Religion, and Good of the Church, if he had Intimation of the Neceſſity and Seaſonableneſs of it.

His commendable Warmth for the eſtabliſh'd Church, againſt the Enemies of it, on one Side, aſſures us, that he will, undoubtedly, on this Occaſion, expreſs even a greater Zeal (in Proportion to the greatneſs of the Danger) againſt thoſe of the other: And as for his Majeſty's Good-will, we do not, I ſay, we will not in the leaſt doubt of it; though ſome, who would be thought to underſtand his Mind beſt, and to be moſt in his Intereſts, are pleas'd, in all Companies, to admire and celebrate a Prince of no Religion, as the beſt of Governors: For which ſaucy Inſinuation, we hope, in Time, that Vengeance will find them.

Had we no Hold on his Majeſty's Kindneſs and Affection towards the Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, yet ſhould we not ſuſpect his Compliance on the Score of ſtrict Juſtice. His Coronation-Oath obliges him to preſerve the

Rights of the Church of *England* entire; and we humbly preſume, that one of the Chief of thoſe Rights is a frequent Sitting of Convocations, as ſhall be largely made out by and by.

He has, ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, ſeveral Times conven'd the *Scotch* Aſſembly; and the Church of *England*, therefore, which pays as much Regard, at leaſt, to crown'd Heads, as an Aſſembly does, may juſtly expect from him, as tender a Concern for her Welfare and Intereſts. The Friends of Monarchy, who acknowledge the King their ſupreme Head and Governor, may, we think, as ſafely be truſted together, as the profeſs'd Aſſertors of a levelling Parity, who pretend to no Union with the Civil Power, no political Dependence upon it, but to act ſeparately, and ſet up for themſelves.

Let Men whiſper what they pleaſe, No-body ſhall ever perſuade us, but that his Majeſty's Judgment and Piety engage him to be preſent at our Service and Communion: And notwithſtanding all the Contumely and Reproach of our Enemies, we cannot diſcover what Sect or Perſuaſion there is among u,s either ſo amiable, as to ſteal his Inclinations from us, or ſo numerous and powerful, as to make it a Piece of Policy not to eſpouſe us.

I ſhall, in this Caſe, very freely borrow the Words of a certain Author, who wrote either at the Declenſion of the laſt, or the Beginning of this Reign. "We may, *ſays he*, conſider ourſelves as the only great and united Body of "Proteſtants in the Kingdom, with whom all other Parties, compar'd, bear "no conſiderable Proportion." For though the Non-conformiſts, conſider'd abſtractly, make a vaſt Number of uſeful People, yet being laid in the Scale with thoſe of the Epiſcopal Communion, they are but few, and lie in a little room: And whoſoever will be at the Pains to balance the one againſt the other, even where the Diſſenters make the greateſt Figure, and may juſtly boaſt of their Numbers, they will ſoon be convinc'd, that the other doth far exceed them. And if it be ſo in Cities and Corporations, where is the greateſt Multitude, it is much more ſo in the Country Pariſhes, where they bear not the Proportion of One to an Hundred.

Nor doth the Church of *England* more exceed the other Parties in her Numbers, than ſhe doth in the Quality of her Members; for whereas they who conſtitute the ſeparate Congregations, are chiefly Perſons of the middle Rank and Condition, the Church of *England* doth, in a manner, vouch and claim all the Perſons of Honour, and of the learned Profeſſions, and ſuch as have valuable Eſtates, for her Communicants: And though the other Sort are as neceſſary in the Commonwealth, and contribute as much to its Strength and Proſperity, yet they make not that Figure in the Government, nor ſtand in that Capacity of having Influence upon publick Affairs. For not only the Gentlemen of both the Gowns, who, by reaſon of their Calling and Learning, are beſt able to defend our Religion, and vindicate our Rights and Privileges by their Tongues and Pens; but they whoſe Eſtates, Reputation, and Intereſt recommend them to be elected Members of the great Senate of the Nation, as well as they, who, by reaſon of their Honours and Baronages, are hereditary Legiſlators, are generally of the Church of *England*: So that they who conform

to

to the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip and Diſcipline, are to be look'd upon and acknowledg'd as the greateſt Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, and the Hedge and Fence of our Civil Rights and Liberties.

Thus far my Author. Now, the Uſe I would make of theſe Reflections of his, is, to ſhew, that it cannot be worth any Prince's while to diſcourage the Church of *England*, in order to gain the Favour of any, or of all theſe ſeparating Parties; and therefore, that his Majeſty, we may be ſure, will be tender of the Intereſts of our Church, when his own Intereſt, as well as his Affection and Judgment, lead him to it.

But could it be ſuppos'd, that a wiſe Government would fall in with the diſſenting Side, and act by the Meaſures which ſhould, from that Quarter, underhand be preſcrib'd, yet can we not imagine, that the Diſſenters themſelves would interpoſe in this Caſe, to hinder the Sitting of a Convocation? They know, that you pretend not to meddle with thoſe that are without, nor to exerciſe any Act of Juriſdiction over them; but only to frame Rules and Deciſions, that ſhall hold within yourſelves, and to govern and judge your own Members. You envy not them, I dare ſay, their legal Indulgence, nor any Privilege which they enjoy under it; nor do they, I hope, envy you your legal Eſtabliſhment, or any Right that you claim from it. You differ, indeed, from one another in Matters of Diſcipline and Ceremony, but in Matters of Faith and Doctrine you agree; and therefore, if they wiſh well to that common Faith, they will be glad to ſee it aſſerted, againſt Hereſies and Innovations, by a Synod of *Engliſh* Divines, whoſe Judgment, in Points of this Nature and Importance, they and all the World muſt revere.

There can be no Oppoſition from that Side therefore: The greateſt Danger, in this Caſe, is by ſome thought to ariſe from ſuch as are Enemies to all Religion, and to all the Profeſſors of it; and conſequently are moſt ſo to thoſe of the Church of *England*, becauſe they are the firmeſt Support of Religion, by reaſon of their Number and compacted Strength, under a legal Eſtabliſhment: But though the Encreaſe of theſe kind of Men ſhews, that there is great Need of a Convocation, yet their Intereſt, we hope and believe, can never be conſiderable enough to prevent its ſitting and acting.

'Tis very hard to ſuppoſe, that a Government ſhould be influenced to ſuch a Degree, by Men who can never be Friends to any Government, and who are incapable of having any effectual Obligation ever laid upon them from the Principles either of Good-nature, Duty, or Gratitude.

Were the calling therefore of Convocations lodg'd purely in the Breaſt of the Sovereign, yet could we have no manner of Jealouſy of his princely Readineſs to call them: But now, beſides the King's good Intentions, we have the good Intentions of the Law too on our Side; and what that ſays in the Caſe, is to be the next and chief Subject of Enquiry.

An exact and full Account of this Matter cannot be given, but by one, that has great Skill in our *Engliſh* Laws and Antiquities, and beſides a great deal of Leiſure. The latter of theſe you know very well that I want; and I am ſure, I know, that I want the former. I content myſelf to have Law enough

to

to be uſeful to my Neighbours where I live, and to be able to ſerve my Country in Parliament; ſo that you muſt not expect from me a compleat Hiſtory of all the Rights and Powers of a Convocation, deduced regularly thro' the ſeveral Periods of Time, and Reigns of our Kings, but only a ſhort Account, how the Matter ſtands, or ought to ſtand, by our Law, at preſent: And if, in giving this very Account, you expect I ſhould uſe a ſcrupulous Strictneſs of Stile and Method; ſay not a Word more or leſs than I need ſay, and every Thing juſt in the very Place where I ought to ſay it; in this too, Sir, you will find yourſelf miſtaken.

What I offer lies within a little Compaſs; the Books I ſhall conſult, upon this Occaſion, are in every-body's Hands; and yet, perhaps, what I produce from thence will have the Advantage of appearing new, becauſe we live in an Age, when Convocations, and the Learning that relates to them, are out of Faſhion, and even Underſtanding-Men are content to know as little of an *Engliſh* Synod, as of a *Jewiſh* Sanhedrim. But to return to our Point.

A Convocation is the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Court or Aſſembly; it is called and convened in Parliament-time by the King's Writ, directed to the Arch-Biſhops; it conſiſts of all the Clergy of both Provinces, either perſonally or repreſentatively preſent: In the upper Houſe are the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops; in the lower Houſe, or Houſe of Commons Spiritual, are the Deans, Arch-Deacons, one Proctor for every Chapter, and two for the Clergy of each Dioceſs: This is the Court.

Our Laws are, by the beſt Authors, divided into Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, and the ſame Diviſion holds for our Courts; the ſame Diſtinction is likewiſe uſed for Cauſes examinable in thoſe Courts: Nor is the Diſtinction leſs common in reſpect of Perſons; of which the ſeveral Inſtances and Authorities are too plain and known to need any Expoſition. Now as the Parliament is the higheſt temporal Court, ſo is a Convocation, or national Synod, the higheſt and moſt ſupreme Court-Chriſtian within this Realm, and each gives Laws reſpectively to all Inferiors.

The King, indeed, is ſupreme Head over all Perſons, and in all Cauſes within theſe Dominions: Our Laws and our Oaths, taken in Obedience to them, have declar'd him ſo; and with ſound Reaſon, in Contradiction to all foreign Powers and Juriſdictions: But it is apparent, by our Conſtitution, that the King is intruſted with the Power of convening Synods or Convocations, in reſpect of the Church, as he is with ſummoning Parliaments, for the Redreſs of Grievances, and the publick Safety of the Nation, in the ſame Manner, and under the ſame Limitations.

'Tis true, a Convocation cannot aſſemble without the Aſſent of the King; his Writ is neceſſary in order to it: But the Queſtion is, Whether that Writ ought not to iſſue whenſoever a Summons goes out for a Parliament? And in order to a Reſolution of this, it may not be improper to conſider the great Reſemblance there is between a Parliament and a Convocation. Each conſiſts, as I ſaid, of two Houſes, and theſe have (or ſhould have) their ſeveral Prolocutors; one of which is ſo by Virtue of his Precedency and Place, the other is choſen from among themſelves. The one of theſe Courts is of the ſame Power and

and Uſe with regard to the Church, as the other is in reſpect to the State. Nay, though they have different Names, and the Word Parliament be appropriated to ſignify a Temporal Legiſlature, yet anciently the ſame Appellation belonged to both. A *Wittena Gemote* ſignified what we call a Parliament, and a *Church-Gemote* what we call a Convocation.

It is obſervable therefore, that the Judges uſe the ſame Words with regard to the King's Writ about a Convocation, as they do, when they mention the Summons of a Parliament; and to ſatisfy you, that the one ſtands upon the ſame Foundation and Principle, with regard to the King's Prerogative, as the other doth, it may be convenient to recollect the Common-Law Maxims, uſed, and frequently urged by our Enemies for the one; and you will find them applicable in like Manner to the other; *viz.* That the Kings of *England* can do nothing as Kings, but what, of Right, they ought to do; That the King can do no Wrong; that the King's Prerogative, and the Subjects Right are determined by Law; that the King hath no Power but what he Law gives him; that the King is called *Rex à bene regendo*; i. e. according to Law; becauſe (ſay they) he is a King, while he rules well, but a Tyrant, while he oppreſſes; that the Kings of *England* never appear more in their Glory and Splendor, and Majeſtick Sovereignty, than in Parliament; that the Prerogative cannot do Wrong, nor be a Warrant to do Wrong; and they quote *Plowden*, and other Books to this Purpoſe. They ſay farther, that Parliaments conſtitute, and are of the Eſſence of the Government; that they are Bulwarks of our Liberty, the Boundaries that keep us from the Inundation of Tyrannical Power; that their Buſineſs is to make and abrogate Laws, and to redreſs Grievances: And from hence it has been argued, as ſelf evident, that, if Parliaments are ſo abſolutely neceſſary in our Conſtitution, they muſt then have certain Stationary Times of meeting and ſitting, for providing Laws eſſentially neceſſary to the Being and Well-being of the People; and, to this Purpoſe, ſeveral Authorities, from old Books and Statutes, are urged for the Frequency of Parliaments: And thus run many of the popular Pamphlets in the two laſt Reigns.

Nay, they farther inſiſt upon it, that, were there no Statute, nor any Thing upon Record extant, concerning the Neceſſity of Parliaments ſitting to redreſs Grievances; yet it muſt be ſo by the fundamental Laws of the Government, which would be very lame and imperfect without it: For otherwiſe (ſay they) the Prince, and his Miniſters might do what they pleaſe, and make their Will the Law and Meaſure of our Duty; which Defects muſt needs be provided againſt in the Eſſence and Conſtitution of the Government itſelf. And this (ſays one of thoſe Authors) we may call the Common-Law which is of as much Value, if not more, than any Statute; and of which all our good Acts of Parliament, and *Magna Charta* itſelf, is but declaratory. So that, though the King be entruſted with the formal Part of ſummoning and pronouncing the Diſſolution of Parliaments, which is done by Writ; yet the Laws, which oblige him, (as well as us) have determined how, and when he ſhall do it; which is enough

enough to ſhew, that the King's Share in the Sovereignty, which is lodged in the Parliament, is cut out to him by Law, and not left to his Diſpoſal.

Thus far, and much farther has it gone, with publick Approbation; and this before the *Triennial Bill*, by Force of the Common-Law, or certain antient Ordinances preſumed to be affirmative of it.

Now, to apply all this to our preſentPurpoſe, let us conſider our Sovereign as a Chriſtian King, whoſe Religion is eſtabliſhed by the Laws, and the Profeſſion of it moulded into the Form of a National Church, a Church which, by the ſame Law, hath its Rights and Privileges; and this Privilege, in particular, which is the Subject of the preſent Debate.

Let us take this View of Things, I ſay, and then ſee, whether every one of the Axioms above-mentioned, will not hold upon this Account, as they do on the other; does it not follow from hence, that though the King be entruſted with the formal Part of ſummoning and convening, yet, ſince by the very Eſſence and Conſtitution of our Church, a Convocation ought to meet, ſit, and act; does, it not follow, that the Fundamentals of our Government ſhew him, when and how, that Power is to be exerciſed; and that it ought not to be at his free Will and Pleaſure? It may not be grateful to enlarge on this Topick; and therefore I forbear: But a farther Application is very eaſy.

The Statute of *Henry* VIII. 6. *Cap.* 1. is ſtrong for their calling, whenever a Parliament is ſummoned; it runs thus. *Becauſe the Prelates and Clergy of the Church of* England *called to the Convocation, and their Servants and Families that come with them to ſuch Convocation,* oftentimes and commonly *be arreſted, moleſted, and inquieted, our ſaid Lord the King, willing graciouſly in this Behalf to provide for the Security and Happineſs of the ſaid Prelates and Clergy, by the Aſſent of the Great Men and Commons aforeſaid, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed, that all the Clergy hereafter to be called to the Convocation by the King's Writ, and their Servants and Families, ſhall for ever hereafter fully uſe and enjoy ſuch Liberty and Defence in coming, tarrying, and returning, as the Great Men and Commonalty of* England *called, or to be called to the King's Parliament, do enjoy, and were wont to enjoy, or in Time to come ought to enjoy.*

Now this, by the Way, gives them the Benefit of the 5 *Henry* IV. *Cap.* 6. and of the 11 *Henry* VI. *Cap.* 11. and all other Privileges in reſpect of their Perſons and Retinue, which the Members of the Houſe of Commons enjoy. But what I urged it for, is, that the King, the Great Men, and the Commons, eſteem'd a Convocation to be an Aſſembly which was frequently and of Neceſſity to meet, and ſit too, and act; for otherwiſe, what Need had there been to make theſe Proviſions for them, if they were to be called only once in a Century or two, according as the Sovereign was, or was not in Humour? The Act ſays, they were frequently and often-times arreſted and inquieted in their coming; and, by conſequence they came, and met frequently.

That the Convocation is ſummoned by the King's Writ, is no Argument, that it is a precarious Aſſembly: For, at this Rate, all, or moſt of the Writs under the Great Seal, which are either for the publick Good, or private Relief, may be ſaid to be precarious too. But we ſay, that the Law of the Realm hath

hath directed the King, or at leaſt his Chancellor, Keeper, or other Miniſter, having the Cuſtody of the Great Seal, to iſſue ſuch Writs; and they can no more be omitted than any ſingle Peers Summons to Parliament.

A Convocation may be conſidered, not only as a Court, or Aſſembly for the making Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but as a Court properly ſo called, having Juriſdiction in reſpect of Crimes Eccleſiaſtical; and ſo runs *Coke*'s Account of it, where he declares its Buſineſs in part to be the preventing, or ſuppreſſing *Hereſies and Schiſms*; and that therein they proceed *ſecundum Legem Divinam & Canones ſanctæ Eccleſiæ*; and in antient Time it was frequently, and of Neceſſity uſed to that End; for without it, there could be no Puniſhment of Hereſy.

Fitzherbert, in his *Natura Brevium* (a Book I have heard the Profeſſors of the Law vouch as good Authority with them) ſaith, that 'tis the Statute of 2 *Hen.* IV. *Cap* 15. which firſt enabled the Ordinary of the Dioceſe to convict of Hereſy; and this, by that Law, without the King's Writ. But then the 25 *Henry* VIII. *Cap.* 14. doth repeal that Statute, and directs the Ordinary to tranſmit no Heretick to the Lay-power, without the King's Writ firſt obtained. But before the Statute of *Henry* IV. every Perſon was to be convinced by a Provincial, if not a National Synod; *i. e.* by the Archbiſhop and all the Clergy of that Province, as appears by the Recital made in our old Writs to that Purpoſe; the Form of which runs thus: *Salutem, cum venerabilis Pater Thomas Archiepiſcopus Cantuar totius Angliæ Primas, de conſenſu & aſſenſu ac conſilio Epiſcoporum & Confratrum Suffragan ſuorum, nec non totius Cleri Provinciæ ſuæ in Concilio ſuo Provinciali congregat*, &c. had declared, and adjudged, *&c.* Now no Man will ſay, that this Act of Juriſdiction was precarious, and at the King's abſolute Will and Pleaſure, whether it ſhould be exerciſed, or not.

The Ancient Writ whereby the Biſhops where ſummoned to Parliament doth ſeem to intimate as much, as I argue for in this Caſe. It hath the common Recital of all Writs of Summons to Parliament: But then, as I find it in the New Edition of the *Regiſter of Writs (Append.)* it adds to the Command of the Biſhops Preſence theſe Words following — *& hoc, ſicut nos & honorem noſtrum, ac Salvationem & Defenſionem Regni & Eccleſiæ prædict: Expeditionemq; dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis; præmonentes Decanum & Capitulum Eccleſiæ veſtræ Glouceſter ac Archidiaconos totumq; Clerum veſtræ Diæceſis, quod iidem Decanus & Archidiaconi in propriis perſonis ſuis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idemq; Clerus per duos Procuratores idoneos plenam & ſufficientem poteſtatem ab ipſis Capitulo & Clero diviſim habentes ad parliamentum prædict perſonaliter interſint, ad conſentiendum iis quæ tunc ibidem de communi Conſilio regni noſtri (divinâ Clementiâ favente) contigerit ordinari. Teſte meipſo*, &c. I ſhall make no Remarks on the Words of this Writ, they are plain; nor will I diſpute *Coke*'s Expoſition upon it, which is, that theſe *Procuratores Cleri* were called to conſent to thoſe Things, which by the Common Council of the Realm ſhould happen to be ordained, ſo as their Conſent was to be only to ſuch Things as were ſo ordained: And therefore, that there might be an Act of Parliament without them. I will not pretend to cenſure the Logick of

this *Ergo*; nor ſhall I concern myſelf in the Hiſtory of our *Engliſh* Parliament, how anciently conſtituted, or what Share the Clergy had therein, or when they ceaſed to have it. Whatever becomes of thoſe Points, this to me ſeems certain, that the *Premonition*, or Warning mentioned in this Writ, being to thoſe who are Members of, and conſtitute the lower Houſe of Convocation, is an Argument of invincible Strength to eſtabliſh the Neceſſity of Convocations meeting as often as Parliaments.

I muſt admit, that it is ſaid in the ſecond Part of *Roll*'s Abridgment, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was prohibited to hold ſuch Aſſembly by *Fitzherbert* Chief Juſtice, becauſe he had not the King's Licence; but he adds, that the Archbiſhop would not obey it; and he quotes *Speed* for it. I ſhall not conſult that lame Hiſtorian for a Law-Point; and it ſeems ſtrange, that *Rolls* ſhould cite him. But however his Aſſertion doth not affect what I contend for, that the Fundamental Rules of our Conſtitution command the ſummoning and convening of a Convocation, whenſoever a Parliament is ſummoned. Neither Peers nor Commons can aſſemble but by the King's Authority; and yet we think their Meeting not to be entirely dependent on Pleaſure.

Look into the Abridgments of our Law; you will find a Convocation there always deſcribed, as a Meeting of the whole Clergy to conſult of Matters Eccleſiaſtical in *Time of Parliament*. Look into our common Vocabularies, where Terms of Law are expounded, you ſhall find that *Blount*, *Minſhew*, and the reſt of them, in their Expoſition of the Word, conſtantly add the ſame Circumſtance of Time.

Pardon me, Sir, for ſending you to Books of this Kind, their firſt and chief Uſe indeed is, to explain Words, but they ſerve alſo to ſhew the Nature of Things as commonly believed and underſtood, under the Uſe of thoſe Words; and to this Purpoſe they have been employed by very Great Men, upon very great Occaſions; witneſs the Debates about the Abdication, which are very full of *Dictionary Learning*.

One Thing more I ſhall obſerve to you on this Point, out of a Speech of *Grimſton*'s, ſpoken in the Houſe about the Canons of *Charles* the Firſt's Time. You may ſee it at large in *Ruſhworth*. His great Complaint there is, that the Clergy framed theſe Canons out of Parliament-time, and out of Parliament-time gave Subſidies. And according to the Account given us of this Debate in *Whitelock*'s *Memoirs*: The Queſtion was, whether they were not diſſolved by the Diſſolution of the Parliament, without ſpecial Writ to that Purpoſe? And there were great Opinions on either Side of the Queſtion: All which implies and allows, that they were to ſit and act in Parliament-time: And I think no-body will miſtruſt that Houſe of Commons for being willing to allow the Clergy greater Privileges than they really had.

Thus far, I think, our Way is plain and clear. But ſuppoſing all this, the Queſtion ſtill is, whether or no the Convocation may confer, after their Summons and Meeting, without the King's ſpecial Licence and Aſſent? In anſwer to which, I muſt acknowledge, that the common received Opinion is in the Negative. However, if what has been offered already, with Regard to their

convening,

convening, have any Weight in it, it muſt hold alſo in ſome Degree, with reſpect to their conferring and treating when met, about Matters proper to their Cognizance.

If they are a Court, and have their Juriſdiction; or are a Legiſlature, and have the Power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, both which they certainly are and have, then the Liberty of conferring and diſcuſſing is neceſſary to their very Exiſtence: For otherwiſe, they are an Aſſembly to little or no Purpoſe whatſoever. If their Tongues are to be entirely at the King's Will, 'tis improper to give their Reſolutions any Title but the King's Rules and Ordinances: They are to all Intents and Purpoſes His, upon whoſe Will, not only their Meeting, but their very Debating depends. This is too harſh to be aſſerted or ſuppoſed of a free *Engliſh* Synod, which, in ſo many reſpects as we have heard, reſembles a free Parliament; and cannot therefore be unlike it in that, which is moſt eſſential to it, a Freedom of Debate and Argument.

The Prerogative Power of aſſembling them by Writ, doth not import a Power of licenſing or confining them in their Debates, any more than it doth in the Caſe of a Parliament. Nor doth the *Writ of Summons* neceſſarily imply any thing of this Nature, when fairly conſidered: It is in this Form,

Gulielmus Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Fideli Conſiliario noſtro, Thomæ eâdem Gratiâ Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, ſalutem. Quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, ſecuritatem & Defenſionem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem & tranquillitatem Regni noſtri & ſubditorum noſtrorum ejuſdem concernentibus, Vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemeni rogando mandamus quatenus præmiſſis debito modo intuitèr attenditis & ponderatis, Univerſos & ſingulos Epiſcopos Veſtræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos Eccleſiarum Cathedralium nec non Archidiaconos, Capitula & Collegia totumque Clerum cujuſlibet Diæceſios ejuſdem Provinciæ ad comparendum coram vobis in Eccleſiâ Cathedrali Sancti, Pauli Londini Viceſſimo ſecundo die Novembris proximi futuri vel alibi melius expedire videritis cum omni celeritate accommodâ modo debito convocari faciatis, ad tractandum conſentiendum, & concludendum ſuper præmiſſis & altis quæ ſibi clariùs exponentur ex parte noſtrâ. Et hoc ſicut Nos, ſtatum Regni noſtri & honorem & utilitatem prædictæ Eccleſiæ diligitis, nullatenûs omittatis. Teſte meipſo, apud Weſtmonaſterium 12. die Octob. Anno, &c.

There is nothing, I ſay, in this Writ, that can be pretended to imply, that a Licence to treat or debate is neceſſary; or that the King is to propoſe the Heads or Subject Matter upon which they are to treat or debate: Nor would ſuch Propoſal imply, that they could treat of no other that's proper for their Conſideration. The Reaſon ſuggeſted for their Call is, ſome urgent Affairs relating to the Security and Defence of the *Engliſh* Church, and the Publick Peace and Tranquillity of the Realm; it is in order to their treating, conſenting, and concluding *ſuper præmiſſis & aliis quæ ſibi clariùs exponentur ex parte Domini Regis*. Here are no negative or reſtrictive Words; nor is it ſaid

which ſhall be propoſed to them: And it may be a Queſtion in Grammar, whether the *Quæ clariùs exponentur* ought not to be referred to the *Aliis*, as the laſt Antecedent, and not to the *Præmiſſis*. But ſuppoſing the Words to have a general Reference to all that foregoes, it can amount to no more than this, that the particular Occaſion of their Meeting ſhall be ſignified more at large to them when they are met; which is what is practiſed in the Caſe of Parliaments by a Speech of the King's or of ſome one of his chief Miniſters: But it cannot be concluded from hence, that therefore they are confined not to diſcuſs any Matter that is not thus propoſed. Becauſe the King ſays, that the urgent Affairs relating to the Security and Defence of the Church, which occaſioned their Aſſembly, ſhall be more fully repreſented to them there and then, on the King's Behalf; does it follow therefore, that, when aſſembled, they muſt not diſcuſs any Subject which is not ſo repreſented? I ſhall not, at preſent, entertain any Doubt, whether theſe Words were anciently and conſtantly inſerted in thoſe Writs, becauſe I have not ſufficiently enquired into it. But did the Writ run always thus, yet no Inference, I ſay, can be drawn from thence, to deprive them of their Freedom of Debate, and Treaty about Matters purely Spiritual and Chriſtian.

E're I diſmiſs this Writ, I muſt obſerve to you (though a little out of its proper Place) that 'tis teſted the ſame Day with the Summons to Parliament; that it commands an Aſſembly of the Clergy the ſame Day with their Meeting: And by the whole Tenor of it, it appears, that the Weal of the Church, and of the State, the Peace of the Publick, and the King's Intereſt, are all concerned in their Convocation and aſſembling. One would think, that the Conſequence from hence ſhould be, that, whenever this Writ goes out, they ſhould not only meet formally, but ſit and act as the Parliament do; that there ſhould be a Seſſion of Convocation, as well as a Seſſion of Parliament; that the lower Houſe ſhould be formed into a Body, have its Prolocutor, and Opportunity given it to propoſe what ſhall be thought neceſſary for the Good of the Church; to pray the Removal of Scandals, Inconveniencies, and Grievances; and to do in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs what an Houſe of Commons would claim a Liberty of doing, at due Times, though the King had no Money to deſire of them. This, I ſay, one would reaſonably expect from the iſſuing of ſuch a Writ, and from the Nature of the Thing; and not, that a Convocation ſhould be ſummoned Year after Year, and Parliament after Parliament, for no other End and Purpoſe, but meerly to be adjourned; that a venerable Number of Men ſhould be called to Town, once or twice every Winter, from all Quarters of the Kingdom, in order to be told, that they muſt go down again.

It is plain, that Convocations ought to be held as often as Parliaments; but ſurely this is a very odd Manner of holding them: Were a Parliament thus ſummoned and adjourned, e'er the lower Houſe had made a Vote, or ſo much as choſen their Speaker, I believe the Members of that Houſe would hardly allow this to be holding a Parliament.

But

But they tell us, the Caſe is different; and that, though the Parliament, whenever it meets, acts a Courſe, yet a Convocation cannot, without being particularly impowered by the King to that Purpoſe. If this Aſſertion had Truth in it, it would indeed go a good Way towards excuſing every Thing; but I have ſhewn already, and ſhall ſhew farther, that there is no manner of Ground or Colour for it. Even *Prynne* himſelf, in his 2d *Tome of the Hiſtory and Vindication of the King's ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, doth not pretend to ſtretch the Prerogative in this Matter any farther, than to prohibit the Clergy's aſſembling in Synod without his Summons, or their debating and concluding any thing in prejudice to the Crown and Kingdom: All which we fully and freely allow. But he never ſays (as I can find in any of thoſe three voluminous Works of his, or in his Animadverſions on the 4th of the Inſtitutes) that a Licence in Particulars is antecedently requiſite to a Debate; or that a general Licence under the Broad Seal, is neceſſary for a Deliberation. But, were either of theſe neceſſary, yet, for that very Reaſon, it ought to be granted; and it matters not much, whether we ſay, that a Licence ought, *ex Debito Juſtitiæ*, to be granted, to empower them to deliberate, or whether they have of themſelves a Power of Deliberation, without ſuch Licence expreſly given. Nor can any Argument be drawn for the Neceſſity of this Licence from its having been deſired; (which, whether it has or not, I, who live in the Country, cannot readily anſwer) The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons prays a Liberty of Speech; and that Liberty hath been ſometimes granted under Reſtrictions and Limitations; for Inſtance, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign: And it is too well known, that ſhe did ſometimes commit Members of the Houſe of Commons for pretended Exceſſes in the Uſe of that Liberty. Notwithſtanding which, in every Reign, ſince that Time, ſuch Liberty of Debate hath been affirmed and allowed to be their original Right, without Prayer by them, or Licence from the King to that Purpoſe. And the preſent Speaker therefore, when firſt preſented in the Houſe of Peers, did (as I remember) by Order or Intimation from the Houſe omit to aſk it. However, the aſking it is no more an Argument for its being dependent on the Sovereign's Pleaſure, than it is a Proof that they have not, of Right, a Freedom of Acceſs to his Majeſty's Perſon, becauſe at the ſame Time they aſk that alſo. No, theſe are Fundamental Rights, eſſential to their Conſtitution, without which they might be an Aſſembly of Men, but not a Parliament. The very Word Parliament is derived from *parler ment*, to ſpeak one's Mind, according to *Coke*'s *Etymology*: And to ſay therefore, that a Parliament may be without Liberty of Speech, is to uſe the Word without meaning any Thing by it. Should therefore Liberty of Speech have, at Times, been formally aſked by the Convocation, and as formally granted by the Sovereign, yet this would not hinder its being their Right and Due without Prayer, and a Franchiſe neceſſarily incident to their aſſembling. Their Deſire in this Caſe muſt be interpreted to be only an Inſtance of the reſpectful Duty of the Clergy towards the Crown, and not a real Proof of the Authority of the Crown over them: And to ſay otherwiſe, is to wound the Liberties of the Parliament through thoſe of the Convocation.

But

But I muſt not leave this Parallel here; it will be to our Purpoſe to conſider, a little farther, what is uſually alledg'd in Behalf of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. The great Friends of Liberty (as they would be thought) argue thus; that not to permit them to ſit, debate, reſolve, and act, and thereby anſwer the great Ends for which they were inſtituted, is expreſly contrary to the Common Law, and conſequently to the Law of God and Nature, which are its Foundation; that thereby a Violence is offer'd to the Government itſelf; that 'tis a plain Infringement of the People's fundamental Rights and Liberties. They quote 2 *Rich.* II. Numb. 28. as very notable to this Purpoſe: 'Tis in theſe Words, or to this Effect.

" Alſo the Commons in Parliament pray, that foraſmuch as Petitions and " Bills preſented in Parliament by divers of the Commons, could not heretofore " have their reſpective Anſwers, that therefore both the Petitions and Bills in " this preſent Parliament, as alſo others that ſhall be preſented in future Par- " liaments, may have a good and gracious Anſwer, and Remedy ordained " thereupon, before the departing of every Parliament; and that, to this Pur- " poſe, a due Statute be enſealed, or enacted, in Force for all Times to " come." *To this the King's Anſwer was*, " That the King is pleaſed, that " to all ſuch Petitions deliver'd in Parliament, of Things or Matters which " cannot otherwiſe be determined, a good and reaſonable Anſwer ſhall be " made and given before the Departure of the Parliament."

Accordingly *Coke* obſerves, in the 4th of his *Inſtitutes*, that Petitions being duly preferr'd, (tho' very many) have been anſwer'd by the Law and Uſage of Parliament, before the End of it; and this, he ſays, appears from the ancient Treatiſe *de modo tenendi Parliamentum*, that the Parliament ought not to be ended, while any Petition remains undiſcuſs'd, or, at the leaſt, unto which a determinate Anſwer is not made. He ſays farther, that one of the principal Ends of calling Parliaments is for redreſſing Grievances, which daily happen; and then as to the departing of Parliaments, it ought to be after this Manner, ſaith the *Modus*, *viz.* There ſhould be publick Proclamation and Demand in Parliament, and within the Palace of the Parliament, whether there be any that hath deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, and hath not receiv'd an Anſwer to it: If there be none ſuch, it is to be ſuppos'd, that every one is ſatisfy'd and anſwer'd; at leaſt ſo far forth as by Law may and ought to be. And this Practice, our Arguers ſay, is conſonant to the King's Coronation-Oath, which is, to grant, fulfil, and defend all rightful Laws which the Commons of the Realm ſhall chuſe, and to ſtrengthen and maintain them after his Power. If you think fit, you may read more to this Purpoſe, about the Practice of evil Princes, and the Fate of evil Counſellors, who acted or adviſed the contrary, in the *State-Tracts*, printed for *Richard Baldwin*. And to what you there find on this Head, you may add farther, that though the City's Remonſtrance againſt a Prorogation before the Buſineſs in Hand was determin'd, was the Forfeitute of their Charter by Judgment in *Quo Warranto*; yet a Parliament in this Reign hath revers'd that Judgment, and by a Side-wind therefore hath declar'd and eſtabliſh'd the antient Right of Parliament, to ſit, and act, and redreſs

redreſs Grievances, without being cut off, in the midſt of their Buſineſs, by haſty and abrupt Prorogations.

I may ſeem, Sir, by this long Account, of what ſome Men ſay in Behalf of Parliaments, to have ſtray'd from my Point: But indeed I have not; for all this is, in ſome Degree, applicable to a Convocation. The Liberties of the Church do, in great Meaſure, run parallel to thoſe of the State; and both of them muſt, according to the Nature and Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Government, ſtand or fall together. It would be needleſs here to repeat the ſame Things, with a ſmall Difference of Words, inſerting the Convocation inſtead of the Parliament, and the Church inſtead of the Realm.

I had rather leave this to be done by you; and ſhall add only, that an *Engliſh* Chriſtian King is as much oblig'd by the Laws and Uſages had and accuſtomed in this Kingdom, in regard to the Church, as the Sovereign of *England* is with relation to the State.

It is, I know, objected commonly, in Prejudice to the Liberties of a Convocation, that they have oftentimes been commanded, by the King's Writ, to deal with nothing that concern'd the King's Power or Dignity, his Perſon or State, or the State of his Council and Kingdom, in the following Terms—*quod nullo modo præſumant conſilium tenere de aliquibus quæ ad Coronam Regis pertinent, vel quæ perſonam Regis, vel ſtatum ſuum, vel ſtatum Conſilii ſui contingunt:* Or, as the Form of other Writs is, *quod nihil attentent in prejudicium Coronæ:* And again, *ne indicto Conſilio quicquid in noſtri vel ſtatus noſtri vel regni noſtri prejudicium ſtatuatis vel facietis.* Several Prohibitions of this kind are mention'd in 2 *Roll*'s *Abridgm.* We own it; but what follows from thence? That becauſe, by Writ, they may be prohibited to meddle with that which doth not concern them, therefore they muſt not meddle with that which doth concern them, without ſpecial Licence? Excellent Reaſoning indeed! Now, methinks, the Inference is quite on the other Side: That ſince theſe Prohibitions are only to keep them from Exceſs, and within their juſt Bounds, it is evidently ſuppos'd, that they may intermeddle with any other Matter, without expreſs Licence; it is implied, that, when aſſembled, they might act, provided they kept within thoſe Reſtrictions limitted and mentioned in thoſe Writs: They cannot indeed invade any Man's Property, nor proceed contrary to the King's Prerogative, Common Law, Statute, or Cuſtom; they cannot do any Thing in Prejudice of any of theſe, but ſtill all this ſuppoſes, that they are at Liberty for Debate in other Matters, not interfering with thoſe Limitations.

But, beſides, I have this further to add concerning theſe Writs; they were, at firſt, fram'd upon Occaſion of the ſuppoſed Dependency of the *Engliſh* Church upon that of *Rome*, and the Clergy's Application to the Pope in many Caſes, which ceaſing by the Reformation, methinks much of the Reaſon of theſe Writs vaniſh'd too: And, upon this Account, I have often thought, that the Form of our common Prohibitions, directed to ordinary Courts, was very extravagant; they run, *in Exhæreditationem noſtram, & contrà Coronam noſtram:* A Form, for the Uſe of which there is now, I think, no manner of Colour or Reaſon.

But

But in the 12th *Report*, 22. 'tis ſaid, that they cannot confer nor execute any Canon without the King's Licence; and 'tis urg'd to be a Reſolution of the two Chief Juſtices, and other Judges, at a Committee of the Lords in Parliament, 8 *Jac.* I. 'Tis true, it is there ſo ſaid, and ſo laid down: But this Report is not of the greateſt Authority; ſeveral Opinions contain'd in it are agreed not to be Law. 'Twas publiſh'd in a Time when the Church was under Perſecution, and all its Rights invaded: Beſides, this was not the Opinion of theſe Judges, by way of Judgment, upon any Caſe depending before them, but only by way of Opinion or Advice before a Committee of the Lords. And if we conſult *Coke* himſelf, we ſhall find, that what he alledges in Juſtification of this Opinion of theirs, is by no Means ſatisfactory and concluding: He urges the prohibitory Writs, which we have already admitted and conſider'd: He inſiſts upon the Invalidity of thoſe Canons which oppoſe the Common-Law or Statute, Cuſtoms, and Prerogative, and gives Inſtances of ſome Canons deem'd and declar'd void upon this Account. This, it ſeems, is the Foundation they went upon; and all that could be pretended in Behalf of their Opinion, except only the 25th *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 19. which is mightily inſiſted on: And yet in the ſame Place, it is agreed to be an Act of Parliament made in Affirmance of the Common-Law, and to prove it to be ſo, the 19th *Edw.* III. (*titl. quare non admiſit* 7.) is cited; where 'tis held, that if a Canon Law be againſt the Law of the Realm, the Biſhop ought to obey the King according to the Law of the Kingdom: He quotes the 10th of *Hen.* VII. 17. and the common Inſtance of Baſtardy, upon which came the *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.* Further, *Coke* very wiſely obſerves, that before the Act, a *Diſme*, granted by the Clergy at the Convocation, did not bind the Clergy, till the King's Royal Aſſent was had, 20 *Hen.* VI. 13. But no more doth the Commons Grant of a Subſidy, till the King accept it, tho' it were *per quandam indenturam ſigillo Prolocutoris Communitat. ſigillat.* as one of the Lawyers Books of *Entries*, which I have ſeen in the *Temple*, ſhews it anciently to have been.

This is all that is offer'd in Behalf of that Opinion, and I leave it now to any fair and impartial Man to judge, whether it be reaſonable and well founded; eſpecially conſidering what has been already alledg'd, on the other Side, in theſe Papers, and ſhall be further offer'd in what follows.

It is own'd by theſe Judges, that this Statute is only an Affirmance of the Common-Law; and if ſo, then it can never preclude the Convocation from conferring, debating, and reſolving without the King's Licence; becauſe this, at Common-Law, before the making this Statute, was their undoubted Right; and, for any Thing I can find to the contrary in the Statute itſelf, it is their Right ſtill. The Words by which this Right is pretended to be cut off, are theſe: "That they ſhall not enact, promulge, or execute any Canons or Conſtitutions, unleſs they may have the King's Licence to enact, promulge, and execute them." The plain Intent and Meaning of which Words is, that they ſhall not preſume to make any Eccleſiaſtical Law or Conſtitution of themſelves, *ex merâ Authoritate propriâ*, without the Royal Concurrence: But does this any ways hinder them from conferring and debating, and framing the Draughts

Draughts of Canons before-hand, in order to the King's Confirmation afterwards? "They ſhall not enact, promulge, or execute;" therefore they ſhall not conſider of what is fit to be enacted, promulg'd, or executed: They ſhall not do that which is neceſſary to be done, in order to enacting, becauſe they ſhall not enact; I hope, for the Sake of the Profeſſion, that there's no Law; becauſe, I am ſure, there is no Senſe in this kind of Reaſoning.

The Common Law and Conſtitution of the Realm is the ſame in this Point, in reſpect of Parliaments as Convocations. Now, ſuppoſe a Statute made in theſe very Words, for Parliaments, would it be pretended fromthence, that the Lords and Common smight not debate and vote, and frame Draughts of Acts without expreſs Licence? I am confident, that all which ſuch a Statute would be conſtrued to amount to, would be this, that they ſhould not preſume to make an Act of Parliament by themſelves, without the King; and further than this, therefore, it cannot be extended in reſpect of a Convocation.

Should the Convocation vote a Conſtitution, and humbly prepare it for the Royal Aſſent, without a Licence antecedent, and the King afterwards give his Aſſent to it, would not a Canon, thus made, be lawful and binding? Undoubtedly it would; and, if ſo, then a Licence to confer, cannot be antecedently neceſſary.

To what Purpoſe is ſuch a Licence, before-hand, to make Canons, ſince the King's Aſſent muſt be had to them afterwards, e'er they can be promulg'd? Does the Act ſay, that there ſhall be a double Licence from the King? That he ſhall aſſent once to the preparing and framing Canons, another Time to the promulging them? Does it mean any more than barely this, that before a Canon can be enacted, promulg'd, or executed, the King's Concurrence muſt be had? And is not that had unleſs it be given before-hand, and afterwards too? They muſt have the King's Licence to enact, promulge, and execute; that is, (to put a *Latin* Word into *Engliſh*) they muſt have his Leave; and have they not his Leave, amply and effectually, when he joins his Authority to theirs, to make thoſe, to all Intents and Purpoſes, Canons, which before were not ſo, and could never have been ſo, unleſs he had agreed to them. A Leave in general to make Canons, is given them by their very Writ of Summons, and a Leave in particular to make this or that Canon, is given them when the King aſſents to this or that particular Canon; and what other Leave beſide theſe, can there be imagin'd or deſir'd? If all they do, towards making a Canon, before the Royal Aſſent, comes far ſhort of enacting, promulging, and executing, then it is certain, that they can want no particular Licence for it; for they are forbid only to enact, promulge, and execute, without Licence, and therefore they can do any Thing which comes not under any of theſe reſtrictive Words, though they ſhould have no Leave for it: But now, that to prepare the Draught of a Canon, in order to the King's giving his Aſſent, is neither to enact, promulge, nor execute it, I hope there need not many Words to prove: It is not to promulge or execute it, that's plain; and it will be as plain, that it is not to enact it neither, when the Force of that Word is duly conſider'd. To enact, is to give the authoritative *Fiat* to a Law, by which

it becomes obligatory; in this Senſe the Word is conſtantly taken in our Acts of Parliament: But does the Convocation do any Thing of this kind, when they prepare a Canon for the Aſſent Royal? Do they pretend (or can they be conſtrued to pretend) by any thing of theirs, that goes before that Aſſent, to make a Canon, which ſhall be a Law of the Realm, and binding? No-body will ſay it: And therefore, if all they do before they offer a Canon to the King, in order to his Aſſent, riſe not up to enacting, 'tis plain, that they want no Licence for it.

I am aſhamed to have dwelt ſo long on ſo plain a Point; but 'tis the only Pretence of Law that our Adverſaries have on their Side; and therefore I was willing to give it a nice and particular Examination.

I ſhall add only to what has been offered in this Caſe one Argument, which *Coke* himſelf has (againſt his Will) furniſhed me with. He ſays (in the fourth of his *Inſtitutes*, 323.) that the King did often appoint Commiſſioners to ſit in Convocation, and take Notice of ſuch Things as they meant to eſtabliſh, that nothing might be done in prejudice to the Crown. *Quo Jure* this was done, doth not appear: But however it proves, that they had Liberty of conferring and debating; for if nothing could be diſcuſſed, but what they had expreſs Licence for, there could have been no Occaſion for ſuch a Practice. And if this were ſo at Common Law, before the Statute of *Henry* VIII. it muſt continue ſo ſtill; for the Statute, as we have ſeen, has left their Liberty of Debate and Conference juſt as it found it.

But, Sir, whatever Reſtraints may be pretended to be laid upon them, by this Act, with regard to the making of Laws and Conſtitutions, yet the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction, as they are a Court properly ſo called, is certainly left free and entire to them. Their Power of proceeding againſt any Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon, for Hereſy, or Schiſm, or any other Spiritual Offence, is not in the leaſt reſtrained or touched by this Act, or by any other Act of Parliament whatſoever.

And now, Sir, though I have, I think, ſufficiently anſwered your ſecond Queſtion, and ſhewn what Right a Convocation has to meet, ſit, and act, by the Laws of this Realm; yet I ſhall, *ex abundanti*, throw you in a Reflection or two, to the ſame Purpoſe, from *Magna Charta*, and the Coronation-Oath, two Oracles, which, in Claims of Right, ſhould by no Means be left unconſulted.

Let us conſider *Magna Charta*, for which the People of *England* have ſo often contended, even to Blood; and which has been forty Times confirmed by Parliament; and it is owned by every *Engliſhman* to be only a Royal Publication of the Common Law: It pronounces *quod Eccleſia Anglicana libera ſit*, that the Church of *England* ſhall be free. Now this ſurely, in the ſtricteſt Meaning of the Word, implies a Liberty of doing all that is requiſite for a Church to do, and of uſing all its neceſſary Powers and Juriſdiction. 'Tis ſaid *Eccleſia Anglicana*, which imports a national Church; and to a national Church it is certainly incident to have national Synods, or Convocations; and in like manner, to thoſe Synods to have Freedom of Speech and Debate, about Matters proper for

for their Cogniſance, relating to the Being, or Well-being of the Body, as a Church.

Thus to be allowed to act and do, is to be a free Church; and therefore this Privilege muſt be included in the Words of *Magna Charta*, or elſe they ſignify nothing; eſpecially, if we take in the explanatory Words, that immediately follow there, *Et habeat omnia Jura ſua Integra, & Libertates illæſas*; i. e. *and ſhall have all her Rights intire, and her Liberties untouched.* And I think, if the Church of *England* has any Rights, Privileges, or Liberties, as a Church, this we contend for is one, and the firſt of them.

That it is ſo, you, Sir, can argue better than I from the very Form and Being of a Church: I confine myſelf purely to an Account of what the Law ſays in the Caſe: And as to that, if you want farther Satisfaction, I refer you to *Coke's Inſtitutes*, *Lynwood*, and *Prydeaux's Synopſis of Councils*; look there, and you will find Evidence abundantly enough to convince you, that the Law takes Notice of this as one of the chief and undoubted Privileges of the Church of *England*. I would recommend to your Peruſal too *Cotton*'s *Abridgment of Records*, where you will find the concurrent Sitting of a Convocation with that of a Parliament plainly proved: I have not Time to inſtance in Particulars, nor is this a Place proper for it.

But the *Coronation-Oath* muſt not be forgotten. It was framed and eſtabliſhed by the *Convention-Parliament*, 1688. In it the *Archbiſhop*, or *Biſhop* ſays, *Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern this People of* England, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the Statutes that Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame?* The King anſwers, *I do ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.* It is then further ſaid by the Biſhop; *Will you, to the utmoſt of your Power, maintain the Laws of God, the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and the Proteſtant reformed Religion* eſtabliſhed by Law? *And will you preſerve to the Biſhops and Clergy of this Realm, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all ſuch Rights and Privileges as by Law do, or ſhall appertain to them, or any of them?* The King's Anſwer was, *All this I promiſe to do.* And then, laying his Hands on the Holy Goſpels, he ſaid, *The Things which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep; ſo help me God.* And then he kiſſed the Book. Now theſe Words are plain and certain, and can have no doubtful Meaning: The People of *England* are to be governed according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm; and thoſe are known: The Proteſtant reformed Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, is to be maintained: And that is, as profeſſed in the Church of *England*; for no other was then indulged, much leſs eſtabliſhed. The Biſhops and Clergy of the Realm are to have all their Rights and Privileges preſerved: This too, for the ſame Reaſon, is to be underſtood of the Church of *England*, and of her Biſhops and Clergy; and anſwers exactly to that Paſſage in *Magna Charta* juſt now produced, concerning the *Jura & Libertates Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*; which, in this Clauſe of this Coronation Oath, is directly *engliſhed:* And therefore what I ſaid in that Caſe, I ſay again in this, that if the Church of *England* have any Rights, or Privileges,

this of aſſembling, debating, and conferring, is certainly one and the chief of them.

It would be needleſs, after this Account of the Coronation-Oath, which obliges his Majeſty, as King, to produce the Declaration he made while Prince of *Orange*; or the unanimous Opinion of the great Men and Commonalty of the Realm, who firſt declared for him; both this and that were plainly directed at the Preſervation of this Church, and her Rights; of theſe Biſhops, and their Clergy; and the ſeveral Privileges belonging, in common, or in particular to them.

You may make what Inferences you pleaſe from hence, as to the Diſuſe of Convocations under the laſt Archbiſhop; we are ſure his moſt ſacred Majeſty did ever oppoſe their ſitting and acting.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion at large concerning the ſecond Point propos'd; and now that is done, the third will gives us no Trouble. For to your laſt Queſtion, *Of what Force and Validity Canons framed by the King and Convocation are?* I anſwer, in a Word, that they need no Confirmation of, or by the Parliament, provided they do not impugn Common Law, Statutes, Cuſtoms, or Prerogative. *Smyth* and *Bird*'s Caſe, in Sir *Francis Moor*'s Reports, is plain and full to this Purpoſe; where the then Lord Chancellor, *Popham* Chief Juſtice, and Chief Juſtice *Cook*, (no great Bigot for Religion, or the Power of the Church) and *Fleming* Chief Baron, magnify the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and, in the third Place, have reſolved, that the Canons of the Church, made by the Convocation and the King, without Parliament, ſhall bind in all Matters Eccleſiaſtical as well as an Act of Parliament. They allow, that the Convocation of the Clergy was once a Member of the Parliament of this Realm, but afterwards, for its Eaſe, ſevered; and yet carried its peculiar Function withitin to the Convocation-Houſe. And *Coke* ſays, that it was reſolved, 21 *Henry* VIII. by both Houſes, upon Conference together, that, when the Convocation makes Canons, appertaining to them, and the King confirms them, they ſhall bind all the Realm, *Moor* 782, 783. And according to this is a little Report, which goes under the Name of *Noy*. 100. *Hill.* 2. *Jac.* I. where, before many Noblemen, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and the Juſtices, and Barons of the Exchequer, it was held and agreed, that the King, without Parliament, (and by that they muſt mean in Convocation) may make Conſtitutions for the Government of the Clergy. And the Books quoted againſt our Notion, as 21 *Edward* IV. 45. and 20 *Henry* VI. 13. acknowledge, that they bind the Clergy, though not the Laity, without Parliament. Whatever thoſe Books ſay, I, for my Part, can ſee no Reaſon, why in Things of a ſpiritual Nature, the Rules of a Convocation ſhould not oblige us, as our Acts of Parliament, in Things of a temporal Nature, oblige them. 'Tis not my Province to argue how far they oblige us in *Foro Conſcientiæ:* Only this I may ſay, that though the Common-Law, Religion, which was *Paganiſm*, knows nothing of the Validity of ſuch Canons, made by our Eccleſiaſtical Rulers under a Religious Prince, yet the Chriſtian Common Lawyer, who owns himſelf a Member

of

of the Church of *England*, according to the Laws of his Country, muſt and will reverence them as obligatory.

The Canons of an *Engliſh* Convocation would, I am ſure, claim a particular Regard from us now, upon the Account of thoſe Perſons who chuſe and compoſe it. They are, at this Day, I am perſwaded, the beſt, for their Number, of any Clergy in this, or any other Kingdom in the whole Chriſtian World; 'tis a bold Word, but a true one, conſidering either their Parts, Learning, Virtue, or Piety. I pretend not to juſtify every particular Perſon, but deſire any Man to ſhew me a Number like them, in any Profeſſion or Science whatſoever, which ſo much have anſwered the Ends of their Inſtitution, and are ſo great an Honour to their Calling. So that, in Truth, we of this Age have no Reaſon to decry that Gown: 'Tis venerable in itſelf; and the Men who now wear it, do in a very particular Manner deſerve our Reſpect, either as we are *Engliſhmen* or Chriſtians: 'Tis both our Intereſt and our Duty to ſupport their Honour, unleſs we reſolve to turn all Religion out of the Kingdom: And this is a Truth, which the moſt conſidering of their Enemies muſt ſee and acknowledge.

To their eternal Honour, it muſt be owned, that in the laſt Reign they ſtood up in the Defence of the Laws and Liberties of their Country, reſolutely and bravely: And 'tis Pity, methinks, but that thoſe Laws, which they ſo well defended, ſhould now protect and defend them alſo in their Turn. They ſhould have their Share, at leaſt, in thoſe Liberties, which they then did more than their Share to preſerve: They ought certainly to enjoy to the full all the Privileges they formerly had, if we think not fit to give them new ones: This they may honeſtly expect at our Hands, upon the Score of paſt Services.

My Lords the Biſhops, indeed, by reaſon of their high Station in the Houſe of Peers, and the great Buſineſs, which on that Account their Hands are full of, may not miſs their Seat in a Convocation-Houſe: But the inferior Clergy, the Prieſts, who are in no other Capacity of ſerving the Church and Kingdom, to purpoſe, but as aſſembled in Synod, are at leiſure to reflect often on the Neglect with which they are uſed, and the Methods that are taking of making them uſeleſs. They are, though under the Biſhops, a conſiderable Member of the Eccleſiaſtical State. No Canon can be made without their Aſſent; and if the Canons are not obſerved as they ſhould be, they have a Right to complain of the Default, and to move for a Redreſs; and not to be ſuffered to do this, at a Time when there is ſo much Need of it; and when the Rights of all other Bodies are ſo tenderly preſerved, they think to be a very great and deſigned Hardſhip upon them.

There was a Time, indeed, when the Clergy was deemed publick Enemies, and uſed as ſuch; *viz.* in the Reign of *Edward* I. but it was upon a very honourable Account, becauſe they aſſerted the Laws of the Realm. The King at that Time did, by Commiſſion, againſt the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, pretend to collect Money without the Aſſent of Parliament, not from the Clergy only, but from the Earls, Barons, and Commonalty of the Realm.

Realm. The latter did too many of them ſubmit, the Clergy ſtoutly reſiſted it: So that Sir *Robert Brabazon*, the King's Chief Juſtice, pronounced openly in the King's Bench, (*in terrorem*) that from thenceforth no Juſtice ſhould be done at their Suit; and that Juſtice ſhould be done againſt them in the King's Courts at any Man's Suit. This Paſſage I marked when I firſt read the *Inſtitutes*, as a very extraordinary one ('tis *Page* 529. 2. *Inſt.*) I ſuppoſe you will think it ſo too, and that *England* was then bleſſed with a righteous Chief-Juſtice!

The Place, God be thanked, is now a little better filled with one, whoſe Juſtice the Clergy may certainly depend upon, if not upon his Favour. While he preſides in that Court, they are ſafe: And it is to be hoped, that the ſame good Providence that brought him thither, will (upon his Removal, whenever it ſhall happen) prevent any *Brabazon*, or Enemy of our Religion and Church, from ſucceeding him.

Thus, Sir, I have given your three Queſtions the Anſwer I promiſed: I am ſenſible, upon a Review of this Letter, that 'tis a little of the longeſt either for your or a more publick Uſe; but you know I have a Right to Monſieur *Paſchal*'s Excuſe in the Caſe; and may truly ſay as he did, that I have not Time to make it ſhorter.

I am, *SIR*,

Your moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant.

An Account of Queen Mary's *Methods for introducing* POPERY, *and procuring a Parliament to confirm it: Seaſonable to be publiſh'd in this Time of imminent Danger; and dedicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of* Shaftſbury.

To the Right Honourable ANTHONY *Earl of* Shaftſbury, *&c.*

MY LORD,

IT is (I confeſs) a great Preſumption to prefix your Lordſhip's Name to ſo ſmall a Treatiſe; but ſince the Deſign of it is to inform all true Engliſhmen, *of what Ways the Papiſts uſed in endeavouring to bring their Religion into* England, *that they may be prevented in all their Deſigns; I hope your Lordſhip will pardon this Boldneſs in me. And, my Lord, I believe the* Engliſh *Nation have*

ſo

ſo great a Reverence for your Lordſhip, that they will the better eſteem this Piece for your Lordſhip's Name being ſet before it, becauſe they will imagine, that none durſt have preſumed to have laid it at your Feet, unleſs it were agreeable to your Sentiments.

My Lord, I think nothing of this kind was ever yet printed, which was a great Motive to me to publiſh it, who am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Humble Servant,

T. S.

SEveral Perſons of great Worth and Learning have already given Account of the great Cruelties that have been exerciſed by Papiſts on Proteſtants, and ſome, particularly, have wrote of the diſmal Condition of the reformed Chriſtians in Queen *Mary*'s Days; but none have yet, as I remember, acquainted the World with the Methods Queen *Mary* uſed to introduce Popery, which was, at her coming to the Crown, in a fair Way of being extirpated. And conſidering that the diſcovering of a Rock, on which ſome have formerly ſplit, may be of great Uſe for others to avoid it, I have undertaken to give you this following Account.

Henry the Eighth, King of *England*, having left the Kingdom of *England* in great Peace, and in a fair Way to ſhake off the burthenſome Yoke of *Rome*, *Edward* the 6th, his Son, ſucceeded him, a Prince ſo hopeful, that in ſix Years Time he had almoſt perfected the good Work begun by his Father King *Henry*, but unkind Death ſnatch'd him away on the 6th of *July*, 1553, in the 16th Year of his Age, whoſe Death was much lamented throughout the Nation; moſt People prophetically preſaging the Misfortunes which were coming on them. After which the Duke of *Northumberland* cauſed his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, to be proclaimed Queen, but her Reign laſted only ten Days; for the Council, turning to the Lady *Mary* in the latter End of *July*, 1553, cauſed her to be proclaimed Queen of *England* in *London*, and other Parts of the Realm; upon which ſhe removed from her Caſtle of *Framlingham* towards *London*, and being come to *Wanſted* in *Eſſex*, on the 30th of *July* the Lady *Elizabeth*, her Siſter, with a Train of a thouſand Horſe, went from her Palace in the *Strand*, to meet her. On the 3d of *Auguſt* the Queen rode thro' *London* to the *Tower*, where ſhe ſet free *Stephen Gardiner*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and reſtored him to his Biſhoprick. On the Fifth of *Auguſt*, *Edmund Bonner*, late Biſhop of *London*, Priſoner in the *Marſhalſea*, and *Cuthbert Tunſtal*, the old Biſhop of *Durham*, Priſoner in the *King's-Bench*, had their Pardons, and were reſtored to their Sees.

On the 12th of *Auguſt* the Queen made an open Declaration in Council, "That tho' her Conſcience was ſtaid in Matters of Religion, yet ſhe would

"not

" not reſtrain or compel others, otherwiſe than as God ſhould put into their " Hearts to embrace that Religion ſhe was in; which ſhe hoped would be " done by putting of godly and virtuous Men into Livings to preach the " Words of God."

Upon this, all Parties hoped for a Toleration to worſhip God their own Way, but the Papiſts preſuming upon the Queen's being of their Religion, openly commended their own Religion, and reproached the Reformed; ſo that on the 13th, one *Bourn*, Canon of *Paul's*, preaching at *Paul's-Croſs*, not only pray'd for the Dead, but declar'd, that Dr. *Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, (late reſtored, and then in Preſence) for a Sermon by him made four Years before on the ſame Text, and in the ſame Place, had been unjuſtly caſt into the *Marſhalſea*; which Speech ſo offended the People, who had a great Veneration for the good King *Edward*, that a great Diſturbance aroſe, and a Dagger was thrown at him, but he, with much Difficulty, was conveyed into *Paul's* School by Mr. *Rogers*, whilſt Mr. *Bradford* ſtept into the Pulpit, and appeaſed the People. This being repeated to the Queen, ſhe makes another Declaration, " That ſhe would have all her Subjects live in Amity, and " charged them not to uſe the Words *Papiſt* or *Heretick*."

Shortly after, all the Biſhops which had been deprived in the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth, were reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and the new removed; alſo all beneficed Men, that were married, and would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and others, of a contrary Opinion, were put into their room.

Theſe Men, when reſtored, urge the Queen to re-eſtabliſh Popery; whom ſhe anſwers, " That ſhe deſigns nothing more, yet muſt act with ſo much " Caution as not to inflame her reformed Subjects." In the mean Time private Cabals were held by the Queen, and ſome of the moſt vigorous Papiſts, and after ſeveral Conſultations, it was fully reſolved, that Popery ſhould be ſuddenly reſtored.

On the 19th of *Auguſt*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland* (who profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant in King *Edward*'s Time, and perſuaded the King to declare his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, his Succeſſor) was tried and condemned for High-Treaſon, and on the 22d executed, and at his Death declared himſelf a Papiſt, and to have been ſo always; by which you may note what Temporizers Papiſts are, who can ſeem to be any Thing for Intereſt.

Now Things ſeeming to be a little ſettled, the Queen thinks it convenient to make another Step towards Popery, which is by a Proclamation to prohibit preaching; it being certain, that when a Man is ignorant, he is ready to embrace any Novelty, not being capable of conſidering whether it be Good or Evil. Many Cenſures paſſed upon this Proclamation, but none durſt openly teſtify their Reſentment, for fear of being clapped up; and though the Queen ſeem'd to carry all Things fair, yet ſome of the wiſeſt of the Reformed (being ſenſible that Perſecution was coming on them) held ſeveral Conſultations, but their Conſciences will not let them rebel againſt their Sovereign; yet, on the 15th of *September*, Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* courageouſly declares againſt the Maſs,

Maſs, of which *Bonner* makes uſe to enflame the Queen againſt him, and within two or three Days *Cranmer* and *Latimer* are ſent to the Tower; upon which ſeveral reformed Chriſtians fly beyond Sea.

The Queen, who had all this while contented herſelf with being Queen by Proclamation, ſeeing Things ſomething ſettled, proceeds to her Coronation, which was accordingly ſplendidly performed on the laſt of *September*. After which ſhe diſcharges a Tax, publiſhed a general Pardon, but interlaced with ſo many Exceptions of Matters and Perſons, that very few took Benefit of it; and thoſe that did, were, by the Commiſſioners aſſigned to compound with them, deſpoiled of Offices and Eſtates.

Soon after this, Juſtice *Hales* was impriſoned, for that, at a Quarter-Seſſions in *Kent*, he gave Charge upon the Statutes of *Henry* the Eighth and *Edward* the Sixth, in Derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, which was a high Ingratitude in the Queen, he having, in King *Edward*'s Time, refuſed to ſign a Warrant for diſinheriting the Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*.

On the 10th of *October*, the Queen ſummons a Parliament, and Members are choſe by Force and Threats in ſome Places, and in others, thoſe employ'd by the Court, did by Violence hinder the People from coming in to chuſe; in many Places falſe Returns were made, and when the Parliament met, ſome were violently turned out of the Houſe; ſeveral Biſhops were thurſt out of the Houſe of Lords for not worſhipping the Maſs, and ſoon after-impriſoned.

On the third of *November*, *Cranmer* was arraigned in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and found guilty of High-Treaſon, which, by the Way, note, was only for not worſhipping Maſs, though other Things were alledged againſt him, and was condemned to die.

After which, an Act was made for repealing the Laws made by King *Edward* touching Religion, (ſee what a Parliament can do, when one is pickt out for the Purpoſe) then they paſſed another Act for preventing Affronts to Popiſh Prieſts, who then began mightily to appear. Then another Act was paſſed for preventing unlawful Aſſemblies, which was meant the Meeting of the reformed Proteſtants.

The Queen, having brought Things to this Point, begins to ſhew herſelf more openly, and publickly declares her Reſolution of being reconciled to the See of *Rome*, and accordingly ſends Cardinal *Pool* to the Pope for his Bleſſing and Directions; but he was ſtopt by the Emperor as he was on his Journey, but the Queen ſending to the Emperor to deſire him not to hinder, Cardinal *Pool* went on his Journey.

In the mean while, *Gardiner* at Home propoſes to the Queen the ſeveral Methods for rooting out the reformed Religion, which are accepted of, but not put in Execution, till other Neceſſaries are diſpatched; *viz.* the Match with Prince *Philip* of *Spain*, which Match the Houſe of Commons diſliked; alledging that it would bring *England* under a foreign Yoke; and ſince the Commons cannot be perſuaded to conſent to it, the Parliament is diſſolved; the conſtant Practice, when they would not do what they thought deſtructive to the Nation) and a new one picked out by the former Methods, to agree to

the Match; they were ſuch Men as could be bribed to do any thing the Queen would have them; for there were 1200,000 Crowns ſent from *Spain* to corrupt them. They comfirm the Marriage, ſet up the Maſs, and concur with the Queen in all Acts for perſecuting the Proteſtants; but Thanks be to God! we are not now in Danger of ſuch Parliaments, Peoples Underſtandings being every where enlightened, and the whole Nation ſenſible of what will be the Conſequence of ſuch Parliaments, who ſhall concur with a Popiſh King, for deſtroying the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of thoſe that are are of the Proteſtant Religion. A Religion which authorizes not Murders and Rapines, that teacheth the Way to Heaven, by Meekneſs and Humility, by Loyalty and Faithfulneſs to their Prince, and Love to one another. But on the contrary, the popiſh Religion pretends to convert People by Jails, Fire, and Faggot. The firſt Inſtance of which in this Queen's Reign is *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, three reformed Biſhops, being adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to die. After which follows the burning of *Rogers*, a Miniſter, *Hooper*, and *Farrar*, two Biſhops, and *Bradford* another Miniſter.

On the twenty-fifth of *July*, 1554, Prince *Philip* comes to *Wincheſter*, attended by ſeveral Nobles, who were ſent to *Spain* to fetch him; and on the twenty-fifth the Marriage was ſolemnized there. An infinite Number of Papiſts of all Countries came over with him. The King and Queen ſend for Cardinal *Pool* from *Rome*, who being come, his Attainder was taken of, and he makes a Speech to the Parliament, exhorting them wholly to the Mother Church; upon which they deſire Pardon, and repent of their former Errors, and profeſs themſelves ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*; upon which, he gives them and the whole Nation Abſolution. In *March* the Queen delivers up all the Abby Lands, and leaves them to the Diſpoſal of the Pope and his Legate; ſo that by this Gentlemen may ſee what they are to expect from a Popiſh Prince, *viz.* to have all their Eſtates taken away, their Families ruined, and even ſuffer the Loſs of their Lives at his Pleaſure.——

Soon after this, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Cranmer*, are burnt, with Thouſands all over *England*, the Repetition of who they were, and where executed, I ſhall not trouble you, ſince publiſhed at large in *Fox*; I ſhall only beg every honeſt *Engliſhman* who is willing to ſerve his God in Peace, and enjoy the Privileges which God and the Laws hath given him, to conſider how ſad the Change of the preſent Religion and Government would be, when it ſhall lie in the Power of the Pope to order the Deſtruction of Proteſtants, and a Popiſh Prince think himſelf obliged to execute ſuch his Holineſs's Orders; when we who are free-born *Erngliſhmen*, ſhould be Prieſt-ridden, when thoſe that will not rack their Conſciences to ſave their Eſtates and Lives, ſhall be murdered. For ſuch, and much worſe, will be certainly the Conſequence of Popery, ſince all their learned Authors do publiſh, that every Man is obliged to convert, or confound Hereticks; and 'tis by that Name they ſtile us. Let us reflect a little upon the late Deſigns of the Papiſts. Was not the Scene of converting *England* to be laid in Blood, of even the King himſelf, who hath been ſo favourable to them,

them, as well as of all the Proteſtants of *England?* Nay, they intended to have cut off even the Duke himſelf, upon whom they built all their Hopes, if he ſhould not abſolutely hold his Crown from the Pope? What Care ought then to be taken for preventing the Deſigns of ſuch Men? How diligent ought we to be in counterplotting? How induſtrious ought we to be in chuſing good Members for Parliament, who if bad, can make ſuch a Figure in altering the Government, and bringing the Country to Deſtruction? How ought we to amend our Lives, and live anſwerable to God's great Mercies here beſtowed upon us, and ſend up our hearty Prayers, that God would continue his Majeſty's Life to us, and deſtroy and confound all his and the Nation's Enemies, and give a Bleſſing to the Endeavours of the approaching Parliament, that the Fears of the People may be quieted, and a hearty Union between his Majeſty and the Nation may be fully compleated?

Some ſhort Remarks upon Mr. LOCKE's *Book, in Anſwer to Mr.* LOUNDS, *and ſeveral other Books and Pamphlets concerning* COIN. *By Sir* RICHARD TEMPLE, *Knight of the* Bath, *and Baronet.* 1696.

ALthough Mr. *Locke*, by all his Writings, hath juſtly acquired the Character of a very ingenious Perſon, yet, without detracting from his Merit, in this late Diſcourſe of his, he hath fallen into the Error which often attends thoſe who write upon Subjects of which they have no practical Knowledge or Experience, to frame Notions, and lay down Suppoſitions, which are either falſe or fallacious, of which my preſent Deſign is only to give a ſhort Specimen, having not the Leiſure, as yet, to purſue ſo large a Diſcourſe.

Firſt, That an Ounce of Silver is of equal Value to an Ounce of Silver of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs, admits of no Diſpute; but that an Ounce of Silver will buy an Ounce of Silver of the like Fineneſs, is an abſurd Propoſition, ſince there is no Occaſion for any Barter or Exchange.

Secondly, That the intrinſick Value of Silver is the true Inſtrument and Meaſure of Commerce, is partly true, and partly falſe; for the Money of every Country, and not the Ounce of Silver, or the intrinſick Value, is the Inſtrument and Meaſure of Commerce there, according to its Denomination, and the Standard of the Coin of each Nation is very different, and does often vary, according to Time, Place, and Circumſtances: Nor are the Commodities of any Country bought by foreign Coin or Bullion, of the Makers, or firſt Venders, but by the Coin of the Country, and is therefore bought by Commodities; they are firſt inveſted into the Money of the Country; or if by foreign Coin or Bullion, it muſt be alſo converted into the Coin of the Place, before it can be uſeful for Barter; and the Merchant or Goldſmith will gain ſomething

to reduce it to the Coin of the Country, unleſs the Matter be tranſacted by Bills of Exchange, in which they endeavour, as much as may be, to make a Par between the Money of each Country, according to the intrinſick Value; and hence comes the Neceſſity and Uſe of Exchange. Nevertheleſs, that intrinſick Value is govern'd by the Value of Bullion in each Country at that Time, which varies, as other Commodities do, and other Circumſtances.

Thirdly, Bullion is a Commodity, and has no certain univerſal ſtated Price or Value agreed upon by Mankind, as he ſuppoſes, but varies in every Age or Nation, according to the Scarcity, Plenty, or Uſe of it: Notwithſtanding it muſt be allow'd, that the Silver coming wholly from the *Weſt-Indies*, the Price of it does govern the Value in all *Europe*; nor does it vary ſo much as other Commodities do, unleſs there be ſome extraordinary Accident of interrupting the Trade to thoſe Parts, by reaſon of War, *&c.* or by the Encreaſe of the Demand of it in *Europe*, or in ſome particular Nations thereof, and therefore is the fitteſt to be the Material for the Inſtrument and Meaſure of Commerce, *viz.* Money.

Fourthly, Againſt his Aſſertion, that advancing the Denomination, or leſſening the Weight or Fineneſs of our Coin, would be a Loſs of ſo much to the landed Men in their Rents, and the Creditors in their Debts, at leaſt as to all Bargains already made; I offer to Conſideration, That nothing is more evident, than that ſuch a Change can have no ſuch Effect or Conſequence upon any thing at Home, but only Exchange and Commerce Abroad; for Proof whereof, I ſhall appeal to the hiſtorical Part of Mr. *Lounds*'s Book, as to the frequent Alteration of the Standard in Weight, Fineneſs, and Denomination here; which is yet much more practiſed in other neighbouring Nations, as I could eaſily demonſtrate, the Standard of whoſe Coin is much below ours, and who have alſo great Quantities of Coin of baſe Alloy current among them, which they have never thought fit to change, even in the Times of the greateſt Wealth or Plenty among them, for the Eaſe of Commerce at Home, and augmenting the Species of Money.

Fifthly, In the next Place, it is as evident, that whatever the Value of the Coin be, more or leſs, it will have the ſame Effect according to the Price Current of it, as to our Home Commerce; for Inſtance, if our Shilling be above the Standard of all other Nations, and worth thirteen Pence Abroad, as it has been for many Years, yet without melting or exporting, or by way of Exchange, it will purchaſe no more than a clipped Shilling, or twelve Pence in Halfpence or Farthings; and while our clipped Money paſſed, and no Diſcountenance put upon it, we found no ſuch Riſe of Commodities, or Fall of our Rents, or Damage to the Subject in taking it; nor has it the ſame Influence now, as to any Commodities that are not for foreign Conſumption; ſince Corn, Fleſh, *&c.* have riſen or fallen according to the Scarcity, Plenty, or Vent, and not according to the Value, but Denomination of Money, for theſe three Years laſt paſt, before the Project of Re-coining our Money was ſet on Foot, which poſſibly hath of late made ſome Alteration in theſe Commodities alſo. This indeed muſt be allowed, that when the Standard of Coin was by

publick

publick Authority, for Perpetuity, altered from twenty Pence, to ſixty-two in Point of Denomination, but not in Weight or Fineneſs. Between the Time of *Edward* III. and Queen *Elizabeth*, by Degrees the Price of Commodities and Rents did advance; but the Ounce of Silver being generally raiſed through all the World accordingly, and rather more Abroad, by Reaſon of the frequent Wars upon the Continent; as alſo, that of their being then the principal Seats of Trade and Manufacture, which required greater Supplies of Silver; there was no Loſs as to the old Rent.

Sixthly, To keep up an old Standard under an old Denomination, below the Value of Bullion, is the greateſt Folly imaginable, and what is not practiſed in any other Nation, for which we have paid dear, and yet are not grown wiſer; for it firſt carried away all our Gold, which was very plentiful here, in the Time of King *Charles* I. then all our old and broad Money, and laſtly, all our milled Money, which was as plentiful in King *Charles* II's. Time; notwithſtanding the Balance of Trade was much on our Side, and has put an abſolute Stop to our Mint, as to Silver, for many Years paſt, and brought ſuch a Want of the Species, that our Money was clipt down to above half, and yet not ſufficient to keep out a vaſt Quantity of falſe Money to ſupply the Defect. And whereas it has been alledged, that the Riſe of Guineas to thirty Shillings hath been by a Trick of the *Goldſmiths*, their Riſe has been naturally neceſſary, and would have produced no ill Effect, could foreign have Guineas been kept out; for at higheſt they were advanced not to a full Third, and our other Coin, by Reaſon of its Clipping, was not indeed worth a Moiety in its intrinſick Value, and the counterfeit Part much leſs, taken together.

Laſtly, Altho' it were deſirable, were we in better Circumſtances as to the Balance of our Trade, that our Silver Money ſhould be kept up in Weight and Fineneſs, near the intrinſick Value of Bullion, or at leaſt the Standard of our Neighbours Coin; yet it ought always to be be low, rather than above it, to prevent the Exportation of Money, inſtead of Commodities, and to bring Bullion into the Mint; eſpecially ſince the Plenty of the Species of Money is the only Thing that can advance Trade, and the Value of Lands; but as our preſent Circumſtances are, there is an abſolute Neceſſity that we raiſe the Denomination of our Silver, both in reſpect of Gold, and the Over-balance of our Dealings Abroad, if you will have any Money at Home to ſupport Commerce; nor can ſuch an Advance hurt us in the leaſt, ſince at worſt Abroad they will only take their Meaſures according to the intrinſick Value, or rather the Standard of their own Coin; and if they raiſe their Commodities proportionably, it will bring us a double Benefit, to diſcourage the Conſumption (whereof we are too prodigal) and encourage the Advance and Conſumption of our own Commoidties, and keep our Money at Home, which will be the leaſt Thing carried out, when it will paſs for more here than there.

As for Guineas, the Fall of them was not only unneceſſary, but highly prejudicial to the Kingdom; firſt, becauſe Guineas have bought up all the Silver Money that was left in the Country, and conſequently left us no other Coin to carry on Trade and Subſiſtence; and after the raiſing of ſeven Millions will be

a Tax

a Tax of eight Shillings and Six-pence upon the Subjects, and the Plenty of Silver Money is the only Thing that will reduce them gradually.

To conclude, as to our foreign Commerce, the Price of our Commodities were raiſed accordingly, and therefore could not hurt us; now if Guineas fall, all Commodities muſt fall, and the Want of fixing them at a certain Price wilt cauſe a mighty Loſs, and Interruption in our Traffick; and this is certain, that nothing but Care of our Trade at Home, and leſſening the Expence of our Army Abroad, by having a free Port, altering the Quota's of our Allies, or capitulating with the *Dutch* for the Payment of the Subſiſtence of our Forces in *Flanders*, can poſſibly enable us to carry on our War, Trade, and Home Commerce.

An Inſtance of the Church of England's LOYALTY, 1687.

THE Loyalty of the Church of *England* has been the Subject of ſome late Papers, and is now of this Diſcourſe. The Gentleman of that Communion, eſpecially thoſe who call themſelves their Clergy, and ſome others, affectionately addicted to their Intereſts, are amazed to find themſelves arraigned for Want of Loyalty, which they have vaunted of to that Degree, as to glory in being the only Pattern of a Chriſtian Church, that has yielded an un-interrupted Obedience to their Princes, without the leaſt Blemiſh to their Loyalty, ever ſince their firſt Eſtabliſhment. 'Tis confeſſed, that they have acknowledged the Divine Right of Monarchy, by their Canons, their Writings, and their Sermons; that they have conſequentially inveſted their Princes with a Power, as precedent and ſuperior to, ſo not capable of being limited and reſtrained by any Human Laws; and by the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, which they have lodged in the Crown, they have made their Monarchs as great in Spirituals, as the Laws of God or of the Realm have made them in Temporals. They have built this Power upon the Hypotheſis of a Paternal Right, and have guarded it with the impregnable Bulwarks of paſſive Obedience, and Non Reſiſtance.

This Doctrine, as we allow it to be true, ſo we agree it to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, though we do not find it in any of their public Sanctions, (ſave what is contained in the *Canons of* 1640, which are not in Force.) For ſince they themſelves neither obey their *Canons*, nor think themſelves obliged to believe their Articles, though they ſubſcribe them; but alledge, that they ſubſcribe them only as Articles of Peace, which they are not to preach againſt, nor ſeparate Communion for; we muſt allow that to be the Doctrine of their Church, which their ſeveral Divines tell us is ſo.

And, as we allow this to be their Doctrine; ſo, if their Practice has been accordingly, we will readily allow their Claim, of being the beſt Subjects in the World. But, as good Works, whether meritorious of Salvation, or not, are yet neceſſary, at leaſt as Demonſtrations of Faith, from which they neceſſarily flow; ſo they muſt excuſe us, if we ſuſpend our Belief of their ſingular Loyalty, notwithſtanding their own ſpecious Pretences, till we have examined at leaſt ſome of their Practices, by the Rules which themſelves have furniſhed us with; according to the Rule, *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works.*

They have been happy in meeting with few Occaſions of having their Loyalty tried; for ever ſince their Eſtabliſhment, till of late Years, the Prince Regnant has been of their Communion, and conſequently favoured their Intereſt. And, as they been told already, their adhering to his Majeſty's Father in the Time of the late unhappy Re-

[d] *Can. Ann.* 1640.

bellion

bellion, was no ſuch Work of Supererogation, the Quarrel being theirs; and the Reſtraint, which they endeavoured to bring all others under, and which Archbiſhop *Laud* left no Stone unturned to proſecute, having been the Cauſe of that unfortunate War.

Nor was their Carriage more meritorious upon the Occaſion of the late unrighteous Bill of Excluſion; themſelves hatched it, a great Part of their Body promoted it; and we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, from the following Inſtance, that the Reaſon why the greater Part of their Clergy appeared with ſo much Concern and Indignation againſt it, was more out of Self-intereſt, than either Affection to the Royal Family, or a Senſe of their Duty. For they could not but ſee, that the Sticklers for that Bill levelled at Monarchy, more than Popery; and they knew, that no other Form of Government would be conſiſtent with their Hierarchy.

The Inſtance which I ſhall inſiſt on, ſhall be their Carriage in the Buſineſs, of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, his preſent Majeſty's Great-Grandmother; which has been objected to them already, but perhaps not urged with ſo much Advantage as it is capable of.

But before I give an Account of her Hiſtory, I think it neceſſary to take notice, that the Church of *England* aſſerts the Divine Right of Succeſſion in Hereditary Monarchies. Indeed, it is a natural Conſequent upon the Divine Right of Monarchy, and upon the Hypotheſis of the Paternal Right: But yet, becauſe I am about to give a notorious Inſtance of their receding from this Principle, when the Practice of it thwarted their Intereſt; it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that they have acknowledged in their ſeveral Addreſſes to his preſent Majeſty, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, "The unal-" terable and inherent Right of Succceſſion, which cannot be taken away by the ſpecious " Formality of a Law; that the Law of Heaven is not to be violated by an excluding Bill " upon Earth: In others, they own an undoubted Right of Succeſſion by the Laws of " Nature, the unalterable Right of Proximity of Blood: Theſe they call the Right " Notions of Loyalty, and the oppoſite Opinion Antimonarchical and Republican".

Purſuant to theſe Principles they acknowledge, whatever Act of Parliament hath been, or may be made, to alter the Stream of the Succeſſion in the Right Line, to be null and void. The worthy Perſons that ſpoke in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Bill of Excluſion, inſiſted, as one main Argument againſt it, that it was againſt the Principles of their Religion, and would be void, if it were enacted. And in the *Oxford-Decrees*, *July* 21, 1683, it is declared to be a falſe, ſeditious, and impious Poſition, to aſſert it lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succceſſion to the Crown.

The next Thing is to relate the Story of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The former was Daughter and Heir of *James* V. King of *Scotland*, who was Son and Heir of Queen *Margaret*, Wife to King *James* IV. and the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* VII. ſo that upon the Death of King *Henry* VIII. without Iſſue of his Body, the Right of the Crown devolved upon the Poſterity of that Queen, whoſe undoubted Heir was the aforeſaid *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. Now, after the Death of *Mary* Queen of *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* was ſet up here, the only ſurviving Child of King *Henry* VIII. and the only Perſon in the World that had any Pretence to interpoſe between the Queen of *Scots*, and the Crown of *England*. What her Pretence was, and whether it was ſuch as will excuſe the Church of *England*, according to this Principal of the Succeſſion being *Jure divino*, in adhering to her in Oppoſition to the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, &c. is now to be enquired.

Queen *Elizabeth* was the Daughter of *Anne Bolen*, King *Henry* VIII's. ſecond Wife; the King indeed was married to her, and their Daughter *Elizabeth* was born before the Death of Queen *Catharine*, his firſt Wife. But ſince the Church of *England* maintain the Lawfulneſs of Queen *Catharine's* Divorce, and my Deſign in this Paper is only to argue from their own Principles; I ſhall wave whatever relates to Queen *Catharine*, and will ſuppoſe the Marriage of *Anne Bolen* to have been as valid, as it would have been, if Queen *Catharine* had actually been dead. The Illegitimacy then of Queen *Elizabeth* is apparent upon another Account: For King *Henry was* ſolemnly divorced from her Mother at *Lambeth*

by

by *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for a Precontract, which herſelf confeſſed, as may be read in Dr. *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformatiou.*

Now it is well known, that a Precontract is a good Cauſe of Divorce *à Vincul*, by the Law of God, and of this Realm. That Sentence was confirmed by Act of Parliament *Anno* 28. *Henry* VIII. Which Act, ſo far forth as it concerns Queen *Elizabeth*, was never expreſly repealed; ſo that nothing can be more evident than her Illegitimacy, and conſequently, that ſhe had no Right to the Crown by inherent Birth-right.

But what Pretence of Title had ſhe? Why, in the 35th Year of King *Henry* VIII. the King, being then about to go beyond Sea, cauſed an Act to be paſſed for eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion. By which it was enacted, *that in Caſe it ſhould happen the King's Majeſty and Prince* Edward *his Son to deceaſe without Iſſue of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, Male or Female, that then the Crown ſhould be to the Lady* Mary, *the King's eldeſt Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body, and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Lady* Elizabeth, *and the Heirs of her Body.*

This Act of Parliament was her Title; all the Title ſhe had, and all that ſhe pretended to. Nay, and by the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 3. it is enacted, *That the Limitations of the Crown contained in that Statute of* 35 *Henry* VIII. *ſhall ſtand, remain, and be the Law of the Realm for ever*; which Statute did not limit the Crown to her, but after the Death of King *Henry* without Iſſue of his Body, Male or Female: So that her Illegitimacy is tacitly confeſſed by an Act in her own Reign. And ſo conſcious was ſhe that her Title to the Crown depended upon an Act of Parliament only, that in the 13th Year of her Reign, it was made High Treaſon to ſay, that the Succeſſion to the Crown could not be altered by Act of Parliament.

Now, under this Act of Parliament Queen, what Treaſons did not the Church of *England* practiſe againſt their natural Sovereign? They granted Subſidies to aſſiſt her *Scottiſh* Subjects againſt her; they entered into Aſſociations here at Home againſt her; they erected a High Court of Juſtice, by Act of Parliament, on Purpoſe to take her off. That Court ſentenced her to Death. After her Condemnation, the Parliament petitioned for her Execution, each Houſe apart; and the Biſhops gave their Reaſons why it ought to be. And then the fatal Blow was given.

I ſhall obſerve by the Way, that before this Queen was taken off, and ſo the Succeſſion pretty well ſecured againſt Popery, the Church of *England* never perſecuted any of her Proteſtant Diſſenters; but as ſoon as that Work was done, and the Court likely to continue on their Side, then out flies the 35 *Eliz. cap.* 2. againſt Sectaries; but this *obiter.*

To conclude: If a Precontract be a good Cauſe of *Divorce à Vinculo*, by the Law of God, which they acknowledge that it is; and if the Marriages of Princes lie open to theſe Nullities, as well as thoſe of other Perſons, which will not be denied: If no Perſon can have a Right by inherent Birth-right, either to a Crown, or a private Inheritance, that is not born or begotten in lawful Wedlock; then was Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate, and conſequently, had no Right to the Crown by inherent Birth-right, nor could the Act of 35 *Henry* VIII. give her any, in prejudice of the lawful Heir in Succeſſion; becauſe the Law of God muſt be obeyed, rather than the Law of Man; and conſequently, *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was their Liege Princeſs. But ſhe was the Heir, and they killed her, that the Inheritance might be theirs.

It follows from the Premiſſes, that the Reformation of the Church of *England* was not ſo regular as is pretended, but is liable to the ſame Imputation of Treaſon and Rebellion, wherewith they brand the Reformations Abroad.

The

The Church of *England*'s Complaint, in Vindication of her Loyalty.

IF ever Mother had juſt Reaſon to complain of her Children, and expoſtulate the Caſe with them, certainly it is I. If ever Children did diſhonour their Parent, or at any Time blaſt her Reputation, they are now mine. I, who formerly gloried in my ſtedfaſt and unſhaken Loyalty; I, who by many Canons and eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions eſtabliſhed the regal Authority againſt all papal and popular, foreign and domeſtic Power; I, who ſo often declared it unlawful for any Subject, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up either offenſive or defenſive Arms againſt their Sovereign; I, who contemned my Siſter Churches, as teaching Doctrines and Poſitions leſſening that towering Loyalty which I profeſſed, and particularly her of *Rome*, for maintaining a foreign eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, though only in mere ſpiritual Matters, now find my Reputation tainted, my Loyalty brought in queſtion, and my conſtant Adherence to my own Canons and Conſtitutions, not only doubted of but denied; whilſt the Malice of ſome of my Children bring in a foreign Power to invade my Sovereign's Rights, under a mere Pretence of ſupporting my Grandeur, and raiſe popular Tumults for the eſtabliſhing my Peace, whilſt the irregular Zeal of others, makes them draw their Swords againſt their and my Head and Sovereign in the moſt unnatural Quarrel; and others who ſhould have ſtood up to ſupport my Honour, not only look on with an affected Silence, but by covert Ways abet Rebellion.

He who ſpares the Rod, ſays *Solomon*, *ſpoils the Child*; and this I fear has been my Caſe. The Evil ſeems, by my Neglect, to have taken Root, and ſpread its Branches to a large Extent; and ſhould I, in this Juncture of Affairs, make uſe of my maternal Power, or eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and publickly diſinherit, or denounce them to be no Members of my Body, who have broken my Canons and Conſtitutions, to which an Excommunication, *ipſo facto*, is annexed, I might fear to exaſperate rather than recal my Children to a due Obedience; nay, I might juſtly apprehend a vaſt Diminution in my Numbers; and they who have given this Wound to their Mother's Honour, by calling in, or abetting a foreign Power againſt her Head, would alſo contemn my Cenſures, and never ſue for Abſolution.

But *Loſers*, they ſay, *have Leave to ſpeak*. I hope then it may be allowed me, even at this Time, to ſpeak my Mind freely, and read a Lecture of Duty and Obedience to my Children.

And to whom ſhall I addreſs myſelf, but to them whoſe eccleſiaſtical Dignity has given them not only Authority to teach my Children their Duty, but to compel them alſo by Cenſures to it; and particularly to you, my *ſeven Sons*, who of late gained ſo vaſt a Reputation by oppoſing Majeſty, that no Emblem but the *ſeven golden Candleſticks* was thought ſufficient to expreſs your Glory: And this ſo much the rather, becauſe it is ſurmiſed, that Occaſion has been taken, from your Examples, to advance too far, and paſs over the

Bulwarks of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance into the open Campaigns of Rebellion.

You know what Articles, Canons and Conſtitutions have been eſtabliſhed by me in your Predeceſſors Times; and what Obligations all my Children have lain under by them: But you know alſo how little they have been put in Execution.

You know, that from my firſt Eſtabliſhment, I declared in my thirty ſeventh Article, *That the King's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of* England *and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought not to be ſubject to any foreign Juriſdiction*; and this without any Limitation.

You know alſo, that in the Canons and Conſtitutions ſet forth in the firſt Year of King *James* I.* *not only the inferior Clergy, but the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *himſelf, is obliged to keep and obſerve faithfully, and (as much as in them lies) ſee that others keep and obſerve all and every the Statutes and Laws confirming the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of the Kings of* England; *and that all who have Cure of Souls, Preachers,* &c. *ſhall teach that all foreign and uſurped Power has, for juſt Cauſes, been taken away and aboliſhed; and therefore no Obedience or Subjection is in any Manner due, in theſe his Majeſty's Kingdoms and Dominions, to any foreign Power whatſoever; but that the Regal Authority is the firſt and ſupreme next under God, to which all Perſons are obliged, by the Law of God, to pay all Fidelity and Obedience, above any other Power upon Earth.*

That in the ſecond of thoſe Canons, *they are to be excommunicated* ipſo facto, *who ſhall preſume in any Manner to hurt or leſſen the ſaid Regal Primacy eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Kingdom: And that this Excommunication ſhall not be taken off but by the Archbiſhop, and that not till they repent, and publickly recal thoſe impious Errors.*

From whence it naturally follows, that to bring in or abet any foreign Juriſdiction (without Exception) againſt our lawful Sovereign, upon *any Pretence whatſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil,* is to go directly againſt my Doctrine delivered in my Thirty-nine Articles, againſt the eſtabliſhed Laws of this Nation, againſt my Canons and Conſtitutions, and ſuch a Crime as is juſtly called *impious*, and incurs an Excommunication *ipſo facto*.

You know, moreover, that in my latter Canons and Conſtitutions, publiſhed in the Year 1640 (to prevent thoſe inteſtine Broils which threatened the Nation, and brought it preſently after to Ruin †) ſeveral Explanations of the Regal Power were commanded to be read by every Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon ſome one *Sunday* in every Quarter of the Year, at *Morning Prayer*; which Explanations declared at large,

1. *That the moſt high and ſacred Order of Kings is of divine Right, and that God has given them a ſupreme Power to rule and command in their ſeveral Dominions, all Perſons of what Rank or Eſtate ſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, and to reſtrain and puniſh with the temporal Sword all ſtubborn and wicked Doers.*

* *Sparrow*'s Canons, p. 271. † Ibid. 345.

2. *That*

2. *That the Care of God's Church is committed to Kings, who are commended by God when the Church keeps the right Way, and taxed by him in holy Scriptures when it runs amiss.* But it is no where said, that either a foreign or domestic Power may compel him to do, or punish him for not performing, his Duty.

3. *That the Power to call and dissolve Councils, both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings, within their own Realms and Territories: And when, in the first Times of Christ's Church, Prelates used this Power, it was therefore only because in those Days they had no Christian Kings: And it was then so only used as in Times of Persecution, that is, with Supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their Lives unto the very Laws and Commands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civil Government, which Christ came to confirm, but by no Means to undermine.*

From whence it follows, that the Doctrine of *Non resistance* and *Passive Obedience*, is what was taught in the Primitive Church, as necessary to be practised even towards Heathens, and their Laws, much more ought it now to be towards Christian Princes.

4. *That for any Person or Persons to set up, maintain, or avow, in any their Realms or Territories respectively*, any independent co-active Power, either papal or popular (whether directly or indirectly) *is to undermine their great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred Ordinance, which God himself hath established, and so is treasonable against God, as well as against the King.*

And certainly, if it was then my Duty to cry out against any independent co-active Power, either papal or popular, it is no less my Duty now, to disavow any foreign or domestic Power, though Protestant.

5. *That for Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or Defensive, upon any Pretence whatsoever* [whether for Religion or Property it matters not] *is at least to* resist the Powers which are ordained of God: *And though they do not* invade, *but only* resist, *St.* Paul *tells them plainly*, they shall receive to themselves Damnation.

6. *They declare, That though Tribute, and Custom, and Aid, and Subsidy, and all Manner of necessary Support and Supply be respectively due to Kings from their Subjects, by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, for the public Defence, Care and Protection of them; yet nevertheless, Subjects have not only Possession of, but a true and just Title to and in, all their Goods and Estates, and ought to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and comfortable Support of both. For as it is the Duty of the Subjects to supply their King, so is it Part of the kingly Office, to support his Subjects in the Property and Freedom of their Estates.*

7. *They decreed, That if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, shall voluntarily or carelessly neglect his Duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions, according to the Order above described, he shall be suspended by his Ordinary, till such Time as, upon his Penitence, he shall give sufficient Assurance or Evidence of his Amendment*, &c.

8. *They do also thereby require Archbishops, Bishops, and all other inferior Priests and Ministers, that they preach, teach, and exhort their People to obey, honour,*

honour, and ſerve their King; and that they preſume not to ſpeak of his Majeſty's Power in any other Way than in this Canon is expreſſed.

9. *And laſtly, if any Parſon, Vicar, Curate, Preacher, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon whatſoever, ſhall, in any Sermon, Lecture, Common Place, Determination or Diſputation, either by Word or Writing, publickly maintain, or abet any Poſition or Concluſion, in Oppoſition or Impeachment of the aforeſaid Explications, or any Part or Article of them, he ſhall forthwith, by the Power of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, be excommunicated (till he repent) and ſuſpended two Years from all the Profits of his Benefice, or other Eccleſiaſtical, Academical, or Scholaſtical Preferments,* &c.

You know alſo, that theſe Canons and Conſtitutions do bind you no leſs now in 1688, than they did your Predeceſſors in 1641, it having been decreed *, *That whoſoever ſhall hereafter affirm, that a moſt holy Synod of this Nation is not repreſentatively the true Church of* England; *or that no Perſons, whether of the Clergy or Laity* †, *are any ways obliged by the ſaid Decrees touching Eccleſiaſtical Matters, who were not perſonally preſent in the ſame holy Synod, as not having given their Votes or Conſent, ſhall be excommunicated* §, *and by no means to be abſolved till he have repented, and publickly recalled this wicked Error.*

I muſt deſire you alſo to call to Mind the Oaths you and all my other Children of the Clergy took, when you entered into that ſacred Function, as alſo the Declarations you ſubſcribed when you became Incumbents.

The firſt at your Ordination was in theſe Words ‖.

I A. B. *do utterly teſtify and declare in my Conſcience, that the King's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Things or Cauſes, as temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all foreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities, and do promiſe that from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminencies and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.*

The ſecond Oath or Declaration is before their Admiſſion to be Incumbents, in theſe Words **.

I A. B. *declare, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that I abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms, by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſionated by him,* &c.

Theſe are my Articles, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Declarations, loyal indeed in their Expreſſions, and ſuch as religiouſly maintain my known Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, *upon any Account whatſoever*, and Paſſive Obedience, where Conſcience will not permit an Active; theſe are the Oaths you yourſelves have

* *Sparrow*'s Can. p. 333. † Can. 139. § Can. 140. ‖ Ib. p. 145.
** Act of Uniformity, 14 *Car.* II.

taken,

taken, and the Declarations you have ſubſcribed. The Cenſures are high, even thoſe of Excommunication *ipſo facto*; and the Laws are made equally againſt any foreign or domeſtic Power, Papal or Popular; Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate.

But what does it avail me to make Laws and Canons for my Children, if they will not pay Obedience? I can ſee my Siſter Churches religiouſly obeyed, and all their Children look upon themſelves, as bound under a mortal Sin to obey their Parent, though no Excommunications were annexed: But, alas! all my Commands are ſlighted, even from the Obſervation of my Feaſts and Faſts, to my Allegiance to my Sovereign: And you who ſhould ſtand by me, and by your Cenſures, as well as your Examples, vindicate my Power, and maintain my Honour, take no Care to put my Canons in Execution; nay, which is yet more, join with the Multitude of my rebellious Children, and by a criminal Silence in this Caſe, equally blaſt my Reputation.

Conſider, I pray, my Lords, your Station and your Duty. You are my principal Children, who ought to ſtand as Bulworks to defend my Faith and Doctrine, and not only by your *Diſcourſes*, *Sermons*, and *Examples*, teach my inferior Children their Duties, but by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Excommunications compel them to it. But, alas! how faintly do you comply with this Obligation?

You ſee a foreign Power is entred into this Nation in an hoſtile manner, pretending to give Laws to mine and your Liege Sovereign: You ſee Perſons of all Conditions join themſelves with this Invader, and take up Arms againſt my King, contrary to their ſworn Allegiance, and in Oppoſition to my Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*: And what Canon, Conſtitution, or Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure have you publiſhed againſt them? Have you pronounced this Invaſion unlawful, and all the Subjects of the King of *England*, who join with the Invader, Traitors both to their King and to their God; and ſuch as reſiſt the Powers that are of God, and ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation? Have you iſſued out your Commands to the inferior Clergy to read the ſeveral Explanations of the Regal Power, and preach up that Obedience which is due, and the neceſſary Reſiſtance which every Subject ought to make againſt the Invaders of their Country? Have you excommunicated a *Burnet*, though liable to an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure? Has any of you opened your Mouths againſt the moſt perfidious Treachery of a C—— who calls me ſtill his Mother? In a Word, what is it you have done to maintain my Doctrines, or ſecure me from the Reproaches that are daily caſt upon me?

Is not all the World ready to ſay at preſent, what a noble Peer ſaid ſome time ago to King *Charles* the Second, *The Church of* England *is we ſee like other Chriſtian Churches, obedient as long as it conſiſts with her Intereſt to obey, and for a King as long as a King is for her: But ſetting aſide thoſe Caſes, ſhe can diſpenſe with* Paſſive Obedience *and* Non-reſiſtance, *as well as any of her Puritan Neighbours*: And have you done any thing to remove the Obloquy?

Nay, let me come a little cloſer to the Point: Have not ſome of your Order been accuſed of calling this Invader into your Country? Has not the Prince himſelf declared as much? Does not this reflect upon my Honour as well as yours?

yours? And have you vindicated either yourſelves, or me? What could there have been more eaſy, or more ſeaſonable for the Vindication of both our Reputations, than to have denied the Fact, and publiſhed an Abhorrence of ſuch a treacherous and unparallelled Invaſion? And yet we ſee nothing but a profound Silence; which ſome ſay is the certain Sign of Guilt.

A Silence, I ſay, unleſs you will call your laſt Petition your Defence, whilſt others look upon it as a public Acknowledgment of your being guilty. A Petition, which beſides the Unpracticableneſs of what is deſired in it, a *free Parliament*, at a Juncture, when neither the King, Lords, nor Commons can be *free*; being publiſhed at this time, and without his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer, is looked upon by moſt moderate Men, as an open abetting of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſign by this Invaſion, and a ſiding with him.

Let me a little expoſtulate the Caſe with you. Pray, tell me, is not the Prince of *Orange* a foreign Enemy? Are not many of thoſe who join with him Subjects of the King of *England?* Has not he and they entred the Kingdom in a hoſtile manner? Does he not now ſeize upon the King's Revenues? Has he not ſtripped his Soldiers who would not join in the moſt treacherous Action that ever ſaw the Light? Has he not erected a formal Treaſury? Does he not pretend to ſettle the Nation, redreſs Grievances, and force, or fright the King to a Compliance? Has he not forbid the public Prayers for our dread Sovereign, and ordered them to be offered for himſelf? All this you cannot deny. Pray then tell me further; What Law, Canon, or Conſtitution, has given him this Power, Superiority, or Dominion, over our King or Kingdom? What Caſe of Conſcience has abſolved the King's Subjects from their Allegiance? Who is it that has diſpenſed with all the Oaths you or they have taken; or, can they be diſpenſed with? What is there can make the moſt unnatural Invaſion lawful; and Rebellion, which is as the Sin of Witchcraft, become a Virtue? If no Man muſt reſiſt, or take up Arms in any Caſe againſt the King, what colourable Pretence can any one produce to vindicate theſe Actions? Is the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance* and *Paſſive Obedience* mine, or is it not? If you cannot anſwer categorically to theſe Queſtions, but you muſt neceſſarily condemn this Invaſion and Rebellion, and all the Adherents or Abettors of it: Pray tell me, whether a Silence in thoſe that are obliged to ſpeak, have their Liberty, and may hope to prevail by ſpeaking, be not in the higheſt Nature criminal?

You know what Eſteem you have gained in the Minds of the People, by oppoſing the King, and not publiſhing his Declaration for Liberty of other Perſons Conſciences, which Liberty you thought was inconſiſtent with your own; ſo that what you now ſay to them, will be looked upon almoſt as ſacred. But if you be not now as ſtout in oppoſing a foreign Power, and ſuppreſſing domeſtic Broils, will it not be inferred, either that you approve of the Invaſion, or have loſt your Courage, or acted then more by Paſſion than Reaſon or Religion? I muſt needs tell you, that ſome are not afraid to whiſper, nay, to ſpeak it out, *That you had not been then ſo couragious, if you had not foreſeen this Invaſion; and that the ſeven Trumpets now appears to have been a fitter Emblem than the ſeven Candleſticks:* And thus that Glory which you then gained

gained begins to tarniſh, and the Garland withers upon your Temple, by your being ſilent, and you ſtill affect it.

But you will perhaps ſtill ſay with the *Mobile*, The Prince comes not to hurt us, but to protect us and our Religion. You will alſo, it may be, ſay, that thoſe Laws, Canons, and Conſtitutions which were made againſt a foreign Power, were only meant againſt the Pope and Popery, but not againſt a Proteſtant Prince, who comes only to ſecure us againſt the Deſigns of Papiſts.

But if you ſay this, ſpeak ſoftly, leſt you intirely ruin my Reputation; and inſtead of repelling the Calumny, clench it by ſuch Diſtinctions. Is not King *James* II. my lawful Sovereign, againſt whom this foreign Invader comes? Are not you and all his Liege Subjects bound by all the Ties of God, of Nature, and of Nations, to defend him againſt any Power whatever, Papal or Popular, Foreign or Domeſtic? Suppoſe he had gone about to perſecute my Children, or pull me down (though I muſt needs ſay, the Promiſes he made me, and the Methods he was taking to ſecure my Right, would have been the moſt ſolid Eſtabliſhment for me, even to Envy in future Ages) is not *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* my known Doctrine? What Pretence then can you, or any of my Children, have to join with ſuch a foreign Power, abet Rebellion, or ſtand with folded Arms, without pronouncing Sentence againſt ſuch Rebels.

Have you ſuch a Charm as can turn what would be Treaſon, Treachery and Rebellion in a Papiſt, into Proteſtant Virtues? I dare ſay, if the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any Roman Catholic King, Prince, or Potentate, had in the Beginning of the Proteſtant Reformation, entred into this Kingdom in ſuch a hoſtile Manner, for the Defence of the antient Liberties and Religion of the Nation, as then by Law eſtabliſhed, you would have proclaimed them unjuſt Invaders, and all the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, that would not join in the repelling of them, *Traytors*. And is the Caſe now changed, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* is a Proteſtant, and our gracious King a Roman Catholic? Is that a Virtue in a Proteſtant Prince, which would be the higheſt Crime in a Roman Catholic King? Was the intended Invaſion in 1588, looked upon by me as a moſt wicked Undertaking, and juſtly puniſhed by an avenging Fire, and ſhall not that of 1688 be as much condemned, becauſe this is a Proteſtant Invaſion, and that a Roman Catholic? Have you ſo frequently condemned the Roman Catholic Religion, and inſtilled an Averſion into the People's Minds, by laying bloody Principles to their Charge; and will you now aſſert, that it is lawful for Proteſtants to defend their Religion againſt their Sovereign by Invaſions, Rebellions, Tumults, Rapines, Seditions, Maſſacres, Blood-ſhed, and all the dire Effects of War?

Tell not things in Gath, *publiſh them not in the Streets of* Aſkelon, *leſt the Daughters of the Philiſtines rejoice, leſt the Daughters of the Uncircumciſied triumph.* Tell them not, I ſay, leſt not only our Brethren of other Nations, but even Heathens themſelves, ſhould ſcoff at our Morality.

I have heard of ſeveral Roman Catholics, who being interrogated by public Authority, Whether if the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould come into *England*, they would ſtand for the Pope or for the King, made anſwer, *If the Pope come in with his*

his Books and Beads, we will be for him; but if he come in with Sword and Piſtol, we will fight againſt him. And, ſhall they whoſe Principles we cenſure exceed us in the Degrees of Loyalty? What Shame, what Confuſion will this be to us in after Ages; when God, who will vindicate the Right of Kings, ſhall again eſtabliſh our Sovereign's Throne in Peace? This will be a Blot to be hit by every Polemic Writer: My Reputation thus loſt, will never be regained, and I ſhall be always put in Mind of the wiſe Man's Advice, *Fear God, Honour the King, and meddle not with thoſe that are given to change.*

Let me beg of you then, my beloved Children, to conſider your Mother's Honour and Reputation, if you will not reflect upon your own. Let not my Doctrines and Principles be laid aſide, and thoſe that are contrary to them embraced by you. Let it not be objected, that I have changed my Faith; and inſtead of even *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*, now go about to preſerve my Rights and Privileges by an Invader's Sword and Rebel's Arms. But on the contrary labour to regain your own Reputations, and repair my blaſted Honour by an unſhaken Stedfaſtneſs to your Sovereign.

Publiſh boldly the Abhorrence of this treacherous Invaſion, which is the only way to clear your Innocence, and confute the Invader's Accuſation. Move your Brethren to ſend forth your joint Injunctions to all the inferior Clergy, commanding them to preach *Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* to the People, and by that Means quell the Fury of the Rabble. Declare all thoſe to be excommunicated Perſons, whom the King declares to be Traitors, pronouncing Rebellion to be as the Sin of Witchcraft, and that they who *curſe the King in their Thoughts, ſhall have a Bird of the Air carry the Voice*, and an avenging God to puniſh the Offence. Stand up now, before it be too late, for my Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*, and then you need not fear the being exerciſed in that of *Paſſive Obedience.* For when our gracious Sovereign ſhall by that means ſee your Loyalty in Practice, as well as Doctrine, he will be as conſtant to his Promiſes, as you can be to your Principles; and if I maintain the Right of Kings, he will maintain me as by Law eſtabliſhed.

The True Character of a CHURCHMAN, ſhewing the falſe Pretences to that Name.

By Dr. *RICHARD WEST.*

IT is commonly obſerved, and we have too often felt, what the Power and Miſchief of Party-names is. Were it no more, than that they ſerve to form and diſtinguiſh Parties, *that* makes them as miſcihevous to Government, as divided Parties. Nothing is ſo apt to deceive us into very falſe Opinions of Men, as when ſuch Names are either ignorantly or deſignedly applied to wrong Perſons; which not only diſturbs human Converſation, and many times deprives us of the moſt uſeful and deſirable Friendſhips, but impoſes upon

upon the Government too, in the Advancement of unfit Perſons to public Truſts, and excluding ſuch as are beſt qualified to ſerve God, their King, and their Country, both in Church and State. This is viſible in all public Elections. Names give Characters, and form a Party; and Choices are made according as Names are given at all Adventures.

I ſhall not take notice now of ſuch Names as ſignify arbitrarily, and which the different Parties give each other as Terms of Reproach; but there is one very good Name, which is very much abuſed, and does the greater Miſchief, when miſapplied, by being ſo very good; I mean the Name *Churchman*, or *Church of Englandman*, which ſome appropriate to themſelves, who have little Right to it, and deny it thoſe who beſt anſwer, and moſt honour that Name. And that the World may not be impoſed on by ſuch Perſons, I ſhall briefly repreſent the true Character of a Churchman, that we may the better judge to whom this Name belongs, and who they are that unjuſtly uſurp it.

I. Now in the firſt Place, I take it for granted, that a Churchman ought to be a Chriſtian; for it is the Chriſtian Church we ſpeak of, and therefore ſuch Men muſt believe in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt. Atheiſts and Infidels belong to no Church, but the Synagogue of Satan; and yet it is too evident, that many who would be thought great Church of *Englandmen*, are no great Believers; Men, who are ſufficiently known, in their private Converſation, and ſometimes too publickly, to ridicule all Religion and the Holy Scriptures, and little leſs than blaſpheme God and our Saviour Chriſt. God deliver us from ſuch Churchmen, and the Church from the Scandal of ſuch Pretenders.

II. A *Church of Englandman* is one who lives in Communion with the Church of *England*; that is, who communicates in religious Offices, in the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church. Some think it Title enough to the Name of *Churchman*, that they communicate with no Diſſenters, as if to diſſent from all Religion, were the Character of a Churchman. Certainly a Man of any Religion is nearer the Church of *England*, than he that hath none; for they agree in worſhipping God, though they differ in the Modes of Worſhip. And there is too great a Party of theſe Churchmen, who ſeldom ſee the Inſide of a Church, and as ſeldom ſhew any Signs of Devotion when they are there. Their Neighbours muſt know them; and I hope, for the Honour of Religion, will never call them Churchmen.

III. A Churchman is one who has a Right to Church-Communion, who lives ſo regular a Life, that he is qualified to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments. This, no notorious wicked Livers are, whatever their Profeſſion be; ſuch as common Drunkards, and Swearers, Adulterers, Fornicators, *&c.* who by the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church, would not have been admitted ſo much as to the Communion of Prayers. Eccleſiaſtical Authority indeed is under ſuch Reſtraints, that Church Cenſures cannot be always duly executed; but though ſuch Men are not actually ſhut out of the Church, they have hardly any good Claim to it; and, what kind of Churchmen are thoſe, who have ſo far unqualified themſelves even to enter the Church? and who would as much avoid the Name, as they do the Place, and both for the

ſame Reaſon, *viz.* the Relation they bear to God's Religion, if they did not want a Cloak for their Impieties and Immoralities, and hope that a pretended Zeal for the Church, would atone for their real Enmity to Religion. But whatever Protection or Advantage the Name of the Church may, by the Unwarineſs or Deſign of others, gain theſe Men, I am ſure it receives nothing from them but Scandal and Reproach. Never let a ſacred Name be thus proſtituted, to countenance Wickedneſs, or to take off any Part of the Shame and Infamy that belongs to it.

IV. A *Church of Englandman* is one who is true to the Intereſt both of Church and State, as by Law eſtabliſhed. I ſay both Church and State; for it hath always been, and I hope always will be, the Glory of the Church of *England*, that all her true Sons are very loyal Subjects. This has been, and is at this Day, made an Accuſation of the Church of *England*, that this Point of Obedience and Subjection has been preſſed too far; even ſo far, if we believe ſome, as to ſet up Arbitrary Power and the Will of the Prince, above Law. But this is a Miſrepreſentation of the true Doctrine of Obedience taught in our Church; which was oppoſed to Faction and Sedition, not to a legal Government: For Obedience is a Duty owing to ſettled Governments, adminiſtered by legal Methods; though there may be, as in all Governments, in the imperfect State of this World, there ever have and will be, ſeveral Faults and Miſcarriages in the Adminiſtration; but does not extend, nor was ever ſo intended, to the Subverſion of Laws, and our Civil and Religious Rights, at the Will of the Prince. But the Church of *England* is a profeſſed Enemy to all the Arts of Sedition and Faction and embroiling Governments; and would not be a true Chriſtian Church, if it were not; and therefore theſe Men muſt not paſs for Churchmen, who are ſeditious and factious, and uneaſy to Government, without Regard to the Perſon or Authority of the Prince, any longer than they are courted or bribed; and without allowing a common Reſpect, either in their Converſation or Writings, to ſuch of their ſpiritual Fathers as happen not, upon all Accounts, to fall in with their Humour and Fancy. The Church of *England* teaches her Sons, when they obſerve any Defects in their Governors, Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to conceal, lament, and excuſe them, and all out of a dutiful Regard to the Character they bear. But to expoſe Failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, God be thanked, was never any Part of the Spirit of our Church: It always inſtilled more loyal and religious Leſſons. But our Superiors in Church and State have the leſs Reaſon to be ſurpriſed at this Treatment, becauſe a boundleſs Liberty of Railing, both in public and private, againſt all who were not perfectly of their own Mind, has been all along the great Characteriſtic of that Sort of Churchmen, and, in many Inſtances, all the Title they could pretend to the Name.

V. A *Church of Englandman* is one, who takes the Meaſures of his Behaviour as a Son of the Church, from the Rule that our Church herſelf has laid down for his Direction, in her Liturgy and Rubric, her Articles, Homilies, and Canons. This, as grounded in Scripture, our great Rule, is the Path that our Conſtitution has marked out; and as they who walk in it (that is, who

wor

worſhip God, and obey their Superiors in ſuch a Manner as they preſcribe) are truly Churchmen; ſo the reſt who deviate from the Rule on either Side, have no Title to the Name. They that will not come up to it, are Diſſenters on the one Side; and if any go beyond it, they are Diſſenters on the other, *i. e.* both of them diſſent and differ, in their Principles and Practices, from the eſtabliſhed Rules of the Church. Of the latter Sort are they who value themſelves at this Day upon the Name of *High Churchmen*; and as for others, who keep ſtrictly to the Rules of Church Communion and Worſhip, and think it a Breach of that Rule to go higher than the Church itſelf has directed, all theſe they deſpiſe, as Men of a lower Church; who yet are really the true and only Churchmen, while the other exalted Pretences are no leſs a Deviation from the true Church than Superſtition is from the true Religion.

VI. A Churchman is one who governs himſelf by Principle, and not by the uncertain Turns of Humour or Intereſt. He will not be zealous for Monarchy and Epiſcopacy at one Time, and at another fall in with Meaſures for diminiſhing the juſt Prerogative, and depreſſing his eccleſiaſtical Superiors. Nor will he turn Advocate for the popular Election of Biſhops, when he finds his Aims not ſo likely to ſucceed at Court: A Scheme that has been mentioned with Approbation by a certain Party in this Reign, who, in another, would have called it a Republican Device to leſſen the Royal Prerogative, and a Fanatical Contrivance to maintain perpetual Factions and Parties among the Clergy of every Dioceſe. In ſhort, a Churchman is uniform under all Governments, and is not to be drawn by private Animoſities and Reſentments, from purſuing Methods that really are, and himſelf has all along declared to be, the Supports of our Conſtitution, and the Foundations of Peace and Order in Church and State.

But yet ſuch Men, who have neither the Faith nor Worſhip, nor Morals, nor Loyalty, nor Steadineſs, which the Church of *England* teaches her Children, would be thought very good Churchmen, becauſe they profeſs a great Zeal to preſerve the preſent Conſtitution of the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed: And I muſt own this a very good Reaſon (eſpecially could we have any Security of them) to prefer them before the profeſſed Enemies of our Conſtitution. For it is very happy (and we ought to thank God for it) when they do any Thing this Way, but not to own them Churchmen, for Reaſons I ſhall ſoon give. For, I beſeech you, what Security can we have of thoſe Men, who have no Reverence for God, nor for their Prince? How ſhould they have any Value for the Church, who have no Value for Religion? We ought to be thankful to God, when he ſo wiſely orders Things by his Providence, as to make it the Intereſt of bad Men to favour and protect his Church; but we have no Reaſon to depend upon Men of no Principles and no Religion: While their Intereſt and the Church are on a Side, we may expect them our Friends; but Intereſt will not lie. If the Church and Intereſt part, farewel the Church.

But to paſs over this: A Churchman muſt ſignify one who is for preſerving the eſſential Conſtitution of the Church. Now, the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* is the ſame that has been the Conſtitution of the Catholic Church,

ever ſince the Apoſtolic Age, or as long as we have any authentic Records of the Church; that is the Government of the Church is in Biſhops, with Preſbyters and Deacons under them. Ours is a National Church, and divided into two Provinces; each Province hath a Metropolitan, with a ſuperior Juriſdiction over all the Biſhops and Clergy of his Province; which ſome think an Apoſtolical, but it is certain is a very ancient Conſtitution of the Catholic Church.

Now, whatever Pretences may be made, I cannot think nor call theſe Churchmen, who endeavour to overthrow this ancient Conſtitution of the Catholic Church, to which the Church of *England* is ſo exactly conformed, as we know has by ſome been lately attempted. For to deny the Metropolitan any Sort of Authority of convening and preſiding in Synods (which neceſſarily carries with it the Authority of Continuations or Prorogations) any otherwiſe than as the King's Miniſter (which is a Civil, not an Eccleſiaſtical and Metropolitical Authority) and to make a Synod of Preſbyters an independent Houſe and co-ordinate Power with their Biſhops, when they themſelves do and muſt own, that there never was a diſtinct Synod of Preſbyters, much leſs a co-ordinate Houſe of mere Preſbyters in any other Epiſcopal Church in the World, and can never ſhew, when the Church of *England* broke off from the Catholic Church, and renounced the Metropolitical and Epiſcopal Authority; this is to oppoſe the eſſential Conſtitution of an Epiſcopal Church, as the Church of *England* is. While ſome who call themſelves great Churchmen, are declaiming againſt the Uſurpations of Civil Power upon the Church, they have taken great Pains to expound the *Act of Submiſſion*, and the King's Supremacy to ſuch a Senſe as neither our Princes nor Lawyers ever thought on; to make all Church Authority a perfect Creature of the State, that Preſbyters may challenge a co-ordinate Power with their Biſhops.

But this is too long a Diſpute to enter upon at preſent, and may deſerve a particular Conſideration; for it ſeems a mere Jeſt, for Men to pretend a mighty Zeal for the Rights and Liberties of the Church, and upbraid their Superiors with betraying the Rights of the Church, while they themſelves are overthrowing the ancient Conſtitution of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of *England* with it: And how fit ſuch Men are to lead them, I hope all honeſt Epiſcopal Clergymen will conſider.

And now, all I have to add is, a Caution againſt being impoſed on by the Name *Churchman*. If any have a Mind, for other Reaſons, to chooſe atheiſtical Men, or profligate Sinners, and ſeditious, factious violent Spirits to repreſent them; let them not do it under the Character of Churchmen: For this is a mighty Scandal upon the Church of *England*, to own thoſe for Churchmen who are known to have no Religion: This hath, and does, to this Day, give great Scandal to Diſſenters, that many atheiſtical, lewd profligate People, who manifeſtly have no Religion, pretend to be of the Church of *England*. This cannot be avoided indeed, unleſs the Diſcipline of the Church could be effectually revived. For Men of no Religion, if they muſt profeſs any, will pretend to the legally eſtabliſhed Church and Religion; but if we cannot always fling them out of the Church, yet I think we ought not to own them;

for

for that would be to fix a very ill Character upon our Church, our Religion, and ourſelves.

And beſides this, had we to deal with any Prince of leſs Prudence and Temper, and Inſight into Men, than his preſent gracious Majeſty, whom God long preſerve, what an Opinion would this give him of the Church of *England*, when he ſhould find many (inconſiderately owned to be Patrons of it) to have no Religion, no Morals; and to be troubleſome, and factious, and great Diſturbers of his Government, and of all that he deſigns well for the public Good?

High Church Miracles, or Modern Inconſiſtencies.

Printed in the Year 1710.

THAT High Church have a Right Divine from *Jove*,
By Signs and Wonders, they pretend to prove.
(*a*) They can a mortal Soul immortal make:
(*b*) They can by Pray'rs our Conſtitution ſhake.
Virtue and Wit, at their Command, agree;
And Truth can well conſiſt with Perjury.
(*c*) They damn all Right but of th' immediate Heir;
And reconcile it to the Oaths they ſwear.
(*d*) Paſſive can be, and yet reſiſt the Queen;
Loyal to her, yet *Perkin* would bring in.

(*e*) The

(*a*) This Power Mr. *Dodwel*, the learned Tutor of High Church, teacheth to be in every Prieſt, and not one of the High Church Faction hath writ againſt this heretical Doctrine.

(*b*) They prayed publickly, and printed Prayers for the Doctor, as one under Perſecution for Religion, though he was impeached by the Commons, and found guilty by the Lords, of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in preaching and printing two Sermons, *With a wicked, malicious, and ſeditious Intention, to undermine and ſubvert her Majeſty's Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion as by Law eſtabliſhed; to defame her Majeſty's Adminiſtration; to aſperſe the Memory of his late Majeſty; to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution; to contradict and arraign the Reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament; to create Jealouſies and Diviſions among her Majeſty's Subjects, and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion.*

They prayed alſo for the Church as in extreme Danger; and their Sermons were ſuited to their Prayers; whereby they trumpeted up the Mob againſt her Majeſty and the Parliament; and the latter they omitted praying for during the Trial.

(*c*) Their *Oxford* Decree, which the Lords have condemned to the Flames, and their other ſcandalous and treaſonable Pamphlets, denied the Legality of precluding the next Heir to the Crown: And on Diſcourſe with them, you'll find they are full of Encomiums on an hereditary Right; and yet the ſame Perſons abjure the Pretender, and his pretended Siſter, and the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Bourbon*, by ſwearing to her Majeſty and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as limited by Acts of Parliament on the Houſe of *Hanover*.

(*d*) They allow of no Reſiſtance, though the Eſtates, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation be invaded; though a Tyrant ſhould deprive you of Parliaments, and murder the People for his Pleaſure and Diverſion; and yet theſe falſe Teachers rebel themſelves under the mildeſt Government of her preſent Majeſty, as their late Inſurrections do ſufficiently witneſs. And though all their Actions are againſt her Majeſty's Government, yet what ſolemn Profeſſions

(*e*) The Sovereign's Supremacy they own;
But ſay, the Pulpit is the higher Throne.
(*f*) To Biſhops give divine and kingly Pow'r;
Yet curſe them firſt, and after would devour.
(*g*) Chriſt they can ſerve, by Churches pulling down;
(*h*) Advance Prerogative, by Inſults on the Crown.
(*i*) Popery they hate, yet Abbots would reſtore;
(*k*) Abjure *Rome*'s Pow'r, yet graſp themſelves at more.
God they profeſs righteous and juſt to be:
Yet God, they ſay, commiſſions Tyranny.
(*l*) Their Mercy, Love, and Charity are ſhown
In Maſſacres, and Perſecution.
(*m*) Saints they can damn, and Devils quickly make 'em,
Can Devils abſolve, and after conſecrate 'em.
But I defy themſelves, and all their Devils,
To waſh the *Æthiop* white, and purge High Church from Evils.

feſſions of Love and Loyalty do they *Judas*-like, make to her?

(*e*) Her Majeſty's Supremacy in the Church is confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament; and though the Canon excommunicates, *ipſo facto*, whoſoever ſpeaks againſt it, yet all High Church Authors have the Impudence to deny it in Print. Nay, they prefer the inferior Prieſts to the greateſt Emperors and Kings, as appears by their Books, cited in a ſmall Pamphlet, intitled, *A new Catechiſm, with Dr.* Hicks's *Thirty-nine Articles*. But you may obſerve yourſelf in Converſation, whenever they ſay Grace, or toſs off a Health, they name the Church (as Superior) before the Queen.

(*f*) Dr. *Atterbury* and his Friends can teſtify in what an inſolent Manner, the High-flyers have treated the Higher Houſe of Convocation. What Libels and Invectives have they publiſhed? what Indignities have they offered to our moderate and religious Biſhops; eſpecially to his Grace of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, the latter of which, though a very great Ornament to our Church, and ſo eſteemed throughout all Chriſtendom, was in Danger of being maſſacred in the late High Church Inſurrection.

(*g*) They pulled down the Churches of Proteſtant Diſſenters, for being profeſſed Enemies to the Pope and the Pretender; but not a Window did they break of either Papiſt or Jacobite.

(*h*) If undermining her Majeſty's Title, defaming her Government, libelling her Miniſtry, denying and oppoſing her Supremacy, tacking of Bills, directing her when to diſſolve a Parliament, and acting in Defiance of her Royal Proclamations againſt Riots, *&c.* be Methods to advance Prerogative, then High Church have effectually done it. So did they ſerve their God, by burning his Churches.

(*i*) Abbey-lands.

(*k*) This has been fully demonſtrated by *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, whom the whole Legion of High Church have in vain attempted to anſwer.

(*l*) This is ſet forth in a ſmall Treatiſe, ironically intitled, *The merciful Judgments of High Church*; and is confirmed by their late barbarous Behaviour towards the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

(*m*) This alludes to their pretended Power of damning any Perſon, though never ſo holy, by their Excommunications and Anathemas; and, on the contrary, of abſolving, for a Purſe of Money, the moſt profligate Sinner. *But, Phyſician, firſt cure thyſelf.*

The

The CASE of the two Abſolvers that were tried at the King's Bench Bar at *Weſtminſter*, on *Thurſday* the 2d of *July* 1696, for giving Abſolution at the Place of Execution, to Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*.

By *JEREMIAH COLLIER*, D. D.

Printed in the Year 1696.

I. FOR a Miniſter of the Church of *England* to give Abſolution to a dying Penitent, if he humbly and heartily deſire it, is a lawful Act, as appears by the Rubric in the Office for the Viſitation of the Sick; which is not only confirmed by, but a Part of the Act of Uniformity.

II. There being no particular Office appointed in the Liturgy for Perſons to be executed (whoſe Souls are as precious, and as much to be taken Care of, as the Souls of thoſe who die in their Beds) that for the Viſitation of the Sick, which by parity of Reaſon is fairly applicable to the Caſe of Perſons to be executed, who are to be conſidered as dying Men muſt be uſed, or none at all in their Caſe, unleſs the Miniſters officiating are left to the Liberty of extemporary Effuſions, which rather become a Calviniſtical Elder, than a Preſbyter of the Church of *England*. And why is it not as juſtifiable to uſe the Office for the Viſitation of the Sick, in the Caſe of Perſons to be executed, as to uſe the Prayer in that Office publickly in Churches in Behalf of the Sick, which are appointed by the Rubric to be uſed in the ſick Perſon's Chamber; for which only Neceſſity, and a Defect in the Liturgy, is pleaded?

III. The Circumſtances of Time and Place and Ceremony being intirely left by the Rubric (where there is neither Command nor Prohibition concerning them) to the Diſcretion and Choice of the Miniſters abſolving, and the Penitent to be abſolved; how could it be criminal in the Abſolvers of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, to give them Abſolution with Impoſition of Hands at the Place of Execution, which they deſired as a comfortable Support under the Terrors of Death, as a *Viaticum* in their Paſſage to Eternity?

IV. 'Tis intirely left to the abſolving Miniſter to judge of the ſpiritual State of his Penitent, whether he be duly qualified, or not, to receive Abſolution. *Vide* Rubric, *ut ſupra*.

V. The Miniſter abſolving is to reſt ſatisfied with an Account of the general Repentance of the Perſon to be abſolved, who is not obliged to make a particular and ſpecial Confeſſion of his Sins to the Abſolver, unleſs he feel his Conſcience troubled with any weighty Matter, as appears by the Rubric, *ut ſupra*. To affirm the contrary, is to plead for auricular Confeſſion, as it is aught and practiſed in the Church of *Rome*.

VI. If

VI. If the Perſon to be abſolved makes a ſpecial voluntary Confeſſion of his Sins, the Abſolver is bound by the Canon to conceal it, and keep it a Secret from all the World, *Vid.* 113 *Can.* If it be objected that in Caſe of a treaſonable Conſpiracy, which the Penitent confeſſes, the Abſolver is not bound to conceal it, it may be anſwered, that in the Caſe of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, there was no treaſonable Conſpiracy ſo pretended or laid to their Charge, but what was diſcovered and made public, and which they were convicted of.

VII. Suppoſe, that after the Death of the abſolved Penitent, who dies in his Bed by the Viſitation of God, a Paper ſhould be publiſhed under his own Hand (which the Abſolver knew nothing of) whereby it appears that he was guilty of Hereſy in the Church, and Treaſon in the State, and that he juſtified both the one and the other, ſhall this affect the Abſolver, and make him a Criminal in giving Abſolution? If not, then, with Submiſſion, neither could the Paper left by Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* with the Sheriff, and afterwards publiſhed, which the Abſolvers were altogether Strangers to, any ways affect the ſaid Abſolvers, or render them Criminals in giving them Abſolution.

Suppoſe that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left no Paper with the Sheriff, and none had been publiſhed after their Death, 'tis preſumed then that the Abſolvers would not have been queſtioned or cenſured for giving them Abſolution.

IX. Nay farther, ſuppoſe that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left a Paper with the Sheriff, which he had afterwards publiſhed, acknowledging their Guilt, and ſignifying their Repentance as to that particular Crime which they were convicted of; then it is preſumed that the Abſolver would have been ſo far from being cenſured for giving them Abſolution, that it would have been generally agreed to be a charitable, regular, and lawful Act. And if it was, in itſelf, a lawful Act at the Time of the Performance of it, no ſubſequent Act or Circumſtance whatſoever, which the Abſolvers were Strangers to, would make it unlawful. Nothing could make it unlawful *à parte poſt*, which was a lawful Act *à parte ante*. But if it was in itſelf an unlawful Act at the Time of the Performance of it, no ſubſequent Act or Circumſtance whatſoever, how grateful ſoever to the Government, as in the before mentioned Inſtance, could make it lawful.

Whether the Preſerving the Proteſtant Religion was the Motive unto, or the End that was deſigned in, the late Revolution?

In a LETTER to a Country Gentleman, as an Anſwer to his firſt Query.

SIR,

I Can give you no better Proof of the Authority you have over me, than that I am ready to obey you in replying to your Queſtions; though I foreſee that I ſhall thereby not only hazard my Safety, but be judged by many to depart from the common Meaſures of Diſcretion: Seeing, as I ſhall be ſure to provoke the Gentleman whom we have had the Folly, as well as Diſloyalty, to ſet over us, and to furniſh with Legions; and alſo to exaſperate his Partizans, who being his Copartners in Guilt, are likewiſe Sharers with him in the common Robbery: So I can hardly eſcape diſpleaſing others, by endeavouring both to undeceive them in Matters wherein they have been miſled, and to give them a View and Senſe of their Slavery, while they continue fond of their Deluſions, and proud of their Fetters and Chains. So that under all the Proſpect which I am, both of Cenſure and of perſonal Danger, by this Undertaking, I have but very little Hope of awaking and prevailing upon a cheated, impoveriſhed, and enſlaved Kingdom, to recover its Wits, reaſſume its Loyalty, and to vindicate its Liberty and Rights. For who can make them ſee that wilfully ſhut their Eyes, and who take Pleaſure in being hood-winked, that they may be led about blind? Or who can rouſe thoſe to value and look after Freedom, that place their Contentment in having their Ears bored and nailed to *Kenſington* Gates? It is the greateſt Prodigy of this Age, though it hath been fertile of Wonders enough, that they who boaſted of taking Lions by the Beard, can ſubmit to be gnawn by Mice and Rats; and that they who could refuſe Reverence to Princes whom God had ſet over them, clothed with his own Stile, and with his divine Sanction upon their Authority, can dwindle into the Meanneſs, as well as degenerate into the Irreligion, of adoring Crocodiles and worſhipping Wolves, which have nothing to make them reſpected and cringed unto, but that they are brutal and rapacious. Yet how little Probability is there of recovering the Nation, either to reverence themſelves, or him whom they ought? when not only thoſe of St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, who ſhould be the Conſervators of our Property, Freedom and Rights, do value themſelves upon being the Inſtruments of the Subjects Bondage, and the Tools of the Prince of *Orange*'s Tyranny: But when the Men in Gowns of both Profeſſions do, the one make the Law of which they are appointed Guardians, and the other the Goſpel, whereof they were intended Diſpenſers, Means of authoriſing his Arbitrarineſs and our Oppreſſion, and of ſanctifying the uſurped and illegally exerted Power of him whom they have conſecrated to rule, and

of hallowing the Servitude and Poverty of the People, over whom they have advanced him : But as I have learned to govern myſelf, by the Diſcoveries of Revelation and the Dictates of natural Light, and by the Rules of the civil Conſtitution and Society under which and where I was born, and do live, and not by other Mens Opinion, or by little and mean Regards to my own Profit and Fame ; ſo the only, as well as the main, Thing, which I am ſolicitous about, is, that I may diſcharge my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, without looking unto, and much leſs without being uneaſy and anxious concerning Iſſues and Events. And though I ſhould be thankful unto God, and joyful in myſelf, to ſee my Countrymen perſuaded and gained to relieve themſelves, and to ſave the Kingdom and their Poſterity, by returning to their Fealty, and by claiming and aſſerting the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution in all its Parts and Branches, and to all the uſeful, honourable, and legitimate Ends and Purpoſes of it ; yet ſhould I have the Misfortune to ſee myſelf diſappointed, and to find all my loyal, charitable, and well meant Endeavours fruſtrated, through the Stupidneſs of ſome, and the Bigotry of others, as well as becauſe too many of all Ranks are Copartners with the Uſurper in the Spoil and Plunder of the Nation, and in that ſeveral have their own Ambitions ſatisfied by him, whoſe haughty, boundleſs, and unnatural Aſpirings, they have gratified with a Sceptre and a Crown, though at the Expence of their own Loyalty, Honour, Conſcience, and Religion ; yet I ſhall neither be diſcouraged, dejected, nor murmur, much leſs be withdrawn from my Duty, but ſhall take up with the Peace, Contentment and Pleaſure, which the being conſcious to my own Integrity will give me, of having done what became an honeſt Man, and a good Subject.

Now, Sir, though your two Queries came together, and be each of them of that Weight and Importance as to require a ſerious, ſolid, and well-digeſted Anſwer ; yet you muſt not expect that I ſhould reply to them both at once ; ſeeing that would not only too much fatigue me to give, and no leſs weary you to peruſe, but would diſcourage thoſe who do moſt need the Inſtruction and Benefit of Papers of this kind, from conſulting them to receive it, by reaſon that the Bulkineſs which ſuch a Diſcourſe muſt unavoidably grow up unto, would challenge more of their Time, than the complying with their worldly Occaſions, and the ſatisfying their Luſts, will allow them to ſpare. However, having in a manner prepared Anſwers to them both before I ſend you this to the firſt, you may reckon that the other will be diſpatched ſpeedily after it ; and that what concerns the ſecond will be ready to overtake this, and to be laid before you, by that time you have ſufficiently entertained yourſelf with what is now put into your Hands.

That I may immediately therefore addreſs myſelf to the anſwering of your *firſt Queſtion*, namely, *Whether the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion was the Inducement to the Prince of* Orange*'s coming hither, and the End that was aimed at in the dethroning of the King, and driving him out of his Kingdoms?* I muſt needs ſay, that the Prince's Tenderneſs and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and his compaſſionate Care to ſecure it to us and our Poſterity, when it was in imminent and immediate Danger of being extirpated, and which there was

no

no other viſible human Means to prevent, was then, and continues ſtill to be made, the Pretence of his invading theſe Dominions, and of all that afterwards followed, till upon this ſpecious and godly Plea he had obtained to be ſeated upon the Throne, as well as of all that has ſucceeded and enſued ſince, both in the Beginning and in the ſupporting of this deſtructive and impoveriſhing War; by which no Benefit was ever intended to accrue to us, but which was entered upon, and hath been hitherto carried on, that others might be rendered ſafe and wealthy, at the Expence of our Blood and Treaſure. However, Religion hath been all along alledged as the Motive, and made the Argument to juſtify whatſoever hath been done, and to extenuate and ſweeten all that we have loſt and ſuffered. This is the principal Plea which he bears himſelf upon for his own Vindication; and by which all thoſe ſeek to warrant themſelves, who either invited or attended him hither, or who at firſt received and joined him at his Landing, and on his March to *London*, or that came in afterwards to co-operate unto, concur with, and approve of what hath been done. This is that by which your Judges do decoy on the People tamely to pay their Taxes, and trapan and wheedle them to perſevere in their Rebellion, in their Harangues at Aſſizes, inſtead of entertaining them with thoſe obſolete Things relative to Law, Righteouſneſs and Equity, with which their Predeceſſors uſed, at thoſe Times, to furniſh and adorn the Charges which they gave; witneſs *Treby*'s Oration at *Kingſton* the laſt Circuit, which wholly conſiſted of romantic Praiſes of the Prince of *Orange*, for having ſo chriſtianly and heroically ſtept in to ſave our Religion, when at the Brink of being loſt; and of Satyr and Invective againſt King *James*, for having deſigned to overthrow it; whereof, among other Things, he had the Impudence and Inſolency to accuſe him, without regard either to Truth or Decency. This is likewiſe that by which your mercenary and ſycophant Divines, who have tranſlated their Pulpits into Stages, and transformed themſelves into *Merry Andrews* and Buffoons, would legitimate the Rebellion, and, inſtead of a Sin, bind it as a Duty upon our Conſciences; and cantingly blow us into Triumphs of Thankfulneſs and Joy, when we we lie groveling and ſtarving under Slavery and Poverty. Witneſs, inſtead of edifying Sermons to confirm our Faith in the great Articles of Religion, and to promote our Chriſtian Obedience, the many luſcious and fulſome Panegyrics which have been preached and printed within theſe ſix laſt Years, and which are at that Diſtance from Decorum, as well as from Truth, that they would be the Scorn of the Theatre, and hiſſed at by the Pit. This they reckon ſo bright a Colour in their limning and drawing the Uſurpers, that the dull Man ſelected to divert the Company at the Interment of the late Princeſs of Orange, and who could diſpenſe with his Conſcience in ſaying ſeveral Things of her above the Standard and Proportion of Truth, but had not Wit, nor Elevation of Thought, to ſay any Thing that was rapturous, decorous, and fine, could not omit the making it one of the main Strokes in her Picture, and that which was to give the lovely and lively Air, and the ornamental Beauty to the whole, namely, *That ſhe was a wiſe and a good Queen, and an incomparable Wife, and one that had all the Duty in the World for other Relations, which after long and laborious Conſideration, ſhe judged conſiſtent with her Obliga-*

tions to God and her Country. Which is as much as if Dr. *Teniſon* had ſaid, That if it had not been for the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, which were in danger to have been ſubverted, ſhe would have been an obedient Daughter to the King, and would not have uſurped his Throne, and drove him and the virtuous Queen, with the Royal and innocent Infant her Brother, out of their Dominions, to be as Vagabonds in the World, had it not been for the Generoſity of a neighbouring Monarch, who has received, entertained, and ſuccoured them in their Calamity, with a Deference, Reſpect, and Nobleneſs, becoming his own Greatneſs, and which hath carried in it a Recognition of their Grandeur and ſovereign Quality. So that I do grant unto you, that the preſerving our Religion hath been the great Pretence for all the Injuries have been done his Majeſty, and the alledged Motives to all the diſloyal, illegal, and immoral Things which have been perpetrated to compaſs and effect the late Revolution: And I add, that it is ſtill made the Topic and Plea whereby to juſtify all the Villanies, Crimes and Barbarities which have been practiſed ſince; and not only that whereby to palliate all our Loſſes and Misfortunes, but to be accounted for more than an Equivalent of all the Diſtreſſes, Miſeries and Miſchiefs which have enſued, as the Effects and Conſequences of it.

But ſhould it be admitted, that this was not only a pretended, but a real, Motive to the Revolution, and to all that hath reſulted from, and attended, it; yet it hath not been hitherto made appear, that according to the Rules of Chriſtianity, the Fundamentals of our Government, and the Statutes of the Realm, it is likewiſe a lawful and juſtifiable one; and all that have written either of Ethics or Politics, do tell us, and the Principles of Reaſon, as well as the Diſcoveries vouchſafed us by Revelation, do ſet it in the brighteſt Light, that neither the Goodneſs of the Inducement, nor the Piety of the End, will ſerve to legitimate an Action, unleſs there be both a proper Authority to license it, and a Goodneſs either poſitive or natural in what is to be done, when clothed with all its Circumſtances; otherwiſe, Men might lawfully rob Temples, and plunder Banks and Exchequers, upon the Motive and Deſign of diſcharging their Debts, and of paying their Creditors what they owe them: Nay, they may virtuouſly murder their Parents, deflower Maids, and raviſh their Siſters, upon the Inducement, and in order to the End, of getting into Poſſeſſion of Eſtates, which they may laviſh away upon the Saviour of our Religion and Liberties, and towards the maintaining the ſacred War in which he is embarked, and for raiſing up a new Generation of Soldiers to defend the *Dutch* Barrier againſt *France*. Nor are there any Villainies named or practiſed on the Earth, which theſe late and now common Topics of Argumentation will not ſerve to ſanctify, and to render them Actions highly meritorious. But neither our Stateſmen, Lawyers, nor Divines, have thought fit to meddle with this, and much leſs to take upon them to demonſtrate that, by the Laws of God, and by thoſe of the Kingdom, we are allowed to dethrone Princes, drive Kings from their Palaces into Exile, and to involve Nations into Blood, if our eſtabliſhed Religion be in danger of being ſupplanted and overthrown. Though without a clear and uncontroulable Proof of this, all they have ſaid, or can

ſay,

ſay, about his Majeſty's Deſigns in prejudice of our Religion, were there as much Truth in it as there is Rancour and Falſhood, makes not what we have done to be lawful; but only proclaims them to be Sophiſters in Logic, Hypocrites in Religion, Debauchers of the Conſciences of Men, Panders to Villainy, and the Flatterers of Criminals in their rebellious Wickedneſs, who have had the Irreligion and Impudence to plead it. For though I can readily grant that moſt of the Scripture Expreſſions and Precepts concerning the Duty and Obedience of Subjects to their Rulers, do no further concern us, than as they were either delivered and preſcribed unto thoſe that were under civil Conſtitutions of the like Species and Form with our own; or than as they ſuperadd the divine Sanction to human legiſlative Authority, thereby to oblige and inforce us in Conſcience to yield all that Reverence, Loyalty, and Obedience, to our Sovereigns, which the lawful and juſt Laws of the Kingdom do impoſe and exact from us. And therefore and thence it is, that the ſame Texts of Scripture do bind and oblige ſome Nations to yield a more univerſal, unlimited, and unreſerved Obedience to their Rulers, than they can be conſtrued and applied to require of thoſe other Countries to perform. For thoſe Places of the holy Bible are deſigned to influence and operate upon Conſcience, in proportion to the different Degrees of Prerogative and Sovereignty veſted in Princes, and according to the reſpective Meaſures of Liberty preſerved unto Subjects, by the Rules and Laws of their ſeveral and various Conſtitutions. The Scripture was not given and deſigned to teach us Politics, or to preſcribe the Forms of Government, and the ſeveral Limitations of them, farther than that all Governments were to be for God, and the Good of Mankind, and of Societies. But all relative to civil Government in Scripture, is to require and oblige Subjects, under the Penalty of eternal Wrath, to yield Obedience in proportion to the reſpective Terms upon which the Government is founded under which they live; and according to the ſeveral Laws by which it is to be upheld and exerted. And the ſame divine and revealed Commands which oblige us in *England* to ſubmit to Monarchy, and be obedient to the King, according to the Municipal and Statute Laws of the Kingdom, bind them at *Venice* to acquieſce in Ariſtocracy, and be in ſubjection to that Authority and Power, and to pay Obedience to all the Laws of the Republic, if they be not inconſiſtent with, and contradictory to, the Laws of God. No Man will ſay, that the ſame Things were lawful for the *Perſians* or *Babylonians* to do againſt their Kings, which the *Lacedemonians*, under the Protection and Authority of the *Ephori*, might have done againſt theirs, or which thoſe of *Arragon* were heretofore impowered to do at the Command, and under the Juriſdiction of a certain Perſon choſen and appointed to be the *Cuſtos* and Guardian of their Rights and Privileges, and who had Power, by the Law and Conſtitution, to control and reſiſt their Kings, in caſe of their invading and going about to overthrow them. Whereupon it is no Sin in the King of *France* to take upon him and aſſume the whole Legiſlation, without the Aſſent and Concurrence of the three Eſtates; whereas it would be otherwiſe in a King of *England*, whilſt he ſtands limited, as he doth, by the Laws of the Conſtitution and Government, and reſtrained by his Coronation Oath. The *French* Monarch is guilty of no Of-

fence

fence in exacting Taxes of his Subjects, without a previous Gift and Grant of them by their Repreſentatives: But I cannot ſay, that according to the preſent Form of our Government, the King of *Great Britain* would be innocent, in the Sight and Eſteem of the ſupreme Sovereign, ſhould he levy Money of his People without their own antecedent Conſent in Parliament. So that I will affirm, with the utmoſt Confidence, as knowing I do it upon the greateſt Certainty, that every Declaration and Intimation in the Bible, relative to the Subjection and Fealty we ſhould pay to ſovereign Rulers, are intended to bind and oblige us in Conſcience, and out of Fear of divine Wrath, to be obedient to them actively, as far as is enacted and required by the Laws of our Country, if thoſe Laws do command nothing inconſiſtent with, and repugnant to, the Laws of God; and to be paſſive in all Caſes, ſave in thoſe in which the Rules of the Conſtitution, and the Statutes of the Realms where we live, give us Liberty, Right and Authority, to withſtand and oppoſe them. And I will preſume to add, with the fulleſt Aſſurance that Law and Reaſon can give me, that in no Circumſtances of Danger into which our Religion and civil Liberties could be brought, nor under any Hazards we could fall into of loſing and having them ſuppreſſed, were we either permitted or impowered, by the Fundamentals of our Government, the Rules of our Conſtitution, or by the common or ſtatute Law of the Kingdom, to rebel againſt the King, or to dethrone or drive him away. Nor did the having the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed and ſecured unto us by Law; nor its being incorporated among our Franchiſes, and made a Part of our Birth-right to poſſeſs it peaceably, and practiſe it openly, authoriſe us to take Arms againſt the King, diveſt him of his Sovereignty, and baniſh him from his Dominions, though we had been furniſhed with the moſt clear and indiſputable Evidence, that he was fully reſolved to extirpate it. For though the Laws give us a Title to it as our Heritage, and a Right to claim the Exerciſe of it as our chiefeſt Bleſſing, and moſt valuable Privilege; yet no Law or Contract, exiſtent in the King's Time, had provided that we might fly to Arms to prevent its being ſuppreſſed, or for the ſecuring the Continuance of it to us and our Poſterity. Yea, inſtead of that, there were divers expreſs Statutes then in being, by which it was made and declared to be *Treaſon to take up Arms againſt him upon any Pretence whatſoever*. So that, had the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion been the real Motive and End of our raiſing War, and of dethroning the King, yet it was not a lawful nor a juſtifiable Inducement and Deſign for doing it: Nor can it be thought ſo by any who ſeriouſly conſider, and look upon the Laws of the Land as the Standard and Meaſure of the People's Subjection and Obedience; and that whatſoever the municipal and ſtatute Laws of our Country reſtrain us from, or confine us unto, provided it interfere not with that which either the Laws of Nature, or thoſe of Revelation, do indiſpenſibly require and exact, that thereunto we ſtand bound, limited, and obliged, by the Laws of God, and the Doctrines both of the Old and New Teſtaments; and this upon no leſs Penalty than Damnation; which let no Man, upon the Teſtimony of a flattering or mercenary Prieſt, or the Authority and Verdict of a prophane and atheiſtical Stateſman, think he will or can eſcape, without unfeigned Repentance,

evidenced

evidenced in ſincere and hearty Endeavours to reſtore the King. Nor are you to be ſurprized to hear this Kind of Theology and Politics from me, ſeeing, that according to Dr. *Sherlock*'s Phraſe, as no Man is forbid to grow wiſer than he was, ſo I bluſh not, but glory to confeſs, and have deeply bewailed it, that I have been heretofore miſled by falſe Notions, and have entertained Hypotheſes about Government neither reconcileable to our Laws, nor to the Peace of Communities, but *errando diſcimus non errare.*

And as the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion could be no lawful and juſtifiable Motive to the late Revolution, ſo *there were no juſt and ſufficient Grounds adminiſtered by the King, why any ſhould have pretended that it was in Danger of being ſupplanted, and much leſs in any Jeopardy of being overthrown.* And every wiſe Man was then, and is now, much more ſenſible, that all thoſe noiſy and clamorous Suggeſtions, which were ſo induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, of Deſigns laid and carried on for the Extirpation of our Religion, were Fictions of Knaves to impoſe upon Fools; and which were promoted and given out to blacken the King, and to miſlead a credulous and unthinking People; the great End of it being to impoſe upon the Underſtandings, infect and pervert the Conſciences of the Subjects, thereby to undermine the Throne, and ſhake the Government, by Slanders and Reproaches thrown upon his Majeſty. For he was ſo far from entertaining a Thought of this Nature and Tendency, that he offered his Proteſtant Subjects all the legal Security they could deſire, beſides what they actually had by the then eſtabliſhed and exiſtent Laws, for the Preſervation of their Religion, and for the Maintenance of the Church of *England* in its lawful Juriſdiction and Authority. Nay, at ſuch a Diſtance was he in his Intentions from any ill Deſign againſt our Religion, that he was willing, even to the Diminution of his own Royalty and Grandeur, both to have granted a Stipulatory Law, which ſhould have had the Force and Virtue of a *Magna Charta*, or *Conſtitutional Contract*, and to have made it a Fundamental in the Government in all other Reigns. And to give farther Evidence of his Alienation from, and Abhorrency of that, with which he hath been ſo impudently and maliciouſly charged, he was ready to have gratified the peeviſh Humours, as well as to have extinguiſhed and removed the vain Fears and needleſs Jealouſies of his Subjects, by conſenting to a Thing not very reconcilable to true Politics, but directly inconſiſtent with any Deſign he was capable of harbouring to the Prejudice of our Religion; namely, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould have been named and admitted Guarantees of what ſhould have been agreed and enacted for the Preſervation of our Religion, on the Bottom and with the Proviſion only of Liberty of Conſcience for Diſſenters. And as there was not the leaſt juſt Ground of ſuſpecting his Majeſty guilty of any ſecret Intentions of ſubverting our Religion, his open, avowed, and candid Behaviour, as well as his public and royal Declarations, lying in direct Oppoſition to ſuch a concealed Machination; ſo had it been poſſible for him to have ſo far departed from kingly Wiſdom and Juſtice, and from true *Engliſh* Politics, and to have renounced the Veracity, Compaſſion, and Generoſity, which are ſo natural unto and inſeparable from him, as to have inwardly entertained, and latently purſued, a Purpoſe and Project of that Kind;

yet

yet it was ſo impracticable, and phyſically, as well as morally, impoſſible to be executed, that inſtead of ſerving to awaken Fears in any diſcreet and ſenſible Men, it could at moſt but have adminiſtred Matter for Entertainment and Diverſion, and provoked us to laugh at the Weakneſs and ridiculous Bigotry of thoſe that had ſuggeſted ſuch Counſels unto him. For ſurely we will not ſo ſcandalouſly reproach the Proteſtant Religion, nor ſo ignominiouſly detract from the Integrity, Zeal, Induſtry, and Learning of our Univerſities, national Clergy, and of many of our Laic Proteſtants, as to imagine, much leſs to grant, that thoſe of the *Roman* Communion were able to have diſputed our Religion out of the Kingdom, or to have baffled us out of our Belief, and have withdrawn us from the Faith and Worſhip which we profeſs and practiſe, by Arguments from Scripture, Reaſon, or Tradition. And indeed, had they been qualified for, and in a Condition to have done it that way, I do know no Cauſe, unleſs we will diſclaim both the being Men and the being Chriſtians, why we ſhould have taken it ill to be conquered at thoſe Weapons, or been angry with them that ſhould gain a Victory over us by ſuch honourable and divine Means. But this they were ſo ill prepared and uncapable to effect, that all their Eſſays and Efforts of that Kind, againſt our Religion, ſerved only to render it the more triumphant, and to confirm us the better in it. And it had been the beſt Policy, which the Religious of the *Roman* Fellowſhip could have uſed, and I dare ſay will be thought ſo, if ever they ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch another Opportunity, to have confined themſelves to the Service of their Altars, and to the Diſcharge of the devotional Functions of their reſpective Orders, and the performing the Miniſtrations incumbent upon them towards thoſe within the Pale of their Church; or, at moſt, to have employed themſelves about the Subjects of common Chriſtianity, and of good Morals, and not to have diſturbed us in the Poſſeſſion of our Religion, by Polemical Writings, controverſial Tracts, and by oral Diſputes. For thoſe Methods were ſo eminently ſubſervient to the Truth and Glory of our Religion, and to the Reputation and Credit of our Divines, and of other learned Perſons of our Communion, that if they be wiſe they will never venture to tread any more in thoſe Paths, unleſs they have a-mind to embark in a Plot againſt themſelves, and to loſe that Eſteem which we are willing to preſerve for them, notwithſtanding all our Differences in religious Matters. For under all their Miſtakes, whereof ſome are of the higheſt Importance, yet we ought to own and reſpect them as Chriſtians, and to pay them the Deference that is due unto them, not only upon the Score of the Condition and Quality of many of them, but upon the Account both of their moral Accompliſhments, and of their natural and acquired Parts, in which great Numbers among them are remarkably eminent. And as there was not the leaſt Shadow of Probability, that the *Roman* Catholics could have diſputed us out of our Religion, ſo it is to offer an Affront to the common Reaſon of Mankind, to believe that they could have *overthrown it by Force and Violence.* For notwithſtanding that many have had the Malice to ſay this, and ſome the Weakneſs to entertain it; yet, beſides the Impracticableneſs of the Thing, the King had both the Wiſdom and Goodneſs not only to diſclaim it by Words, but to diſprove it by *ſignal Matters of Fact.* And unleſs

unleſs worldly Intereſt, Ambition, Paſſion, and Wrath, had ſo darkened and diſtorted our Underſtandings, as either to extinguiſh or pervert the Uſe of our diſcurſive Faculties, we could never have allowed ourſelves to think, that the King would attempt to do that in a Way of Force, which there were a hundred to withſtand and oppoſe, for every ſingle Individual that can be ſuppoſed inclinable to have joined in the Execution of it. Surely, a very little Knowledge of the World, and a mean Acquaintance with Hiſtory, would help to inſtruct ſome unthinking and half-witted People, how difficult, if not impracticable, this has been found in other Nations where it hath been attempted. Nor have any that have ſet about it found it eaſy to be effected, even where they have had all the Advantage imaginable to execute it. And we may be ſpeedily convinced, how unfeaſable ſuch a Deſign would have been in *England*, and, conſequently, how far from being either undertaken or thought of by a wiſe Prince: If we conſider the Difficulties which have attended it in Roman Catholic Kingdoms, where all the Craft and Power of wiſe and mighty Princes, and all the Strength and Rage of the Body of the People, inflamed by Bigotry, have been united to compaſs it. It is impoſſible for the King's moſt malignant Enemies, who uſe to ſpeak of him with the moſt unparaleled Indecency and brutal Rudeneſs, to conceive or believe that he could be ſo prodigiouſly indiſcreet and weak, as to think of baniſhing or overthrowing the Proteſtant Religion, or of bringing in or ſetting up the Roman Catholic, by a Proteſtant and Anti-papal Army? and other he had not, nor ever can be in a Condition to have, in this Kingdom, if we ſpeak of the Bulk of one, or of one that can be numerous and ſtrong. And for a few Roman Catholics, mingled here and there in Proteſtant Troops, or for two or three Regiments, whereof the Generality were of the *Romiſh* Communion, in an Army of thoſe of the Reformed Profeſſion, inſtead of their giving us juſt Terror of a Deſign for ſubverting our Religion, they only ſerved to animate and provoke thoſe vaſtly larger Number of Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, to aſſert their Religion with the more Courage and Avowedneſs, and to exemplify and adorn it better by their Lives. And it is but for thoſe who were in *England* in 1687, and 1688, to recollect themſelves and conſult their Memories, and they muſt needs confeſs and declare, if they have not renounced all Friendſhip with Truth, when they diſclaimed Loyalty to his Majeſty, That they never obſerved that Zeal in a *Britiſh* Army for the Proteſtant Religion, nor that open Boldneſs in pleading for it, as when that Roman Catholic Prince was upon the Throne, and ſome of that Communion inrolled among them, and employed with them under the ſame royal Standard. But what clearer and fuller Evidence could the King give in Matter of Fact, that he had no Intentions to undermine, and much leſs to ſubvert our Religion, than *the Diſpenſation from Penal Laws, which he granted unto Proteſtant Diſſenters, and the Liberty which he ſtated them in the Exerciſe of.* And through his giving it upon the only true Principle on which it could be done juſtifiably, namely, That it is the natural Right of every Man to chooſe in what Religion, and in which Way of Faith and Worſhip he will venture his eternal State; he could not in Juſtice (abſtracting from his Friendſhip) avoid granting Liberty likewiſe to the Roman Catholics. I do

know there are ſome People, whoſe Malice to the King makes them not only take every Thing by the wrong Handle, but which hath ſo perverted their Reaſons, as to cauſe them to draw Concluſions directly contradictory to the Premiſſes from which they infer them; who endeavour to obtrude upon the Belief of ſuch as are weak and credulous, That the King's giving Liberty was an Effect of his Enmity to our Religion, and done in purſuance of a Deſign to deſtroy it. But the two Poles are not at greater Diſtance from one another, than they are from Truth and good Senſe, who think the King would have given Liberty of Conſcience, and have ſet his Heart upon the upholding and maintaining of it, if at the ſame time he had given place unto and entertained the leaſt Thought of overthrowing and extirpating the Proteſtant Religion. For that wiſe, generous, and royal Conceſſion of his, was ſo far from lying in the remoteſt Subſerviency to ſuch a Deſign, that nothing under Heaven can be imagined more effectually contributory to the preventing, reſiſting, and defeating an Attempt of that Kind. There are few but know what Connivance had been exerciſed to Roman Catholics, and how gently they had been treated, notwithſtanding the many Laws they were obnoxious to, during the laſt Years of King *Charles*'s Reign, while, in the mean time, vaſt Numbers of Proteſtants were haraſſed, ſpoiled and impriſoned, and this not only by hounding out, but by enforcing thoſe of the Church of *England* to fall upon the Diſſenters, and to execute the Laws againſt them with great Severity. Now, by the King's noble, Chriſtian, and heroic Act, of granting Liberty, the Peeviſhneſs and Enmity of Proteſtants againſt one another, was allayed and extinguiſhed; and they were at Eaſe, as well as Leiſure, to employ their common Care, and unite their mutual Strength, againſt thoſe of the *Roman* Communion, whom they eſteemed Enemies to them both. And by being taken off from ſcratching, biting, and devouring one another, they began to mingle Counſels, and to join their ſeveral Intereſts for obviating and obſtructing the Growth of a third Party that ſtands in Terms of Diſtance, both in Opinion and eccleſiaſtical Charity to the one as well as the other. For though the Liberty granted by the King to Proteſtant Diſſenters, did not incorporate them into the Communion of the Church of *England*, but ſuppoſed the contrary, and provided againſt the afflictive Inconveniencies of it; and though it did not intitle them unto, and make them capable of the Dignities and Emoluments of the Church, which his Majeſty neither pretended nor challenged a Power to do; yet, through his ſuſpending the Execution of the penal Laws, which he was told he might do in virtue of that executive Power of Laws, and of Adminiſtration of Government which was lodged in him by the Conſtitution, and inſeparable from his Title, Right, and Sovereignty, there was not only a Ceſſation of Arms between thoſe of the national Church and them, but a Coaleſcence in Friendſhip and Zeal for their common Religion, though they could not embody together for Communion in all the Parts of Chriſtian Worſhip, and for the Exerciſe of Church Diſcipline. And beſides the taking off the Reproach, and the wiping away the Infamy, which lay upon our Religion, through our perſecuting one another, and which made us the Subjects of our Enemies Raillery, and the Objects of their Scorn, there were ſo many real Advantages accruing to it, by the

Liberty

Liberty which the King granted, that there cannot be a blacker Malice out of Hell, than to pervert this Royal and Chriſtian Act of his Majeſty from being an Argument of his innocent and honourable Intentions towards our Religion, into a Topic whereby to inſinuate into the Belief of thoſe of a narrow Compaſs of Thought, that it was only in order firſt to ſupplant our Religion, and then to deſtroy it. And it argueth an Ingratitude, which our Language is indigent of Words to expreſs the Heinouſneſs of, that any Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould not only concur in ſuch a Sentiment, but value themſelves upon the Vivacity, Strength, and Penetration of their Judgment, that they could foreſee and diſcover this to be the Motive and End of it. But this may be catalogued among other of the thankful Returns which ſome of them have rendered the compaſſionate and good King, for his ſnatching them as Firebrands out of the burning, where he both found them, and might have ſuffered them to have continued, till they had been conſumed; and for gathering ſuch Vipers (as thoſe I am ſpeaking about) off from the Dunghill, where the Laws had laid them, and placing them in his Boſom, till they had recovered Life, Warmth and Vigour, to ſting him by thoſe Cenſures and Reproaches which are as falſe as they are black and villainous. And I would aſk thoſe Perſons, If the King caſt out and drove away the Devil Perſecution by *Belzebub*, or in virtue of ſo helliſh a Conſpiracy againſt our Religion, by whom has the Gentleman at *Kenſington*, and his Tools and Co-operators at *Weſtminſter* done the ſame? Is Liberty to Diſſenters not only an innocent and harmleſs Thing, but eminently uſeful to the Strength, Glory, and Succeſs of our Religion, under one that finds it his preſent Intereſt to call himſelf a Proteſtant, while in the mean time it is queſtionable what Religion he is of, if he be of any at all; and muſt the ſame Liberty, and to the ſame People, be a Plot upon, and an Engine for the undermining and blowing it up, and for burying all thoſe that profeſs it under the Ruins of it, when granted by a Catholic Monarch? Surely, it would not unbecome ſome, nor be unworthy of their ſecond Thoughts, to conſider, That if the Prince, whom they have abdicated for this and other good Offices, had not expreſſed the Bowels, and exerted the Courage, to break the Chains, and to remove the heavy and inſupportable Loads, which many peaceable and innocent People had long worn and groaned under, merely for their Opinions and Practices in Matters of pure Revelation, how probable it is, if not morally certain, that they would have been ſtill in their old Circumſtances and Conditions of Calamity and Suffering. Nor would either the Prince of *Orange* had the Inclination and Fortitude to relieve them; nor thoſe Aſſemblies ſince the Revolution, which we call Parliaments, have had the Compaſſion and good Nature to have conſented and concurred to the eaſing of them. For as the generality of thoſe ſtiled the Repreſentatives of the Nation, retain ſtill their ancient Peeviſhneſs and Rancour to Diſſenters; ſo he whom they have placed on the Royal Throne, governs himſelf by no other Principle or Meaſures but thoſe of Ambition and Intereſt; nor would he, for ſaving and obliging the Diſſenters, have ventured upon any Thing that might be diſagreeable to the Humour of the *Two Houſes*, or which might have cooled or abated the Inclinations of the Commons to be laviſh in their Grants of Money. Neither would thoſe

Sons of *Sceva* have taken upon them to diſpoſſeſs the Kingdom of the devouring Spirit of Perſecution, if they had not been ſenſible of the Glory which redounded to the King by the Example he had ſet them. Nor was it upon Motives of Honour and Juſtice that Liberty to Proteſtant Diſſenters came to be eſtabliſhed by a Law, otherwiſe that Freedom would upon thoſe very Inducements have been extended to others by the ſame Act; but it was from Fear that the retrenching that which through the Mercy of the King they had gotten into Poſſeſſion of, might have loſt them the Affections, Service, and Aſſiſtance of the whole Fanatic Party, and have made thoſe People turn Jacobites upon the Foot of Intereſt, that have not Conſcience, nor Principles of Virtue and Loyalty to be ſo.

But beſides this Proof ariſing from Fact, by the King's ſuſpending penal Laws in Matters of Religion, and his granting Liberty to Proteſtant Diſſenters, which puts it in a meridian Light, that he could not cheriſh any Thoughts or Intentions of overthrowing our Religion; he was pleaſed to exert his Goodneſs in a ſecond Matter of Fact, and in a ſurpriſing Act of Grace, which carried convincing demonſtrative Evidence along with it, that he harboured no ſuch Deſign in prejudice of the reformed Doctrine and Worſhip, as have been calumniouſly faſtened upon him: The generous, princely, and merciful Act which I mean, was his receiving, entertaining, and relieving the *French* Refugees; which as he was under no legal Obligations of doing, ſo there were Diſcouragements enough lay before him to have hindered and prevented it. I know, Sir, that you cannot have forgotten with what Readineſs he admitted them into his Kingdom; what welcome and compaſſionate Entertainment he gave them; and how he not only invited and required his Subjects to harbour and relieve them, but to what Meaſure and Degree he exerciſed and extended his own Royal Benevolence and Charity towards them. Nor was he ſatisfied with the bare taking them under the Wing of his Protection, and making them Sharers in his own and his People's Bounty, but he entertained divers of them into his Service, and admitted ſome of them into his Friendſhip and Confidence; ſo that whoſoever will allow himſelf Leave and Time calmly to conſider, either the King's own Religion in which he was both ſincere and zealous, or the Terms of Amity he ſtood in with the King of *France*, which he had neither Reaſon nor Inclination to depart from, will not be able to avoid acknowledging (unleſs he can reconcile Contradictions) that his Majeſty could have no other Inducement for the doing of it, but that he judged it an evil Thing, as well as an unwiſe, for any Prince to perſecute and drive away his Subjects merely for their differing in religious Matters from what was legally eſtabliſhed and embraced, and profeſſed, by the Bulk and Generality of the People; and that he eſteemed it a Duty which he owed to God, and to Mankind, to entertain and ſuccour ſuch as ſuffered for their Conſciences in Things purely divine: For as the King could not be inſenſible that it was not very grateful to a great Number of his Proteſtant Subjects, to ſee ſo many indigent and neceſſitous Foreigners received into the Nation, who would not only by their Skill and Induſtry gain away much of the Manufacture, Traffic, and Employ from them

them, but who, by their frugal and parſimonious Living, would be able, and therefore ſure, both to underwork and underſell them; ſo it could not eſcape his Majeſty's Knowledge and Belief that it would not be very pleaſing and acceptable to the *French* King, to ſee thoſe who carried their Reſentments againſt him along with them whitherſoever they went, and who will be always meditating and cheriſhing Revenge, to be ſo tenderly pitied, compaſſionately received, and ſafely covered and protected by a Prince who was not only his Ally, but a Roman Catholic. Yet under that View, and with a Cognizance of all this, did the merciful King admit, entertain, and treat them; with the ſame Royal Goodneſs and Generoſity, as if they had been People of the *Romiſh* Communion drove out of ſome Proteſtant Country for their Conſciences, and Exiles here for the Religion which he himſelf profeſſed. Now, can any that live not in an avowed Enmity to Truth and good Senſe, either be perſuaded themſelves, or hope to impoſe upon the Faith of others, that a Prince who had deſigned to root the Proteſtant Religion out of his Kingdom, would do a Thing ſo inconſiſtent with and obſtructive of it, as this was? And yet there are ſome, whoſe Malice againſt the King hath ſo diſtorted their Underſtandings, as that they will not only undertake to reconcile his foremention'd Behaviour to the *French* Refugees, with the Conſpiracy he was embarked in for extirpating our Religion, but will make uſe of his Kindneſs unto them as a Topic of Argumentation whence and whereby to prove and confirm it: But we muſt beg thoſe Men's Pardon, if we cannot hinder their inſolent Flippancy; yet to claim the Liberty of expoſing and controuling their fooliſh and ridiculous, as well as falſe and ſlanderous Dictates: For, can any thing lie in a directer Oppoſition to a Purpoſe of ſubverting our Religion, than for a Prince who harbours ſuch a Project, to do all that lies within the Circle of his Wiſdom and his Power to encreaſe and multiply the Numbers, whoſe Principles will oblige them to the Uſe of all lawful Ways and Means at leaſt, if they uſe not worſe, to oppoſe it, and whoſe Intereſt and Safety conſiſts in hindering it? Surely the great Body of native Proteſtants were enough, if not by far too many, either to have been wormed out of our Religion by Fraud, or to have it wreſted from us by Force, that there was no Neceſſity for encreaſing the Honour of the Conqueſt, or raiſing the Glory of the Triumph, to have added to our Number and Strength, by the Reception and Entertainment that was given to Foreign Proteſtants. Nor is it credible, that if his Majeſty had been embarked in ſuch a Deſign as he hath been ſlandered with, that he would have given Encouragement to thoſe Reformed which fled hither from *France*, to have planted and ſettled in all Parts of his Dominions where they pleaſed, when he could not but know and believe that their very Preſence among us, and our daily Sight of them, would awaken our Jealouſies of what ſome Roman Catholic might think lawful to be done in prejudice of our Religion; and who would daily tell us what had been practiſed for the extirpating it elſewhere: But the good King being conſcious to himſelf that he had no ſiniſter Intentions to the legally eſtabliſhed Doctrine and Worſhip, he envied us no Means that might quicken and provoke our Care for the Preſervation of them. And though he regretted, and was infinitely ſorry, that there was Cauſe any where adminiſtered of publiſhing how

how poor People, profeſſing the Reformed Religion, had not only been decoyed into the Catholic Communion by the little and mean Arts of Miſſioners, and bribed and brought to be Converts to the *Romiſh* Faith, by thoſe that managed a public Treaſure to that End, but had been dragooned into the Church by armed Troops; yet he was willing we ſhould have ſuch a Reſident in our ſeveral Neighbourhoods, who might relate and confirm thoſe Things unto us; and he hoped that by his receiving and countenancing ſuch Perſons in his Dominions as would daily entertain us with Accounts of this Nature, which we could not hear without Scandal and Indignation, we ſhould have been ſatisfied and aſſured that it lay in an Antipathy to his Nature to imitate any ſuch Examples: But no Means how proper and convictive ſoever in themſelves which the King could uſe, for laying and extinguiſhing our Jealouſies and Fears of his harbouring Intentions againſt our Religion, could be of Efficacy to operate upon us with any Succeſs, after our having through Plenty, Pride, and Wantonneſs grown weary of Tranquility and Eaſe, and thereupon had imbibed Prepoſſeſſions and Prejudices againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and ſuffered ourſelves to be wrought up and exaſperated by a few Demagogues and Boutefeux, who were bribed by the Prince of *Orange*, and inſtigated by his promiſing them the Spoils of the Crown, Kingdom, and Church, to the higheſt Ferment of blind, brutal, and godleſs Rage: Nor has the compaſſionate and merciful King been requited as he ought and deſerved by the *French* Refugees, to whom he made his Kingdoms both an Aſylum and Sanctuary, and his own Treaſure, and the Wealth of his People, a Fund of Succour and Subſiſtance, when they knew not where with Safety to hide their Heads, nor how to get Bread to preſerve them from ſtarving; but notwithſtanding all the *Hoſannahs* they gave him at firſt, they were many of them in a little time the forwardeſt to cry *Crucify him*; and contrary to all the Meaſures of Diſcretion and Prudence, as well as of Thankfulneſs and Gratitude, they have been ſome of them the warmeſt Inflamers of the Rebellion, and have taken Arms in great Numbers for ſupporting the Uſurper.

But, Sir, allow me to ſubjoin a third Matter of Fact, by which the King gave all the Evidence and Aſſurance to his People, that the moſt incredulous and perverſly obſtinate among them could have deſired or needed, to convince them in what Oppoſition unto and Remoteneſs it lay from his Thoughts to injure us in the Poſſeſſion of our Religion, and much leſs to rob us of it; and that was by *his refuſing thoſe Ships of War as well as Land Troops which were offered him by the* French *King*, *for withſtanding the Invaſion of the Prince of* Orange, *and for enabling him to ſuppreſs thoſe that might fly to Arms, and riſe in his own Dominions, to diſturb his Reign, or to join with the unnatural Invader in caſe he landed*; for ſetting aſide a few Things which the Judges told him he might do according to Law, and ſome inconſiderable Trifles, wherein his treacherous Counſellors miſled him, by telling him it was to renounce the Prerogative which the Conſtitution had veſted in him to decline aſſerting them; ſo conſcious was he to himſelf of having neither done nor deſigned any thing whereby his Proteſtant Subjects might be tempted to withdraw with any Shadow of Reaſon and Juſtice their Allegiance from him; that no Alarms of Conſpi-

Conſpiracies againſt, or ſuſpected Treacheries unto him at home, nor the fulleſt and moſt uncontroulable Certainty of Ships being prepared, and Forces ready to embark upon them abroad, to make a Deſcent into his Dominions, and hoſtilely to aſſault him, could prevail with him to accept thoſe Succours which a neighbouring Monarch offered him, as well in Friendſhip to himſelf as in Kindneſs to his Majeſty. It ever hath, and always will be found true, that whoſoever hath been deſigning, though never ſo ſecretly, an Injury or Miſchief to another, he will be conſtantly ſuſpicious of the Perſon againſt whom he intended it, and will uſe all the Precautions he can, and lay hold upon every Means that offereth, to put him whom he had contrived to wrong out of a Condition to avoid the Blow, and more eſpecially out of all Capacity to revenge it. Ill Thoughts and Intentions in a Prince to his People, tho' they abide ſo artificially and induſtriouſly concealed, that none have detected them, do yet not only continually haunt the Projector as Informers that his Deſigns are diſcovered and underſtood, but are ever counſelling him to cloſe with all Methods which may obviate and prevent a Retaliation: But the King thought his Proteſtant Subjects had been as free from rebellious Deſigns againſt his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity (which indeed moſt of them were) as he was from any uſurping and tyrannous ones againſt their legal Rights, Liberties, and Religion; and that with-held and reſtrained him from accepting an Aſſiſtance in his Defence, when there was a plotted, formed, and maturated Conjunction between the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland* abroad, and too many of ſeveral Perſuaſions, Communions, and Factions at home, to drive him out of his Kingdoms, if not to murder him; which he ſtood not far out of the Danger of, when the *Sunday* Night before the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, it was propoſed and debated at *Windſor* to make him a Priſoner; but that being oppoſed by ſome Perſons, whom it was not then thought convenient and ſafe to contradict and diſoblige, it was thereupon reſolved the Night following at *Sion-houſe* to require him immediately, and at a very unſeaſonable Hour, to abandon and withdraw from his Royal Palace; which was ſo ordered upon Proſpect and Hope that he would not have complied, and that thereby a Pretence would have been adminiſtered of ſending him to the *Tower*, from whence his next Stage would have been to the neighbouring Hill, there being but a few Steps between a King's Priſon and his Grave: Nor would he in any Likelihood have eſcaped the Snare that was thus artificially laid for him, nor have avoided the Danger that was lurking behind it, but that ſome of thoſe intruſted with the Conveyance of the Meſſage, delivered it with ſuch Accent, Tone, and accompanying Circumſtances, as both awakened him to Apprehenſions of his Peril, and guided him to ſubmit to what was ſo inhumanly and barbarouſly preſcribed unto him. But to return to the Inforcement of the Argument I am upon, for proving that the King could have no ſecret Intentions, nor have been carrying on any concealed Deſigns in order to overthrow our Religion, in that he refuſed *French* Forces at a Seaſon when they were both generouſly offered, and he extremely needed them; and when by all the Laws of God, and the Kingdom, he might have received and employed them for the withſtanding a foreign Army, commanded by an ambitious

bitious and unnatural Prince, which came to diveſt him of his ſovereign and legal Rights; for if the States of *Holland* might ſend, and the Prince of *Orange* bring Troops into *England*, let the Pretence be what it will, and the *Britiſh* Subjects that invited and gave Encouragement unto it be never ſo many, and of what Quality any think fit to have them, the King might with much more Juſtice and Right have deſired and received *Turks* and *Tartars*, as well as *French*, to oppoſe and beat them out; ſeeing both the Power of War, and the lawful Authority of defending the Kingdom being lodged ſovereignly and ſolely in his Majeſty, and the Ways of managing the one and the other being entirely intruſted with his Wiſdom, ſave as he pleaſed to call for Advice, he might without any Violation of the Rules of the Conſtitution, have furniſhed himſelf with neceſſary Forces from whence he thought fit, for the Defence of his Perſoa and the Government; whereas none of his Subjects could raiſe Forces at home, or invite them from abroad, without rendering themſelves guilty of the higheſt Diſloyalty and Treaſon; nor could the States of the Seven Provinces, being in League and declared Terms of Amity with his Majeſty, ſend or authoriſe their Troops to come hither, without becoming obnoxious to the Crime and Charge of contemning and violating public Treaties, of breaking through all that is ſacred, and of trampling upon every Thing on which the Peace of Nations doth depend: And as for the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, he being no Sovereign Prince, but the Servant of a late tho' wealthy Republic, he poſſibly might have the Right as Stadtholder, into which he wound himſelf by Perjury and Murder, to exerciſe ſome Authority in his own Country, or he might have the Privilege to ſet up for a Knight-Errant to combat Wind-mills, and kill Dragons; but he had no Authority by the Laws of God, or Nations, to invade and attack a rightful King in the quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſions of his own Dominions; and by aſſuming the Inſolence, and taking upon him the Injuſtice to do it, he ſtands proclaimed by all the Revelations relative to Societies in the Bible, and by the whole Civil Law, which is the Law of Nations, to be a Robber and an Uſurper; and to have all the Blood that hath been ſhed in *Europe*, by reaſon of, and as an Effect and Conſequence of his Invaſion, to be charged upon him and laid at his Door; and for which he will be made accountable at the great Tribunal: Nor can his Majeſty's Authority and Right to have received and called *French* Troops be queſtioned by our Revolutioners and Abdicators themſelves, ſeeing we allow and ſuffer the like, and much worſe, in that Pagan King we have dreſſed up and erected; for notwithſtanding of that vaſt Army of *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Troops, with which to the Impoveriſhment of the Nation we continue to furniſh him, and notwithſtanding he is fulſomly repreſented in Pulpits, and with a flattering as well as a mean Cringingneſs addreſſed unto by Corporations, as the Saviour of our Liberties and Religion; yet he challengeth a Right, and we like a tame ſlaviſh People both connive at and approve it, not only of keeping among us, contrary to his ſolemn Promiſe given in his Declaration, dated at the *Hague*, ſeveral *Dutch* Forces, Horſe as well Foot, whom he claps and faſteneth upon the Nation as a Badge that he eſteems us no better than conquered Vaſſals; but if we may believe the Prints which come from abroad,

he

he hath ſent for ten thouſand more outlandiſh Soldiers to inſult and triumph over us as his ſubdued Slaves; while in the mean time he ſends our native Forces into *Flanders* to periſh by Famine and Sword, as Sacrifices to his Ambition, and to have the Infamy, which he calls Glory, of dying in a *Dutch* Quarrel: Nor do I wonder that he will not truſt the Defence of the Kingdom to our own Troops, ſeeing he cannot but be ſenſible with what Arbitrarineſs he hath ruled over us, and how he hath cheated, impoveriſhed, and ruined us; and that if we had but as much Senſe, Reaſon, and Courage left us, as we have Provocation and Cauſe of Anger and Indignation given unto us, we would revenge ourſelves upon him for the Wrongs he hath done the Kingdom, as well as for thoſe he hath done the King; whereas that injured Monarch being fully aſſured in himſelf that he never deſigned to prejudice us in our Liberties, Properties, or Religion, but that all he aimed at was to make us a free, rich, and glorious People, he caſt himſelf entirely upon the Loyalty of his own Subjects for the Safeguard of his Perſon and Crown, at the Time when he ſaw he was to have his Dominions invaded, and an Attempt to be made for turning him out of his Throne; all which Deſigns he might have eaſily defeated, had he but accepted the *French* Ships and Troops that were offered him; but to his Glory and our indelible Infamy, he choſe rather to be forſaken and betrayed by his own People, than to diſtruſt them, as knowing he had always lived in an Abhoerrnce of giving them juſt and real Cauſe to be falſe to him; and indeed the Misfortune and Diſtreſs which befel him upon whatſoever Motives they were occaſioned, yet they muſt be reſolved into his own Uprightneſs and Integrity as the contributing Means; and that being an honeſt Man himſelf, he drew other Men's Pictures by his own Original; whereas he had continued ſafe and happy if he had drawn thoſe of a great many People by the Reverſe of his own. I know that the Earl of *S*—— doth in a *Letter from Holland to his Friend in London*, printed *March* 1689, endeavour to rob the King of the Honour due unto him for having refuſed the *French* Aſſiſtance, and challengeth it to himſelf, by telling us, *That he oppoſed to Death the accepting of them, and that he was the principal Means of hindering the receiving both the Ships and Men:* But all this was then publiſhed to put a Merit upon his own Treachery to the King, and to reconcile himſelf to the Mercy and Favour of the Nation, to whoſe Anger and Wrath he ſtood at that Time highly obnoxious; for no Man can imagine that either the Earl, or thoſe other Lords, with whom, as he tells us, *he conſulted every Day, and they with him; and by whom he was helped to prevent the accepting both* French *Ships and Troops, which they thought would be a great Prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation*, would have been able to have prevailed with his Majeſty to have refuſed ſo ſeaſonable and neceſſary Aſſiſtance, if he had been any ways conſcious to himſelf that he had been harbouring and carrying on Deſigns which might make him diſtruſt the Loyalty of his People, or which might give him Cauſe to apprehend that his Subjects had juſt and reaſonable Pretences of departing from their Fealty, or for denying their Aids to defend him: Nor would any thing but a Clearneſs of Mind as to his own Innocency from any ſiniſter Intentions againſt our Religion and Laws, have influenced as well as ſuffered

him to reject the Offers made unto him at that Time by the King of *France*: But though this was the only Motive upon which his Majesty could do it, in any Consistency with common Discretion, yet we sufficiently know upon what Inducements, and to what Ends that Earl advised him to it; nor hath he been either shy in concealing of it, or gone without very liberal Rewards for it; for he told *Ginckle*, once at his own Table, That though it was his Honour to have subdued the King's Forces in *Ireland*, and to have wrested that Kingdom from his Majesty; yet the Glory belonged unto himself of having contrived the Provocations to the Revolution, and having laid the Foundations for deposing his Majesty from his Royal Dignity and Throne; and the inward Confidence he is admitted into with the Prince of *Orange*, and the vast Sums he has obtained, and continues still to receive from him, are plain Evidences, as well as they are thankful Recompences, of the Counsels which in favour of the Prince's Designs he gave unto his Master: But would any one that hath not lost all common Prudence and true Sense, as well as renounced his Loyalty to his rightful Prince, have published in the same *Letter* a Thing so visibly false, and so easy to be contradicted and exposed, namely, *That when the first News came of the Prince's Designs, they were not looked upon as they proved, no body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage, in that the greatest Thing which has been undertaken these thousand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Virtues hardly to be imagined, till seen nearer hand*; whereas it was obvious to vast Numbers then, as it is now to the whole Kingdom, that there was neither Prudence, Conduct, nor Courage, and much less Virtues hardly to be imagined, guiding and influencing the Prince of *Orange*'s Success, but that his whole Prosperity in his Undertaking is to be resolved in, and ascribed unto, the Disloyalty and Treachery of some of his Relations, bosom Friends, Counsellors, Officers, and Soldiers, and into the rebellious Principles of too many of his Subjects; for to omit speaking of the great Effects which the Prince of *Orange* hath so often and wonderfully given in *Flanders*, of his *Prudence, Conduct, Courage, and other Virtues hardly to be imagined*, it is but for us to recollect his Behaviour at and before *Limerick* in *Ireland*, where he became the Subject of the Derision and Contempt of all that were there, and by which he hath furnished us here with Matter of Diversion ever since, when we have a Mind to be pleasant; and we may from thence take the Measure and Extent with all the Dimensions of his political and military Excellencies: But the Passage I have quoted out of the *Letter* serves to confirm me, that it is an usual and righteous Judgment of God upon those that turn *Knaves* to give them over to become *Fools* also: And for the *thousand Years, or the perhaps ever*, that he mentions, wherein the like hath not been undertaken and executed, it is neither for the Reputation of the Prince of *Orange*, nor for the Credit of this Kingdom, but for the perpetual Dishonour and Infamy both of him and us, that we should have been guilty of so much Treachery and Villany, and he of such an unbounded Ambition, and unnatural Crimes, as there are no Examples of, nor Precedents for.

And

And as the King harboured no Thoughts, nor drove on any ſecret Deſigns, for the Extirpation of our Religion; ſo I will affirm, that the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion was ſo far from being the true and real Motive to the late Revolution, though ſo much pretended, and ſo often alledged in Vindication of thoſe who engaged in it, that moſt of thoſe that were the firſt Inſtigators unto, and who principally concurred and co-operated to the bringing it about, are not Perſons diſpoſed by their Judgments, nor prepared by Virtue and Grace, to be concerned for any Religion, farther than as the ſeeming to own *One* miniſters to their ſecular Ends. Now this, if clearly demonſtrated, being as likely a Means as any for undeceiving the credulous and well-meaning Body of the People, and for taking them off from ſupporting the Uſurpation, when they ſee upon what a Miſtake they were wheedled to join at firſt with the Conſpirators againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; I will lay it before you in the beſt Light I can, without writing a Satire upon States and Countries, or too much expoſing the Atheiſm, Unbelief and Immoralities, inconſiſtent with any Religion of particular Men, who are divers of them of great Rank, Quality, and Condition in the World. However, it doth not detract from the Worth of Religion, but rather ſhews it is ſome excellent Thing, that all Men will ſeek Countenance from it to thoſe Undertakings, for which they would fear to be otherwiſe the Objects of a keen and general Hatred. To which allow me to add, that the being hurried into this Revolution, upon the Pretence of ſaving our Religion, ſhews, that though moſt who ſtile themſelves Proteſtants are People of very weak and ſhallow Underſtandings, and that their Zeal is much greater than their Knowledge; yet it likewiſe tells us, that many of them heartily love it, in that they think neither the public Tranquillity, nor their private Fortunes, too valuable to be parted with in order to preſerve it. And this the Prince of *Orange* and his mercenary Tools were ſufficiently aware of, and therefore made that the Pretence both of the Invaſion, and of the aggreſſive War we made afterwards on *France*; as knowing it would bubble us out of our Lives as well as our Money, and be an Engine to open both our Veins and our Purſes. Yet after what I have ſaid, I will nevertheleſs add, That as it is no Credit, but a Diſgrace to Religion, that ſome Men ſhould pretend to have a Concern or Regard for it; it being a Reproach unto it, that they ſhould wear its Livery, and a Diſparagement to be favourably ſpoken of by them; whereas their Reviling it would be its Commendation, and their turning their Backs upon it would argue it lovely: So it hath been always found true, and ever will, that the making Religion a Plea whereby to juſtify that which is evil, does leſſen its Power over the Conſciences of Men, and hindereth its Succeſs in conquering the Irreligious and Incredulous, and defeats it in its only Deſign, which is the raiſing Glory to God, and the reſtoring the divine Image upon Men. Nor can I forbear to publiſh it as my avowed Opinion, That no Succeſs or Honour that can attend our Arms in this War, ſhould we not only be ſo proſperous as to obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace to *Europe*, but to ſubdue and conquer *France*, will ever be able to countervail the Injury we have done the Proteſtant Religion, and the Diſgrace we have brought upon it, by pretending to make the preſerving it the Motive and In-

ducement for dethroning our rightful King. Nor will all that Sea of Blood ſpilt in *Europe*, as the Effect and Conſequence of it, waſh away the Blots and Stains we have thereby brought upon the Reformed Doctrine; but they will remain indelible, until we have returned to our Duty, reaſſumed our Loyalty, and have reſtored our exiled Prince; and until we have taken the Ignominy and Reproach upon ourſelves, that we have derived upon our Religion, and have by Words, Writing and Tears, vindicated and acquitted it, from having given any Countenance to what hath been done, and have charged and lodged it upon our own Diſloyalty, Pride, and Covetouſneſs. Nor muſt we think to ſalve ourſelves, and come off at the great Tribunal, by ſaying, as a certain Preſbyterian Parſon in *Scotland* did, *That if we make bold to offend God in ſome Caſes and Inſtances, yet we will be as good to him another Way.* Now, as to what I am to lay before you in Reference to the Unconcernedneſs of thoſe for any Religion, that contrived and conſpired the Revolution, and were the forwardeſt to promote it, and ſtill continue to be the zealous Upholders of this bloody and ruinous War that hath followed upon it; I do not intend it ſhould be conſtrued and intended to affect and blacken all that were acceſſary unto, and active to the utmoſt of their Power and Intereſt in thoſe Deſigns: For in ſome of them it proceeded either from the Weakneſs of their Underſtandings, or from their being prepoſſeſſed with corrupt and bad Principles as to Governments and Politics in general, and particularly with reſpect to our own Conſtitution, and not from Criminalneſs in their Wills, and Pravity of their Conſciences. For not only People of ſhallow Judgments, and of narrow Compaſs of Thought, are capable of being miſled, notwithſtanding their Endowments with a great deal of Probity and Uprightneſs, to very ſinful and bad Things in Matters of Politics, and the Meaſures of civil Obedience, by thoſe that are acute, crafty, and ſubtle, and in the mean time believe themſelves in the right, and to be doing God and their Country good Service; but even ſuch as are of better and more diſcurſive Parts may, through falſe Notions, as well as through Prejudices ſucked in and derived from an unhappy Education, and the Misfortune of Acquaintance with ill Books, and of intimate Converſation with Perſons drenched in Republican and Democratical Notions, be inſenſibly carried to the committing very illegal, and, by Conſequence, very irreligious Things. But then ſuch Perſons are, upon ſerious and ſecond Thoughts, and upon obtaining the Happineſs of being furniſhed with the Aſſiſtance and Advantage of clearer and better Lights, eaſily recovered from the Power and miſleading Influence of thoſe Principles upon which, through Darkneſs or Miſtake, they formerly acted; and upon their Repentance of ſuch Things which they had wandered and been hurried into, and Proofs of their Converſion to God and their King, they become prepared Subjects both for Pardon on Earth and Forgiveneſs in Heaven. But as to the generality of thoſe who were moſt actively and eminently intereſted and involved in bringing about the late Revolution, and who remain the unrelenting and obſtinate Upholders of the Uſurpation; I do affirm, That they were and are ſo far from acting upon the Motive, Proſpect, and Deſign of preſerving our Religion, that they would not wet the Sole of their Shoes, nor hazard the loſing of a ſingle Hair

of

of their Heads, for ſaving the Goſpel, or for continuing the Light of it to us and our Poſterity. For beſides that the chiefeſt and Majority of them do glory in Courſes of Life inconſiſtent with all Religions, and which the Alcoran diſallows and condemns as much as the Scripture doth; and which are directly repugnant unto the Hopes that ours giveth unto any Man of Salvation and eternal Life, and who themſelves are far enough from taking the Goſpel to be a Spell that will ſave them, whether they come into the Way preſcribed by it, and have a mind to be ſaved, or whether they neither do, nor have not: So many of them do ridicule and mock at all Revelation, and do pronounce them foppiſh and ſilly, that account otherwiſe of the Bible than of a Romance, feigned by a Conſpiracy of Rulers and Prieſts, in order to govern the Mob, and the better to ſqueeze Money from the Credulous. Yea, there are ſome of them who deride a Deity, and value themſelves upon the believing no other Being, or Modes of one, but Matter, Figure, and Motion. And though I do not know whether many, or any, of them went into the Revolution themſelves, and afterwards drew in others, with a Purpoſe to expoſe and lampoon our Religion; yet this I am ſure of, that what we have done againſt the King, and in the involving the Kingdoms into a bloody and expenſive War upon ſo little Cauſe and Provocation as was adminiſtred, is more adapted to render Perſons Anti-ſcripturiſts and Atheiſts, than all the Arguments in *Hobbs*'s *Leviathan*, or in his Book *de Cive* are. Was not the late Lord *Lovelace*, who could not ſpeak without an Oath, Blaſphemy, or Execration; or the ſurviving *Fleetwood Sheppard*, whoſe whole Wit is employed to burleſque the Bible, and mock at an inviſible Being; and who had the blaſphemous Audacity to ſay to two Biſhops, who deſired Leave of him to paſs through his Lodgings to ſee the Raree Show exhibited the other Day at *Whitehall*, That he would not grant it, though the Virgin *Mary* were there with her Child at her Back to beg it of him; and which they had not the Zeal and Courage for God and their Religion as to rebuke him for, leſt they ſhould have offended the Man at *Kenſington*, who is fond of him for his Piety and Virtue, *& quem pro Jove habent*: I ſay, were not thoſe I have mentioned very likely Perſons to have engaged to aſſiſt in the Revolution upon Motives of Religion; or in order to preſerve and defend the Reformed Doctrine and Worſhip? Can any Man think that Secretary *Trenchard* can be under the Influence of Religion in any Buſineſs or Undertaking, or can make it the Motive or End of what he does, who concerted with the Prince of *Orange* how to betray and ruin the King, and became engaged to him to uſe all Means he could to do it, and this at the very Time when he was ſuing for a Pardon, and who, after the Grant and Receipt of one, came over, and made his Majeſty all the Promiſes Words could expreſs, of his ſerving him with Loyalty and Fidelity ſo long as he lived? But as there is no Neceſſity now of telling which of theſe Promiſes he has performed, whether thoſe made at the *Hague*, or thoſe given at *Whitehall*, that being ſufficiently declared by a long and ample Series of Actions; ſo I think it will be eaſily granted, that this Man could act under no Impreſſion of Religion, nor upon the Motive or to the End of ſaving or ſerving it, who could come under two ſuch oppoſite and contradictory Obligations at the ſame time, as the yielding

an

an unchangeable Fealty and Obedience to the King, and the undertaking to betray and diveſt him of his Royal Power were. Or, is it poſſible we ſhould believe that my Lord *L*—— and the honourable Speech-maker and Haranguer of the Mob at *Norwich* and *Lynn*, could embark in promoting the late Change, out of any Concernment for the Proteſtant Religion, or in order to protect it, who, though they profeſs to be Proteſtants when they are well and in Health, yet who, at every time when they are ſick, or when they have Apprehenſions of dying, do conſtantly ſend for *Romiſh* Prieſts, to adminiſter unto them all the Helps, and give them the Aſſiſtances appointed by that Church for Men in their laſt Hours? I am loath to multiply many Inſtances in Confirmation of what I have affirmed, and the chief Leaders and Actors in the Conſpiracy for dethroning the King are ſo well known that I need not do it. Even they whoſe Character ſhould oblige us to believe that the preſerving the Proteſtant Religion was the chief, if not the only, Motive upon which they acted, in the late great Turn that was made in this Kingdom, were as far from having it in their Eye or Aim, as any other were. Nor will any that know the Men allow, that either Jack Boots, or Cambrick Sleeves, embarked in dethroning and driving away the King, out of any Regard unto, or Concernedneſs for, the Reformed Doctrine and Worſhip; but that they did it out of Picque and Revenge, and upon the Motives of Ambition and Covetouſneſs, in the *one* to get a Biſhopric, and in the *other* to preſerve one. For not to ſpeak of the Rings and Seals which the Doctor (through an Hypocriſy peculiar to himſelf that weareth *Cambrick*, *Holland*, *Scots* Cloth Sleeves inſtead of *Lawn*) boaſteth of as many Pledges of the Kindneſſes of Ladies for the Services he has done them; can that Man live in the practical Belief, or be under the Awe of a Deity, and much leſs act upon any ſincere Motives of ſerving Religion, but merely to ſerve himſelf upon it, who, when he was dipped in all the Counſels and Conſpiracies for commencing and compaſſing the Revolution, could yet, at the ſame time, in his Letters to the Earl of *Middleton*, not only make ſolemn Proteſtations of his Loyalty to the King, but have Recourſe for Proof and Evidence of it to the Sermons full of Duty and Fealty to the King, which he had preached at the *Hague* as well as at *London*. And as thoſe Letters are in Print, to remain Records and Regiſters of his Irreligion and Hypocriſy; ſo I am miſtaken in the Rules of Phiſiognomy, if the Puniſhment that waits for him, and which he hath ſo much deſerved, and whereof he hath had Advertiſement in Dreams, be not legibly written in his Forehead. Nor could any true Church of *England* Man, whether Eccleſiaſtic or Laic, have Acceſſion to the Invaſion, and to the depoſing of his Majeſty, or be gained over to approve them, without renouncing all the Doctrines and Principles of that Communion which relate to civil Government, and the Duties of Subjects to their Rulers. And that may ſerve ſufficiently to ſhew, that they acted not in theſe Matters upon Motives of Religion; becauſe the very Things they did, plainly interfered with the whole Religion which they profeſſed and owned. And there was ſuch an outrageous Rape committed by it upon their Principles, and ſuch an open deflowering of the Chaſtity, which their Church had hitherto preſerved in Point of Allegiance to lawful and rightful Monarchs, that were it

not

not that great Multitudes of that Communion both preſerved their own Innocency, and have loudly condemned the Crime of their *quondam* Brethren, and Fellow-members, their whole Church would for ever lie under the ſame Blot and Infamy which thoſe very Men, namely, your *Tillotſons*, *Burnets* and *Sherlocks*, &c. have uſed heretofore to caſt and faſten upon others. And as for thoſe called *Whigs*, which were the warmeſt Promoters of the Revolution, and are ſuppoſed, more than others, to have acted in it upon the Motive of ſecuring our Religion, I will make bold to ſay of many of them, and that both with Truth and Juſtice, That they have no Religion but their Intereſt, nor ſacrifice to any Deity but themſelves. The Whig Party is, generally ſpeaking, a Compound of the Atheiſtical of all Opinions and Perſuaſions whatſoever; and they can be of any Religion, becauſe they are really of none. They will take the Sacrament in the Church of *England* to be qualified to get or hold a Place, and then will herd with the Fanatics ever after, that they may be eſteemed Partizans for our Sovereign Lord the People. Upon the whole, whoſoever will ſpeak his Knowledge or his Conſcience, cannot avoid confeſſing, that the promoting the Revolution, the abdicating the King, the crowning the Invader, and the laviſhing away Lives and Fortunes to ſupport the Uſurpation and Rebellion, were not entered upon out of Fear of loſing otherwiſe our Religion, nor continued and perſevered in upon Inducements of being ſerviceable to its Safety, Succeſs, and Glory; but that ſome wanted white Staves, to which they thought they might pretend on the Foot of Merit; and that others had fallen under Fines, which though they were forgiven the Payment of, yet they reſented, and ſought to revenge their being laid upon them; and that all were deſirous to fiſh in troubled Waters, in which, though but a few were to catch Ducal Titles, or blue Ribbons and Garters, yet ſomething would come as a Share to many upon the Shipwreck of the Government, and out of the Spoil of the Crown, Kingdom, and Church. The trueſt Character I can beſtow upon them, is that which *Livy* gives thoſe that ſet up for and joined the *Decemviri*, namely, That they did purſue *licentiam ſuam, non libertatem Patriæ:* And indeed the unparalleled Treachery that accompanied the Revolution, in moſt of thoſe that were actively engaged in it, does put it beyond all rational Contradiction, that it was ſo far from being undertaken or purſued upon Motives of Religion, that they could neither have Religion, Virtue, nor true Honour, who were capable of being guilty of ſo much Falſhood and Infidelity, as well as of Diſloyalty. Is it poſſible, or to be imagined, in any Conſiſtency with common Senſe, that thoſe Perſons could come into the Deſign of the Revolution under any Views of Religion, or promote the late Change upon Motives or Proſpects of ſerving it, who not only abandoned and betrayed the King, with his Commiſſions in their Pockets, and while they were eating his Bread; but who could beg Money of him to form their Equipages to ſerve him, and which he innocently, liberally, and generouſly gave them, in the Midſt of his Streights and Exigencies of Money for his perſonal Uſe? And yet all that they craved it for, and applied it to, was to get into a Condition to fight againſt him, and to drive him out of his Kingdoms. But we need no more to proclaim the Diſtance and Eſtrangedneſs

that

that moſt of the Revolutioners and Abdicators live in, both as to the Proteſtant Religion, and any ſincere Love to their Country; and how little they were ſwayed in what they did, by any Regards or Concernments for the Good of either; but ſince their getting into Offices, Places and Commands, as the Recompence of their Diſloyalty, Treachery, and Rebellion to the King, they have committed more Rapines and Robberies upon the Nation, more audaciouſly ſold the Kingdom for Penſions and Bribes, and have more impudently cozened, defrauded and oppreſſed their Fellow-Subjects, than the worſt of Men heretofore have attempted or allowed themſelves to do; and which Highway-men and Banditti would not have the Immodeſty and Injuſtice to perpetrate. For Pick-pockets, Shop-lifters, or ſuch as take a Purſe upon the Road, are both virtuous and harmleſs Perſons, in compariſon of thoſe that eat the Fleſh, and drink the Blood, and gnaw the very Bones of poor Soldiers, by defrauding them of their Pay; of whom, to uſe *Tacitus*'s Phraſe, I may ſay, *Quinis in diem aſſibus corpus & anima eſtimantur*; or of thoſe that rob Hoſpitals, in with-holding from Widows and Fatherleſs Children the Arrears due to their Huſbands and Fathers that periſhed in their Service; and I am loath to add, that plunder the Subject, by the Authority and in the Virtue of the Great Seal, and exerciſe the Legiſlative Power in favour of one, and in prejudice of another, according as our Repreſentatives in Parliament are hired and paid for it. Nor are theſe Aſperſions unjuſtly thrown upon the Inſtruments of the Revolution, and the Zealots of the preſent Government, or Things whereof they are accuſed at Random, without Proof or Evidence; but they are the Effects and Teſtimonies of Love unto, and Care for preſerving, the Proteſtant Religion, which the Gentlemen of *St. Stephen's Chapel* find one another, and thoſe guilty of, that were the chief Aſſiſtants in the Revolution, and continue the main Pillars of the Uſurpation. For when a certain Sort of People quarrel, and fall out, many hidden Truths and concealed Crimes come to be diſcovered; and I wiſh it may have a Tendency to every Man's recovering his Right, that is a true Owner. Nor are theſe Things to be thought ſtrange in thoſe employed by this Government, ſeeing they were the very worſt Men of the Nation that contributed moſt to the Revolution, in whom that of *Tacitus* was verified, *In turbas & diſcordias peſſimo cuique plurima vis.* And the public Liberty was only made a Pretence for their purſuing their own Intereſts, at the Expence and to the Ruin of their Country: For, as the ſame Author obſerves, *Libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitioſi, nihil ſpei, niſi per diſcordias habent.*

Nor did thoſe abroad that co-operated to the Revolution, and lent their Ships and Troops to effect it, act any more upon Motives that reſpected the Proteſtant Religion, than we here did, but purely upon Principles and Inducements of Intereſt and State: For it is no Slander to ſay that the Deputies of the Seven Provinces, who ſit governing at the *Hague*, never enter into War or Peace upon any other Inſtigation, or Views and Ends, ſave thoſe of a ſecular Concernment: Nor would it move or impreſs them to ſee all the Inhabitants of theſe three Kingdoms turn Pagans or Mahometans, farther than as it may affect their Trade, and diſturb their Civil Tranquillity; and ſo little

do

do they act under an Influence, or with a Reſpect to the Chriſtian Religion, and much leſs with regard to the Proteſtant, that in order to drive the *Portugueze* out of *Japan*, where they had a large and beneficial Commerce, and to engroſs the Trade of it to themſelves, they not only ſuggeſted to the Natives, and particularly to the Miniſters at Court, and by them to the Emperor, that the Chriſtian Religion involved Treaſon in it againſt his Crown, Perſon, and Eſtate, and thereby raiſed a Perſecution which ended in the Extirpation of Chriſtianity out of thoſe Dominions, and in the Maſſacre of ſeveral hundred thouſand Souls; but they both permitted, and by a ſolemn Act of State authoriſed their Subjects that traded thither to diſclaim being Chriſtians, and only to own themſelves *Hollanders*, who knew no Religion but Profit, nor had other Ends or Aims ſave to gain and heap up Wealth: And beſides many other Inſtances which might be aſſigned of their abandoning all Care and Concernment for the Proteſtant Religion in other Nations, when the doing ſo is reconcileable to their Safety and worldly Advantage, it may not be amiſs to put you in Remembrance of their furniſhing *Lewis* the XIIIth with Ships to ſubdue *Rochel*, when it was the chief cautionary Town, as well as the ſtrongeſt and moſt opulent, which the Reformed in *France* had to intitle them to a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion: Nor is it unſeaſonable to aſk, That if they embarked to aſſiſt in the dethroning of the King of *Great-Britain*, out of Zeal for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion to theſe Nations, how comes it then that they have ſo little interpoſed with their Confederate the Emperor for ſome Lenity and Favour to his Proteſtant Subjects in *Hungary*? And that they have not dealt with their other Ally the King of *Spain* for aboliſhing the *Inquiſition*? and that he would not continue to make Bonfires of his Subjects, whenſoever any of them turn Proteſtants? nay, their entering into the Conſpiracy for ſubduing and depoſing his Majeſty, was ſo far from being done from Motives relative to the Honour and Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, that it was laid and forwarded by the greateſt Falſhood and Treachery that ever either a crowned Head, or a Republic was guilty of: For, what can be more inconſiſtent with good Morals, namely, with Truth and Juſtice, or leſs reconcileable to the Principles of Chriſtianity, than not only to attack a King upon his Throne with whom they were in League, without giving him Warning, or ſeeking for Reparation of Injuries, if he had done them any, and without deſiring an Adjuſtment of Differences and Miſunderſtandings where there were ſuch? but to invade his Kingdoms with a Naval and Land Strength, after the ſolemneſt Proteſtations made to the King himſelf by *Cittars* their Ambaſſador here, and the greateſt Aſſurances given immediately by the States-General to the Marquels *d'Albeville* his Majeſty's Envoy there, that they had no Deſign againſt him, and that their Preparations were not in order to diſquiet him on his Throne, or diſturb the Peace of his Kingdoms, but that they were for a Purpoſe merely relative to themſelves, and in which his Majeſty was no ways intereſted; ſo that after ſo fraudulent and perjurious an Act, the Commencement of the War being in Violation and Contempt of actual and ſubſiſting Treaties, I do challenge any Man to believe, without doing Violence to his Mind, that the *Dutch* are in the prac-

tical Belief of any Religion, and much leſs that they co-operated to the Revolution out of Care to preſerve the Reformed Doctrine and Worſhip to theſe three Nations. Alas! it was upon other Inducements that they concurred to involve theſe Nations in War and Blood, which we might eaſily have diſcovered, but would not: For they no ſooner obſerved the King's putting an End to Perſecution in his Dominions, and thereby doing that which might have reconciled his People to one another, and ſhould have united them all to him; nor ſooner found that he had too much Honour and Courage, and withall bore more Love and Tenderneſs to his People, to ſuffer them either to be wormed or inſulted out of their Trade; and had likewiſe perceived, that as he was an admirable Oeconomiſt of the public Treaſure, ſo he was a great Encourager of all over whom God had ſet him, to Induſtry and Virtue; but that they grew immediately thereupon apprehenſive, that we would become more ſtrong and opulent than would be for their Intereſt, or prove conſiſtent with the Tricks and Rapines they had been accuſtomed to practiſe in Ways of Commerce: And as theſe were the Provocations upon which they deſired to ſee his Majeſty dethroned; ſo the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, of whom it may be ſaid in the Words of *Tacitus*, that *cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior*, that all his Luſts as well as his Obligations give place to his Aſpirings after Sovereignty; together with the Diſcontents in *England*, which the Means and Methods to our Happineſs had filled us with, adminiſtered them an Opportunity of ſtepping in to ruin the King, and to make us miſerable, which they eaſily foreſaw would be the Effect of it. And as they ſpeedily had the Satisfaction to ſee the *firſt* performed, ſo they have now alſo the Pleaſure to behold us impoveriſhed and weakened to that Degree, which was the *ſecond* Thing they longed for, that an Age under the mildeſt, wiſeſt, and juſteſt Government, will not reſtore us to that Condition, at leaſt in their Opinion, as to beget either their Jealouſy or their Envy, or which may hinder them wreſting from us what Parts of our Trade they pleaſe; for they are a People that will call it Friendſhip to us to rob us; *& ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, to borrow another of *Tacitus*'s Phraſes: Nor will any Means in human View prevent our becoming in a very little time the Contempt of all Nations about us for Weakneſs and Poverty, and much leſs raiſe us again to that State of Strength, Opulency, and Glory in which we were, but the calling home the King with all the Expedition we can, and combining together with united Hearts and Hands to ſhake off the Uſurper, with his *Bentinks* and *Ginckles*; *Qui ſe partem noſtræ Republicæ faciunt*, that I may uſe an Expreſſion of *Tacitus*, but are in an apparent Conſpiracy with the High and Mighty at the *Hague*, to reduce theſe Kingdoms to a Feebleneſs and Indigency, out of which they have a Deſign we ſhall never emerge.

Nor did the great Man who keeps his Palace at *Kenſington* bring an Army into *England*, and ſcrew himſelf to the Throne upon any Motives of ſaving the Proteſtant Religion, or out of any Intentions of Kindneſs and Good-will to it, but merely upon the Impulſe of Pride, Haughtineſs and Ambition, and to gratify his Aſpirings after a Crown. I am not ignorant how he hath been repreſented and painted forth by your temporizing, mercenary, and ſycophant Divines,

Divines, as the Saviour of our Religion and Liberties; and that the godly Saint, and the heavenly divine Man would not have violated all the Ties and Bonds of Nature, and trampled upon the Precepts of the Decalogue, and the Sanctions of the Bible, but upon the Inducements of Zeal for God, and his holy Religion; which by Examples taken from *Phineas* and *Ehud* transform Murder into Sacrifices; and by Precedents derived from the *Iſraelites* borrowing the Ear-rings of the *Egyptians*, conſecrate and hallow Rapines and Robberies. The Panegyrics upon him, on this Account, of your *Tillotſons*, *Teniſons*, *Patricks*, and *Burnets*, &c. are more frontleſs and fulſom, than what your *Shadwells*, *Settles*, or any of your *Grub-ſtreet* Poets, who claim a Diſpenſation of Lying for Bread, would have the Impudence to juſtify themſelves in, when they write to purchaſe the Applauſes of the gaping Mob, and much leſs when they purpoſe to gain the Clappings of thoſe in the Pit and Boxes. But after I have borrowed for a while theſe Gentlemen's Pencils, and only dipt them in Colours more natural, and better adapted to the Figure and Complection of the Prince of *Orange*, I will challenge all Mankind, who have not abjured Truth and common Honeſty, to believe any longer, or continue to avouch, that his coming into *England* was out of any other reſpect to our Religion, ſave making it the Cloak of a ſtalking Horſe to his towering and ambitious Deſigns. I need not tell you with what Alienation from Gratitude, Contempt of Juſtice, ſcornful Regardleſneſs of a Deity, as well as Diſgrace of all Religion, he firſt came abroad, and ſet up in the World, when he thruſt himſelf into the Stadtholderſhip of his own Country by Perjury and Murder of two of the beſt Patriots of the *Dutch* Republic; of one of which, namely *John de Witt*, the late Penſionary *Fagel* was heard and known to ſay, after he had examined all his Papers, and ſearched into the Whole of his Conduct, during his Miniſtry, That the great, if not only, Fault he was guilty of was his ardent Love unto, and his ſteady and unſhaken Service of his Country. Nor ſhall I do more than briefly refreſh your Memory, how being of no Religion he can perſonate any, when it lies in a Subſerviency to his Intereſt, and that he would with the ſame Readineſs, and exterior Shews of Zeal, have acted the Part of a Roman Catholic to have obtained a Sovereignty over any Kingdom of the Papal Communion, as he hath done that of a Proteſtant, to get into the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to be admitted unto a Domination over theſe Nations; for his having been oftener than once at *Maſs*, and that not as a Spectator out of Curioſity, but as communicating in that Worſhip and Devotion is known to ſo many Perſons of ſeveral Qualities as well as of different Religions, that it will not be gainſaid by any who are acquainted with Paſſages and Tranſactions ſome Years ago in *Flanders*; and ſhould any be ſo ignorant of Matters of Fact at a Diſtance from their own Doors, or live in Enmity to all Truths diſagreeable to their Humours and Intereſts, ſo as to deny it, there are thoſe both at *Bruſſels* and *Antwerp* who can teſtify it, and have not been heretofore ſhy to do it. It was King *Charles*'s having no Children, and the Duke of *York*'s having no Male ones that lived, and his own Marriage with the ſaid Duke's Eldeſt Daughter, and therefore coming into ſome probable and nearer Proſpects of arriving ſooner or later at the So-

vereignty over theſe Kingdoms, that made him put on the Vizard and Maſk of a Zealot for the Reformed Religion, having before lived in all the Coldneſs and Indifferency in that Matter that was conſiſtent with his keeping the Poſts he held in *Holland.* I am loth to ſubjoin how impoſſible it is that that Man ſhould be of any Religion, and much leſs act upon real and ſincere Motives, for the good of the Proteſtant, who can and doth indulge himſelf in the Practice of ſuch Abominations as are repugnant to the Light of Nature, and to the Ethics of Pagans, as well as to the Doctrines and Precepts of the Bible, and which are made capital by the Laws of all Nations. Nor can I do it, unleſs I would offend the Eyes and Ears of modeſt Perſons, and give Occaſion to the infecting and defiling the Imaginations of Men and Women, by mentioning ſuch Crimes in Paper; for as they are ſuch heinous and provoking Abominations as have brought Fire from Heaven upon whole Cities and Societies, ſo they are of that Strangeneſs to our Climate, and ſo little heard of, and much leſs practiced under our Meridian, that our Law took no Knowledge of them till the 25th of *Henry* VIII. when they were made Felony without Benefit of Clergy. They are *ultramontane* Crimes, lately tranſplanted into our Soil, and in which to the Credit of our Country they have not much throve nor grown. But I do reckon it unbecoming both you and myſelf to enlarge upon this; nor is it neceſſary to deſcend to Proofs of it in a City, and about a Court where your *Capels* are known, and where it is ſprung up into a Proverb, *In hunc modum fiunt Comites Anglicani.* It is enough to tell you, that it is the Entertainment of Societies of People of the beſt Faſhion, where the rallying upon it has a thouſand times made the modeſt, fair, and tender Sex to bluſh, and hath filled the Maſculine and Virile with Contempt and Hatred of themſelves, for enduring a *Catamite* to rule over them; only I would have thoſe that are the great Theological Artiſts in painting Blackmoors white, to try their Skill, whether they can make a beautiful and religious Stroke of this in the Pictures they draw of their Prince; and whether, by all the Chemiſtry of modern Prieſthood, they can extract out of it an apodictical and convincing Argument of their Maſter's Zeal for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, or diſtil from it a Plea in Law to juſtify his driving his Father-in-law from his Throne and Kingdoms. But it may be, nothing is impoſſible to thoſe Gentlemen, ſave to ſpeak and act conſiſtently with their own Principles, and to practiſe conformably to the Doctrines they have taught their People, and pretended themſelves to believe; and undoubtedly they may do this I have named with the ſame Eaſe, and by the ſame Rules of Philoſophy that they have inferred Rebellion againſt the King from the Article of *Non-reſiſtance*; and their depoſing their rightful and lawful Sovereign from their celebrated Tenet of *Paſſive Obedience.* To which it may not be amiſs to add, the Antipathy which that Man muſt unavoidably live in to all Religion, who after his Declaration prepared and printed at the *Hague*, for wheedling the credulous People of *England* into a Belief, that he came to ſave them from Popery and Tyranny; and in which he makes the Suppoſititiouſneſs of the Prince of *Wales*, or at leaſt the Queſtionableneſs of his Legitimacy, one of the mighty Grounds of his Quarrel with the King, and the chiefeſt Provocation upon which he

was

was about to invade his Kingdoms; yet that even then, and until a few Days before he actually embarked on that Design, he had the Royal Babe prayed for in his own Chapel, by that distinguishing and princely Title. And as I will never henceforth think it strange, that he should allow himself to hoodwink, impose upon, and mislead Nations, who durst with that open Boldness mock and deride the Omniscient, Almighty, and Righteous God, both to his Face, and in his own instituted Worship and Service; so it satisfied me, and may do all others, that one who could be guilty of so much public Atheism as well as Hypocrisy, as that was which I have now mentioned, can have no other Designs concerning either the Protestant or any Religion, but the making it a Stale for the better compassing his own Ends: And suffer me upon this Occasion to entertain you with a Passage of *Bentink* (who is the Earl said to be made on the new Foot of Merit that I have mentioned) to a certain Gentleman in a private Conversation between them. For the Gentleman having asked him, why they did not discover and make appear the Illegitimacy and Supposititiousness of the Prince of *Wales?* seeing as the Belief of it had served more to draw the Nation into the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, than any thing else, so a legal and parliamentary Proof of it would inseparably link most Men to him, and preserve them in a perpetual Alienation from King *James: Bentink* told him, by way of Reply, that they neither questioned the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, nor were concerned about it, for that the Prince of *Orange* was now got into the Throne, and was resolved to keep it so long as he lived, and cared not who ascended it when he was gone: Nor did his Letter to the Army and Fleet, for debauching them from their Duty, and by which he courted them to revolt from the King, favour of, or stand in Consistency with any Religion, but proclaims him both highly impious and atheistical, it being not only to countenance Breach of Trust and Disloyalty, but to advise and authorise Perjury. And whosoever tempts others to forswear themselves, have been accounted by all Nations as Despisers of a Deity, Supplanters of the only Ground of all human Commerce and Conversation, and the Subverters of the Foundation upon which all Societies are established: And his inviting those to desert and forsake his Majesty, who not only eat his Bread and received his Pay, but who stood bound to him both by their Allegiance and Oath of Fealty, as they were his Subjects, and by a military Oath as they were Soldiers enrolled under his Banners, shews his own Irreligion that advised it, as well as theirs that hearkened unto him; and may be it will sooner or later return upon him, wherein not only God will be righteous, but those that forsake the Standards of the Prince of *Orange* justifiable, provided they do it from a just and penitent Sense of their Crime, in violating the lawful and righteous Oath they were under to the King, from the Sanction and Obligation whereof no human Power can ever acquit them; and also from a Conviction of the Unlawfulness of that Oath which they have taken to the Usurper. I might add, that the pretending to have come hither for the Safety, Honour, and Interest of the Protestant Religion, will appear the most shameful Banter that ever was upon the Understandings of a whole Nation, if we consider the Treaty at *Ausbourg*, and with whom

whom the Prince of *Orange* concerted the Invaſion that was to be made upon the King: For they muſt have forfeited common Senſe, as well as moral Honeſty, who can be prevailed upon to allow that the many Catholic Princes who approved of that Undertaking, could deſign any Good to the Proteſtant Religion, or believe that any Advantage would accrue unto it by that Attempt. It is to buffoon us, and treat us in Ridicule, to endeavour to impoſe upon our Belief, that the late Prince *Palatine*, who together with the Prince of *Orange*, was the original Contriver of a Deſcent upon *England*, or that the Emperor, King of *Spain*, Elector of *Bavaria*, &c. who concurred unto, and countenanced it; or that old *Odiſcalchi*, and *Innocent* XI. who winked and connived at it, though againſt both a Catholic Monarch, and the firſt of the Romiſh Communion that hath ſat upon the Thrones of *Great Britain* for above theſe hundred Years, could do it in Kindneſs to the Proteſtant Religion, or foreſee that it was undertaken by the Prince of *Orange* upon any Motive relating to the Safety of it. No, they very well knew that there was nothing of Religion in this Caſe; but they were willing to make uſe of the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange* to ſeek their own Revenge againſt *France*, and to raiſe a War of Intereſt and State upon his haughty Aſpirings after a Crown, and on our being bubbled into it through a fooliſh Credulity that it was entered upon in behalf of our Religion. Nor is it unworthy of Remark, that the laſt Duke of *Brandenburgh*, who was one of the wiſeſt and braveſt Princes in *Europe*, and one of the ſincereſt and moſt zealous for the Protection, Glory, and Advancement of the Reformed Religion, would neither embark in a Deſign againſt the King of *England*, nor ſuffer the Prince of *Orange* to enter actually upon it ſo long as he lived; which made his Death to be received and entertained at the *Hague* as a happy and ſeaſonable Providence, in that his Son who ſucceeded would not have the Prudence to avoid being enſnared into it, being withal under the Influence of thoſe mighty Expectations he ſtands intitled unto, as he is the Prince of *Orange*'s Couſin-German, and thereupon rightful Heir to all his perſonal and hereditary Eſtates. And what can put it more beyond all reaſonable Contradiction that the Prince of *Orange* did only ſham, abuſe, and banter Mankind, in pretending to come hither upon Motives of Favour and Kindneſs to our Religion, than that the only two Proteſtant crowned Heads in the World, did neither antecedently concur unto it, nor have they to this Day engaged in the War with *France*, which was the immediate and natural Conſequence and Effect of that Undertaking?

But to advance a little farther, Does not the whole Tenor of the Prince of *Orange*'s public Government, as well as his perſonal and private Conduct, lie in a direct Contradiction to his being under the Impreſſions of any Religion, and much more to his being under the Efficacy of what we call the Proteſtant? I am not at Leiſure to give you the full Hiſtory of his Uſurpation, which ſome are pleaſed to ſtile his Reign; but there are thoſe who will do it to Purpoſe in due Time, it being neceſſary that the virtuous Memory of the *Hero*, and of our Folly, ſhould be recorded for the Inſtruction of Poſterity. All therefore I ſhall do at preſent is to beſtow a few Strictures upon his Adminiſtration, there being no more needful to my Purpoſe. Let me then aſk, Whether he hath done

done any Thing for bettering our Laws, and enlarging our Liberties, which were ſome of the main Things he came hither for? Or hath he not, on the contrary, more avowedly ſuperſeded and departed from our known Laws, and put more Negatives on public Bills prepared by both Houſes for the Royal Aſſent, than any of the Kings that went lately before him did? Has he performed any one Thing he undertook, and which was expected from him, that he could avoid the doing of? Hath he kept one Promiſe he ever made, that he has been in a Condition to evade? Has he proved true to any one Friend that truſted and ſerved him, ſave as they have been Slaves to his Will, and Tools of his Arbitrarineſs? Hath he, from the Time he came in to this Day, been known to diſcern or reward Merit? All his Policy is Trick; and his pretended Kindneſs, Fraud and Deceit. Inſtead of increaſing our Wealth, he hath utterly impoveriſhed us; and that not ſo much through Neceſſity, as Choice reſulting from Hatred. In the place of making us more opulent than we were, he hath brought us into contemptible Poverty. Whereas we hoped he would have protected us from the Enemies he created us, he hath upon Deſign, as well as from Lazineſs, given us up to them as a Sacrifice. And whereas it would have become him, had he been either a good Man or a juſt King, to have diſcouraged and prevented Bribes, eſpecially when Perſons only ſought and ſued for their Right, the Privy Purſe hath been the Receptacle of moſt of the ſcandalous Bribes that have been given; for it is thither that what we call our Houſe of Commons has traced them. But that which is baſe and criminal, beyond what any Language can expreſs, unleſs it be *Dutch*, is his purchaſing ſo many Members of both Houſes to ſell their Country. This being a direct Subverſion of the Conſtitution, if any thing could make a lawful King forfeit his Right, this would ſtand faireſt to do it. For the Sovereign having no other Ground of Claim to any Power or Prerogative, ſave what he hath from the Conſtitution which hath ſettled and veſted them in him, that Prince who goes about to overthrow this, does all he can to cancel his own Right, and to cut the Bough on which he ſtands. And yet we who have had the Folly and Madneſs to abdicate a legal King for ſome few little Miſtakes in the Adminiſtration, have not the Wiſdom and Courage to call an Uſurper to account, for trampling upon all the Fundamentals of the *Engliſh* Government. The King's cloſeting ſome Peers and Gentlemen, which was only to addreſs their Reaſon and Underſtanding to conſent to a Matter which the Crown had, in all Ages been in Poſſeſſion of, until about twenty Years ago, and which was never thought hurtful unto, and much leſs inconſiſtent with, the Safety of our Religion till of late, filled the whole Nation with Complaints and Clamours of his Majeſty's deſigning to alter the Government, and run the People into that brutal Fury, which produced the woful Effects that ſoon after followed: Whereas we ſit ſtill, and with a ſtupid Tameneſs endure the Prince of *Orange* to ſteal away all our Rights from us, by his bribing thoſe to betray and give them up, who were choſen by their Country to be the Guardians of them. And he who dares not in a Way of Fortitude and Bravery fight us out of them, is endeavouring to ſtrip us of them by an Aſſaſſination. Surely, if he that poiſons an individual Perſon be out of the Purlieus of Mercy, and from under

the

the Protection of the Laws, there can be no Severity great enough to be exerciſed againſt him, that hath not only endeavoured, but in a manner effected, the poiſoning of the whole Kingdom. And if the Murderer of the meaneſt Subject be obnoxious to capital Puniſhment, what ſhould he be made liable unto that murdereth a Parliament? who, that he may the better rob and plunder a Nation, gives others a Share in the Spoil. For the Jackcalls, that hunt and run down the Prey, are allowed to eat the Remains of the Fleſh, and to gnaw the Bones, when the Creature which they have cloathed with a Lion's Skin hath ſucked our Blood, and fed himſelf upon us. He had ſoon learned, and as ſoon practiſed, the pouring a little Water into a dry Pump, to make it ſuck below and give forth above, whatſoever Quantity he needed, or was pleaſed to call for: Witneſs his parting with the Chimney Tax from the Crown, for which he hath made Reprizal on the Kingdom in divers Methods of raiſing Money that have been more diſhonourable, as well as more grievous to the Nation, than that was. He hath more debauched the Kingdom from all Principles of Virtue, Honour, and Juſtice, in a few Years, than all the Kings either could do, or attempted, from the firſt *William*, till his coming, by Uſurpation, to be ſtiled the *Third* of the ſame Name. *Sardanapalus* never more neglected the Grandees of *Perſia* out of Effeminacy, and that he might ſpin and card with his Ladies, than the Prince of *Orange* deſpiſeth the greateſt Peers of *England*, out of Haughtineſs and ſullen Pride. And it is but lately that he hath treated thoſe of the Nobility and Gentry that came up from *Scotland*, to attend him about the Affairs of their Nation, with ſo unparalleled Contempt and Scorn, as no Monarch in *Europe* would have uſed the like to his Pages and Grooms. For while he was converſant not only Hours, but whole Days together, with his *Bentinks* and *Capels*, they could hardly, in two Months, obtain Acceſs to him; nor were they then allowed the Favour of a few Minutes for repreſenting unto him what they came about, but were diſmiſſed with all Scorn imaginable, and are commanded home under all the conceivable Marks of Reproach and Diſgrace. For he publiſhed with an Openneſs, that they all became acquainted with it, That *he was more troubled with the beggarly* Scots *than he was with all Mankind beſides*: Nor is it to be queſtioned, but that after he has impoveriſhed the *Engliſh*, which, through ſqueezing five or ſix Millions yearly out of them, as he is in a fair Way of doing, he will have the ſame Compliment in Reſerve for them, with the Addition of Sots and Fools to the Bargain. Only I cannot avoid ſaying, That if the *Scots* have not Courage and Honour to reſent it, and to make him feel the Effects of his haughty Folly, and of their juſt Indignation, all the World will think that they deſerve a worſe Character than that of *beggarly Scots*, and will account them a raſcally and daſtardly People. I am ſure their Anceſtors would not have borne the like from the greateſt Monarchs that ever ſat upon the Throne; nor were any of their Kings ſo ill bred, as to treat Perſons of Quality, and ſome of them of as ancient Families as the Houſe of *Naſſau* itſelf, with ſo much Rudeneſs and Diſdain. But a *Dutch* Education authorizeth many Things, only let the *Scots* remember, that much Patience emboldens Oppreſſors. *Et nihil profici patientia, niſi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur*, as *Tacitus* ſays.

If

If they have the Spirit and Bravery of their Predeceſſors, they will chuſe War or Death rather than ſubmit to this Slavery, and will ſay, *Eſſe ſibi ferrum & Juventutem, & promptum Libertati, aut ad mortem animum*, that I may uſe another Expreſſion of the ſame *Tacitus*. Now, unleſs theſe Things, and more of that kind which it were eaſy to mention, are be accounted Arguments, and held for Evidences of the Prince of *Orange*'s acting upon Motives of Love unto, and Care for, the Proteſtant Religion, in the invading his Uncle's Kingdoms and uſurping his Crown, there are none elſe diſcoverable in the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration; and they muſt either be more ſottiſh than the *Soldanians* in *Africa*, or more irreligious than the *Cannibals* in *America*, who can conclude from the foregoing Practices, and from ſuch other as ſtand in Affinity with them, That he has any Religion at all, or that he acts for any End but the ſatisfying his Ambition, or upon any Motives ſave Pride and Haughtineſs. To which let me add, in the laſt Place, That if his Errand hither had been to take Care of the Proteſtant Religion, he might have done it effectually without driving his Majeſty out of his Dominions: Seeing there was not that Security that could have been wiſhed or deſired in order thereunto, but what the King was ready to have conſented unto; and that more from his own Choice and Goodneſs, than from the Influence of the Condition he was in. And as all Things of which his Enemies accuſed him, and whereof they took Advantage, into which he had been miſled, were rectified and redreſſed by Acts of his own Wiſdom and Grace, before ever the Prince of *Orange* came out of *Holland*; ſo he had ordered the iſſuing out Writs for calling a Parliament, in which the Nation might, in the ancient and legal Way, have made what Proviſions they had pleaſed for the preſerving and ſecuring our Religion and Liberties. Nor is there that Man in *England* who retains the leaſt Meaſure of Reaſon and good Senſe, let his Malice to the King be never ſo furious and obſtinate, but he muſt acknowledge, That if the Prince of *Orange* had come hither upon any other Deſign, ſave that of dethroning the King, and uſurping his Crown, he might have eaſily compaſſed all the Ends publiſhed in his Declaration, either by Way of a private Treaty with the King himſelf, or by the Method of a Parliament, freely and indifferently choſen, and permitted to ſit without an armed Power and military Force upon them. And as this would have redounded to the Honour of the Prince, and gained him the Admiration of his Enemies, and the Praiſes and Benedictions of his Friends; ſo it would both have prevented a great deal of Diſtreſs, Calamity, and Bloodſhed in *Europe*, and have left theſe Kingdoms more ſafe and opulent than they now are, and without that Heap of Guilt and Infamy upon them under which they are brought. But inſtead of treading in thoſe Paths of Truth to Mankind, Reputation to himſelf, and Juſtice, as well as Kindneſs to theſe Nations, it is known with what Neglect and Scorn he received the Propoſals carried from his Majeſty to him by the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and my Lord *Godolphin*; and how he put the Earl of *Feverſham*, under Reſtraint, and made him a Priſoner, when he came to him at *Windſor*, with a Meſſage from the King. Nor needs there more to diſcover how remote he was from

Sincerity, in all the Pretences upon which he came hither, than that he would never hearken to any Overtures which might lie in a Tendency to the making one Word of them good.

Thus, Sir, I have with all the Brevity the Subject would allow, endeavoured to anſwer your firſt Queſtion; and if the Stile, in ſome Places, be a little piquant, the Scribblers for the Uſurper and Uſurpation have ſet me the Precedent; and who have been commended and rewarded for treating both his Majeſty and the King of *France* with Ribbaldry, as well as below their ſovereign Qualities; whereas there is nothing here indecent, though ſome Things may appear ſharp. Nor would it have anſwered the Majeſty and Juſtneſs of the Theme to have handled it flatly, and without a Warmth correſpondent to the Injury done our holy Religion, in making it a Cloak to ſo much Villainy as hath been committed. And it would have been an indecorous Thing to have looked grave upon Baboons, or have hunted wild Boars without a Spear or Weapon. Yea, it were to fruſtrate the great End of Languages and Speech, and to quarrel with the Rules of good Senſe, to aſcribe Mildneſs to Tyrants, Honeſty to Robbers, or Truth to Liars. Adieu. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

April 18. 1695.

A true

A true ACCOUNT of the present State of *Ireland*, giving a full Relation of the new Establishment made by the late King *James*, as it was presented to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council: With an Account of what Sums of Money, Arms, and Number of Officers arrived there from *France*. Together with the State of *Derry* and *Enniskilling*, and several other Affairs relating to that Kingdom, particularly of the Proceedings of their Parliament there.

By a Person that with great Difficulty left *Dublin*, *June* the 8th, 1689.

Printed in the Year 1689.

DURING my Stay at *Dublin*, (which with much Difficulty and Hazard, I left on *June* the 8th) I made it a great Part of my Business to be well informed of the State of Affairs in *Ireland*, and of the most remarkable Matters that passed there, which I had the Opportunity of doing, as well by my own Observation, as by what I received from Persons of Credit that I frequently conversed with, that thereby I might be enabled to give such an Account as might be serviceable to the Government here, upon my Arrival, to be acquainted with, which, in the following Narrative, I have endeavoured to do with all possible Sincerity and Impartiality.

The Revenue of *Ireland* is quite sunk, no Money being raised but by the Excise, that for this Year and half past there has not been paid one Penny of the Civil List; and now the late King has been forced to make a new Establishment, and gives only Half-pay, which he calls *Subsistance*; they grumble at it, and are ready to mutiny: To the Foot three Pence *per* Day, and for the Officers 'tis no Matter, he makes them content: The Dragoons have five Pence Farthing, and the Horse six Pence *per* Day: He proposeth this, one Half Money, and the other Forage. The Horse-Grenadiers fifty in each Troop; seven Regiments of Horse, 2750 Men; seven Regiments of Dragoons, 3800 Men; the Royal Regiment of Foot, twenty-two Companies, 1980 Men.

Forty two Regiments of Foot more, 33852 Men. The Total is, 42432.

Of this Army, there are about 17000 drawn northwards, against *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling*, which are of the best, both of Horse and Foot, and have been so harrassed, that within these ten Days past, they were not in any Condition of Service; there are 5000 more gone after these, towards *Enniskilling*,

killing, and more on their March; ſo that there are near 25000 gone againſt *Londonderry* and *Enniſkilling*.

Beſides this, they deſigned two Camps by *Dublin*, which Camps were to conſiſt of 14000 Men, the firſt grand Camp was to be at *Rathfarnam*, betwixt that and *Rathmines*, on the South of *Dublin*, in the View of the Harbour. The next Camp was to be under the Hill of *Dunſink*, near the *Cabaragh*, North-weſt of *Dublin*, and in View of the Bay alſo.

Colonel *Sarſefield* lies at *Sligoe* with his own Regiment, and ſome Dragoons, and has received ſeveral Rubs from the People of *Enniſkilling*.

It is ſaid there came 150,000 *l.* with the late King from *France* to *Ireland*, and 300,000 *l.* with the Fleet that arrived at *Bantry*; but by as near a Computation as poſſibly can be made, we cannot find that there came above 150,000 *l.* in all, the firſt being 60,000 *l.* and the laſt 90,000 *l.* and about 900 *French*, *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh* Officers, came this laſt time with the Fleet, all which receive the ſame Allowance with the Officers of the Army, proportionable to their Stations and Qualities.

The *French* Ambaſſador influences all Affairs, both Civil and Military, and 'tis diſcourſed amongſt themſelves, what a Prejudice he has againſt his preſent Majeſty, having formerly been Ambaſſador in *Holland*; he often preſſes for Severity to be uſed againſt the Proteſtants. No Violence whatever, that is acted by any of the *French*, dares be complained of, but is ſtifled immediately, and he that complains is frowned on. He has influenced the paſſing the Bill for deſtroying the Act of Settlement, inſomuch that he has ſaid, that he would go again to *France*, if it were not done, to tell his Maſter.

Monſieur *Boyſloe*'s, the Governor of *Cork*, Letter to the *French* Ambaſſador, was the Occaſion of the Embargo at *Dublin*, on *Saturday*, *May* the 18th laſt paſt. The late King is wholly at their Diſcretion, and *Tyrconnel* is mightily diſcompoſed both in Body and Mind ſince the King came: For the *French* Ambaſſador ſaid, *If any one had ſerved his Maſter as he did*, (about *Londonderry*) *in taking away the Lord* Mountjoy's *Regiment*, *he would have loſt his Head.* The Ambaſſador commands the Treaſury, and not one Farthing is paid out, without his Leave, for he views the Muſter-rolls, before he ſuffers any Payments to be made, ſo that the Deſign is plain *French*, and to bring this Kingdom wholly under them, that thereby they may divert *England* from annoying *France*: But now they are become obnoxious to the People of *Ireland*, who ſee all that is for the *French*; ſo that great Diſcontent is upon the Spirits of the *Iriſh*, on the Account of the *French* being put into Employments; for they generally ſay and allow, that *Ireland* is given to the *French* King, in Conſideration of the Charges he ſhall be at, in helping the late King *James* towards the regaining of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

Monſieur *Boyſloe*, at *Cork*, ſeizes the Merchants Goods, drinks their Wines, and, in ſhort, takes away from them whatever he has a-mind to, without making them any Satisfaction; and ſays, it is a Shame that any Correſpondence ſhould be held with the Rebels of *England*.

The *Enniſkilling* People have rummaged the Country for near thirty Miles round about them, and brought in all the Cattle and Forage they could find,

and

and have disarmed several Companies of the new raised *Irish*; and 'tis talked of by the late King, and at the Castle, that the Garison of *Enniskilling* were so resolute, that they would attempt the raising of the Siege of *Derry*, the Fear of which does somewhat alarm them; for about the latter End of *May* they came near to *Kells*, thirty Miles from *Dublin*, and Westward as far as *Finnah*, burning *Luke Reily*, High Sheriff of the County of *Cavan*'s House, with the Houses of other considerable Papists who were in Arms against them, killing only three Soldiers at a Place called *Drum*, because they refused to quit their Arms; and as one *Brady*, who is a Papist and an Inhabitant there, declares, that they were the fairest Enemy that ever came into a Country, not injuring any Person that lived peaceably, leaving a Troop of Horse in the Town of *Cavan*, until all the Army were marched away, to see that no Injury might be done to the common People: He likewise says, they drove along with them about four or five thousand Head of Cattle, that had lately been taken from the *English*.

As for the State of *Enniskilling*, it is said that they are in a very good Condition for Provision and all other Necessaries, as yet, and that there are there, and at *Ballyshannon*, eight hundred able Horse, besides Foot, who are brave resolute Men; most of them being Gentlemen out of *Munster* and *Connaught*, that fled thither, who are resolved to lose their Lives, and sacrifice all rather than yield.

On *June* the 1st there marched from *Dublin* Sir *Michael Creagh*, the present Lord Mayor, with his Regiment, Sir *John Fitzgerald*, from *Rathcoole* and *Lucan*, with his Regiment, with several others from other Parts, towards *Trim*, twenty Miles from *Dublin*, the Place appointed for the general Rendezvous of the Army that are sent against *Enniskilling*; Colonel *Sarsefield* from *Sligoe* is to join them, and so to march to *Enniskilling* to attack it, with a Resolution to bear it down: All Sir *Michael Creagh*'s Regiment raised in *Dublin*, Sir *John Fitzgerald*'s from *Munster*, and most that are gone down there, are all raw Fellows, not knowing how to fire a Gun.

There are gone from *Dublin* General *La Rose*, General *La Roy*, Count *d'Estrades*, and several other of the General Officers of *France* towards *Enniskilling*, with four Field-pieces. They have sent before-hand to buy up all the Corn in *East* and *West Meath*, to be brought to *Kells*, twenty-seven Miles from *Dublin*, and forty from *Enniskilling*, which is the Place appointed for their Store, for beyond that there is no manner of Provision to be had; so that in all Probability they will meet with the same Penury and Want that they have had these two Months past before *Londonderry*.

Now for the State of *Londonderry*; it is said this Morning at the Castle, they have surrounded it within half Cannon-shot, and taken the Wind-mill-hill, which the Town quitted, and had thrown up their Trenches, and drawn up all their Army on *Friday* last, and so modelled and divided them into two Bodies to compass the Town, placing them in their several Posts. Monsieur *Pontee* was to have bomb'd it before, but he found, when he came to examine, that the Fusees of the Bombs did not fit, some being too little, others too big, which he having new-moulded and worked up, did, as he himself said,

ſaid, intend to begin to bomb on *Sunday* the ſecond Inſtant. They hear that there are Ships in the River, which they believe will endeavour to ſuccour *London-derry*; but by the Help of *Culmore* Fort, with other Batteries they have raiſed, together with the Chain and Bomb they have fixed a-croſs the River, they hope to prevent them.

There is an Account ſent up from the Camp, of the Names and Behaviour of the ſeveral Officers there, with which they make themſelves Sport at the Caſtle, particularly the Lord *Galmoy* running himſelf into a Ditch of Briars, Lord *Kingſland* getting into a Buſh of Furze, together with the Valour of Sir *Gregory Birne*, and Sir *Luke Dowdall*, &c.

A Dragoon that was ſhot into the Shoulder, and came up to his Friends near *Dublin*, to get Cure, ſaid, that abundance were loſt for want of Care being taken of them; that he himſelf had ended his Days, if he had ſtaid; that he left 400 lying of their Wounds in the Church of *Culmore*; that they had loſt near 7 or 8000 by the Sword and Sickneſs, ſince they ſate down before *Derry*.

The Duke of *Berwick*, *James Fitz-James*, and Lord *George Howard*, are ſaid to be in *Brook-hall*, at Sir *Matthew Bridge*'s Houſe near *Kilmore*, a curing of their Wounds.

They likewiſe give out, they are in great Want of Proviſion in the Town, and are ſo crowded, that they are very noiſome and full of Vermin, for that ſeveral who have been taken and killed, are found to be ſo. But in truth, as to the State of their own Army, they have loſt as many for want of Conveniencies, as have been killed: For the Bloody-flux, Small-pox, Fevers, and Agues being among them, they die extremely faſt in the *Iriſh* Camp; the generality of their Suſtenance being nothing elſe but Oatmeal and Water, with ſome raw lean Beef, inſomuch that the Spirits of the Men are mighty low, and very weak.

There are gone down to them abundance of *French* Officers, that are to be preferred as Commands fall, with great Reſolution what they will do when they come there.

They did not carry any of their great Guns or Bombs over the River, but they lie on the other Side, and ſo play over the Water at *London-derry*. Since their ſending the Army towards *Enniſkilling*, the People of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Meath* have raiſed the Price of Corn extremely.

The *Kerry* Forces are drawn to the *Shannon* to fortify all Places on it, as *Lymerick*, *Athlone*, &c. All the beſt of the Forces are clearly drawn out of *Munſter*, except the Major General's Regiment, which is now commanded by one Monſieur *Boyſlae*, a moſt tyrannical *Frenchman*, who with his Regiment is now at *Cork*, where he exerciſes an abſolute Authority, that no manner of Complaint againſt him will be heard, though he thruſt out one of the Proteſtant Sheriff of *Cork*'s Eyes, and ſwore he would make no more of blowing up all the Proteſtants in their Churches, than of a Child in a Cradle. He threatens to hang any that ſhall be taken going away; and if four Proteſtants be together, he looks on it as a Conſpiracy, and ſends them to Gaol: They have likewiſe employed Spies about *Dublin*, to ſee if any Proteſtants meet or talk together;

gether, and are mightily incenſed at the Embargo in *England*, becauſe they cannot have a free Correſpondence with their Friends there.

June the 5th, the late King declared he expected in a Week's Time, if the Wind ſerved, a great Fleet from *France*, and a numerous Army of Landmen; that the Fleet after landing their Men, would repair to the *Downs*, to find out and fall on the *Engliſh* Fleet. Some of his Council adviſe him to *Scotland*, others to *Cheſter* with his *French* and *Iriſh* Forces, as ſoon as *Derry* is taken.

They have lately impriſoned ſeveral Perſons in *Dublin*, on a Pretence for plotting and correſponding with the Rebels in the North and *England*, &c. and in ſearching for treaſonable Papers and Arms, they took away whatever Money they could find in the Houſes of the ſeveral Perſons: They likewiſe threaten another Search for Arms very ſuddenly, when it is not queſtioned but they will take all Money and Plate away, for they are erecting a Mint for the Coining of Money. One Thing more is to be obſerved, that the Popiſh Clergy has ordered all their People not to pay one Farthing to any Proteſtant, till they are compelled by Law; the Deſign being viſible that they would utterly extirpate the *Engliſh* there.

The Wind no ſooner blows Eaſterly, but they are in great Dread and Fear; yet they tell us there is Confuſion in *England*, and that there will no Succours come from thence; that they will land an Army in *England* ſuddenly; and that *England* fears an Invaſion from *Ireland*, more than it doth from them: Their uſual Saying is, *You Whiggiſh Dogs, we will make you know that the Prince of* Orange *is not come yet, and we will do your Buſineſs before he comes, for when we come back from* Londonderry *we will make an end of you all.* And the *Iriſh* Tenants and Neighbours of the *Engliſh*, that formerly lived in Amity with, and chiefly depended on them, do continually ſend the Soldiers to the Proteſtants Houſes, telling them that the Whigs live there, where they go and eat up their Proviſions, taking away their Horſes from the Plow, and whatever elſe they have Mind to, giving them horrid Abuſes beſides; ſo that many Families who formerly lived very plentifully have not now left them Bread to eat.

The Popiſh Clergy appear in Multitudes, and are going forward with all their Chapels and Buildings, and looking out for Abbeys and Nunneries, and do exaſperate the King mightily againſt the Proteſtants. The Lord *Melfort* is alſo very violent againſt them; and the Lord Chancellor (though an *Engliſhman*) worſe than he.

On *Whitſun Monday* the Town of *Drogheda* was alarmed by two Officers, who rid through it towards *Dublin*, telling them, that the *Scots* were within ſix Miles, and had taken the great Guns, Carriages, Ammunition, and Proviſions that were going to *Derry*, and had killed the Convoy: Whereupon they immediately planted their Guns, and ſhut up the Gates, having only two Companies of the new-raiſed Men, and a few Horſe of the Lord *Gilmoy* in the Town. An Expreſs was ſent immediately to *Duleek*, where the Commiſſioners of Enquiry into the Eſtates of the Abſenters were met (who being buſied in ſwearing and examining the Tenants to the Earl of *Drogheda* and others as to what Rents they

they paid, and what Arrears of Rent were due) requiring them to repair to the Town, and bring with them what Strength they could to fortify the Town: Some being ſent out to know the Truth of the Matter, returning, told them it was only a falſe Alarm, tho' it was generally ſaid and believed, that ſeveral Cart-loads of their Ammunition, Proviſion, and Arms were intercepted and taken by the People of *Ballyſhannon* and *Enniſkilling*.

There has been a Motion in the Houſe of Commons for the naturalizing all *Frenchmen*, inſomuch that ſome ſaid in the Houſe, that they ought to have a Day of Thankſgiving for the coming of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*.

They are preparing for another Court of Claims, and reducing the Fees of all Offices, throwing all Forfeitures into the Stock of Repriſals; into which Stock the late King has thrown his private Eſtate that he had in *Ireland*.

The old Proprietors are taking Poſſeſſion daily, before the Act that makes void the Settlement of *Ireland* paſſeth, ſome of them paying the Quit-Rent to get into Poſſeſſion. Eight Proteſtant Peers, four being Spiritual, and four Temporal, entered their Proteſt at the Bill paſſing the Lord's Houſe, and Mr. Juſtice *Dayly* oppoſed it to that Degree, that in his Paſſion he ſaid many Things that were highly reſented, the Subſtance whereof was, 'That inſtead 'of being a Parliament, as we pretend, we are more like *Maſſanello*'s con-'fuſed Rabble, every Man making a Noiſe for an Eſtate, and talking Non-'ſenſe, when our Lives are in Danger; we expect a ſudden Invaſion from '*England*, and a bloody War likely to enſue, as Perſons altogether unmind-'ful of the Ruin that hangs over our Heads; and without taking any Care 'to prevent it, we are dividing the Bear's Skin before ſhe is taken. All the 'Honour we do his Majeſty is, by reflecting on his Royal Father and Bro-'ther, as wicked and unjuſt Princes, charging them with enacting thoſe Laws 'that were contrary to the Laws of God and Man.' Which the Houſe ſummed up in ſix Articles againſt him. They would have been contented with a Submiſſion, but he refuſed any, ſaying, he would go to *Jamaica* rather; yet his Friends prevailed on him at this Juncture to aſk the Pardon of the Houſe; and yeſterday he was to have come into the Houſe of Commons; and accordingly the Houſe being ſate, the Uſher of the Black Rod went in and acquainted the Speaker that Mr. Juſtice *Dayly* was at the Door; upon which it was put to the Queſtion, in the Houſe, Whether his aſking of Pardon ſhould be a ſufficient Satisfaction for them to paſs by his Miſcarriages; and it being carried in the Affirmative, Mr. *Nugent* of *Carlingſtown* in *Weſtmeath*, a Member of the Houſe, was ordered to go and acquaint him, that the Houſe was reſolved to accept of his Submiſſion, that ſo there might be Admittance for his coming to receive Pardon of the Houſe. Mr. *Nugent* returning into the Houſe, told the Speaker that Mr. Juſtice *Dayly* was very thankful, and ready to come in to make his Submiſſion, and at the ſame time ſaid, *Mr. Speaker, I have other great News to tell you*, viz. Londonderry *is taken.* Upon which there was three great Shouts ſet up in the Houſe, and throwing up their Hats, cried out, *No Submiſſion of Mr. Juſtice* Dayly; *We pardon him, we pardon him*; being tranſported with Joy, ſuffered him not to come

come in, but pardoned him without any Submiſſion at all. But afterwards ſome of the Members (none of Mr. *Dayly*'s Friends) finding it falſe, thought it was ſome Trick put on them, and threatened Mr. *Nugent* to bring him on his Knees before the Houſe.

They are now paſſing an Act that all Leaſes above One and Twenty Years, of any Corporation in *Ireland*, ſhall be void; and it is doubted whether *Dublin* will be excepted: They are likewiſe laying fifteen Shillings a Ton Duty upon Sea Coals, and taking away the Poundage Act, which in Corporations is the Clergy's Support. The *Ulſter* Act of Tithes, and the Act for Impropriations and Augmentation Lands, that ſo by taking from the Clergy their Maintenance, the Churches may fall of themſelves. An Act attainting all Perſons by Name, and another granting fifteen thouſand Pounds *per* Month for Supplies to King *James*.

There are Five new Peers created, *viz.*

Juſtin Maccarty, Lord Viſcount *Mountcaſhel.*
Sir *Valentine Brown*, Lord Viſcount *Kenmare.*
Thomas Nugent, C. J. Lord Baron of *Riverſtown.*
John Bourk, Lord Baron *Bouffin.*
Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Lord Baron *Gawſworth.*

A CATALOGUE of all the Nobility of *Ireland*, ſuch being marked who now ſit in the *Iriſh* Parliament.

DR. *Michael Boyle*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Primate of all *Ireland.*
† *Alexander Fitton*, Baron *Gawſworth*, Chancellor.
Dr. *Francis Marſh*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin.*
Dr. *John Veaſy*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Tuam.*
Archbiſhoprick of *Caſhell* void.
Richard Boyle, Earl of *Cork*, Lord-Treaſurer.

Dukes.

James Butler, Duke of *Ormond.*
† *Richard Talbot*, Duke of *Tyrconnel.*

Earls.

John Fitz-Gerald, Earl of *Kildare.*
Henry O Brian, Earl of *Thomond.*
† *Richard Bourk*, Earl of *Clanrickard.*
James Touchet, Earl of *Caſtlehaven.*
† *Richard Barry*, Earl of *Barrymore.*
† *Alexander Mac Donnel*, Earl of *Antrim.*
† *Richard Nugent*, Earl of *Weſtmeath.*
Cary Dillon, Earl of *Roſcommon.*
Thomas Ridgway, Earl of *Londonderry.*
William Fielding, Earl of *Deſmond.*
Edward Brabazon, Earl of *Meath.*
John Vaughan, Earl of *Carbery.*
Luke Plunket, Earl of *Fingall.*
Arthur Chicheſter, Earl of *Donegall.*
Richard Lambert, Earl of *Cavan.*
William O Bryan, Earl of *Inchequin.*
† *Donogh Mac Carty*, Earl of *Clancarty.*
Lionel Boyle, Earl of *Orrery.*
Charles Coot, Earl of *Mounteath.*
Henry Moore, Earl of *Drogheda.*
Charles Talbot, Earl of *Waterford*, &c.
Hugh Mountgomery, Earl of *Mount-Alexander.*
Roger Palmer, Earl of *Caſtlemain.*
Nicholas Taaf, Earl of *Carlingford.*
† *Richard Poer*, Earl of *Tyrone.*

Richard Jones, Earl of *Rannellagh.*
† *Francis Aungier*, Earl of *Longford.*
† *Arthur Forbes*, Earl of *Granard.*
† *William Dungan*, Earl of *Lymerick.*

Viſcounts.

† *Jenico Preſton*, Viſcount *Germanſtown.*
† *David Roche*, Viſcount *Fermoy.*
† *Richard Butler*, Viſcount *Mountgarret.*
George Villers, Viſcount *Grandiſon.*
James Anſlow, Viſcount *Valentia.*
† *Theobald Dillon*, Viſcount *Coſtello* and *Gallen.*
Nicholas Nettervile, Viſcount *Dorath*, a Priſoner in *Derry:*
Arthur Loftus, Viſcount *Ely.*
Thomas Beaumont, Viſcount *Sword.*
† *Arthur Magennis*, Viſcount *Iveagh.*
Thomas Needham, Viſcount *Kilmurry.*
† *Dominick Sarſefield*, Viſcount *Kilmallock.*
Theobald Bourk, Viſcount *Mayo.*
Patrick Chaworth, Viſcount *Armagh.*
George Sanderſon, Viſcount *Caſtletown.*
John Scudamore, Viſcount *Sligoe.*
Richard Lumley, Viſcount *Waterford.*
Philip Smith, Viſcount *Strangford.*
Philip Wenman, Viſcount *Tuam.*
Charagh Mullineux, Viſcount *Maryboborough.*
William Fairfax, Viſcount *Emely.*
Pierce Butler, Viſcount *Ikerin.*
Thomas Fitz-Williams, Viſcount *Mirrion.*
† *Maximilian O Dempſey*, Viſcount *Clanmalere.*
Brian Cockin, Viſcount *Cullen.*
Tracy, Viſcount *Rathcoole.*
Francis Smith, Viſcount *Carrington.*
Richard Bulkley, Viſcount *Caſhell.*
William Brounker, Viſcount *Lyons.*
Richard Ogle, Viſcount *Catherlagh.*
† *Pierce Butler*, Viſcount *Gilmoy.*
Nicholas Barnwel, Viſcount *Kingſland.*
Francis Boyle, Viſcount *Shannon.*
John Skevington, Viſcount *Mazereene.*
Hugh Cholmondy, Viſcount *Kells.*
† *Daniel O Bryan*, Viſcount *Clare.*
Lewis Trever, Viſcount *Dungannon.*
Maurice Berkley, Viſcount *Fitzharding* of *Beerhaven.*
William Canfield, Viſcount *Charlemont.*
Foliot Wingfield, Viſcount *Powerſcourt.*
Murrogh Boyle, Viſcount *Bleſſington.*
James Lane, Viſcount *Laneſburrow.*
John Deny, Viſcount *Down.*
† *Richard Parſons*, Viſcount *Roſs.*
William Stuart, Viſcount *Mountjoy.*
Adam Loftus, Viſcount *Liſburn.*
† *Ullick Bourk*, Viſcount *Galloway.*
† *Juſtin Mac Carty*, Viſcount *Mountcaſhel.*
† *Valentine Brown*, Viſcount *Kenmere.*

Biſhops.

† Dr. *Anthony Dobbing*, Lord Biſhop of *Meath.*
Dr. *William Morton*, Lord Biſhop of *Kildare.*
Dr. *Hugh Gore*, Lord Biſhop of *Waterford and Liſmore.*
——— *Clonfort*, void.
——— *Clogher*, void.
† Dr. *Thomas Ottaway*, Lord Biſhop of *Offory.*
Dr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Lord Biſhop of *Derry.*
Dr. *Thomas Hacket*, Lord Biſhop of *Down and Connor.*
† Dr. *John Roon*, Lord Biſhop of *Killalow.*
† Dr. *Edward Wettenhall*, Lord Biſhop of *Cork* and *Roſs.*
† Dr. *Symon Digby*, Lord Biſhop of *Limerick* and *Ardfert.*
Dr. *Richard Tenniſon*, Lord Biſhop of *Killala* and *Arconrah.*
Dr. *William Smith*, Lord Biſhop of *Rapho.*
Dr. *William Sheridan*, Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh.*

Dr.

Dr. *Narciſſus Marſh*, Lord Biſhop of *Fearns* and *Leighlin.*
Dr. *Edward Jones*, Lord Biſhop of *Cloyn.*
Dr. *Capel Wiſeman*, Lord Biſhop of *Drummore.*
——— *Elphin*, void.

Barons.

† *Almericus Courcy*, Baron *Kingſale.*
William Fitz-Morris, Baron *Kerry.*
† *Chriſtopher Flemming*, Baron *Slane.*
† *Thomas St. Lawrence*, Baron *Hoath.*
† *Robert Barnwell*, Baron *Trembleſton.*
† *Chriſtopher Plunket*, Baron *Dunſany.*
† *Pierce Butler*, Baron *Dunboyne.*
† *Brian Fitz-Patrick*, Baron *Upper Oſſery.*
Matth. Plunket, Baron *Lowth.*
† *William Bourk*, Baron *Caſtleconnel.*
† *Pierce Butler*, Baron *Cahir.*
† *Theobald Bourk*, Baron *Brittas.*
Stuart, Baron *Caſtle-ſtuart.*
Thomas Folliot, Baron *Balliſhannon.*
William Maynard, Baron *Wicklow.*
Richard George, Baron *Dundalk.*
Robert Digby, Baron *Geaſhill.*
William Fitz-Williams, B. *Lifford.*
Henry Blaney, Baron *Monaghan.*
† *Dermot Malone*, Baron *Glanmahur.*
Edward Herbert, Baron *Caſtle-Iſland.*
John Calvert, Baron *Baltimore.*
William Brereton, Baron *Leighlin.*
Henry Hare, Baron *Coleraine.*
Benedict Sheridan, Baron *Leitrim.*
† *Connor Mac Guire*, Baron *Enniskilling.*
† *Claud Hamilton*, Baron *Strabane.*
Francis Hauley, Baron *Dunmore.*
William Allington, Baron *Killard.*
Robert King, Baron *Kingſton.*
Richard Coot, Baron *Killooney.*
Richard Barry, Baron *Santry.*
Altham Anſloe, Baron *Altham.*
† *John Bellew*, Baron *Duleek.*
Charles Bertie, Baron *Shelborn.*
† *Thomas Nugent*, Baron *Riverſtown.*
† *John Bourk*, Baron *Boephin.*
† *Alexander Fitton*, Baron *Gawſworth.*

The Houſe of Commons conſiſts of three hundred Perſons and upwards, only two Proteſtants, Sir *John Mead*, and Mr. *Coghlan*; two others that have paſſed in former Days, but now are looked upon to be of the Popiſh Intereſt.

The Subſtance of the new *Iriſh* BILL for making void the *Engliſh* Settlement of *Ireland.*

IMprimis, Act of Settlement, Act of Explanation and Reſolution of Doubts, void.

1. Every one to be reſtored to his Poſſeſſion, as in 1641.
2. Attainders, Outlawries, Treaſons, *&c.* made void, releaſed, and diſcharged.
3. All Records taken off the File, and cancelled before one or more of the Commiſſioners.
4. Any Officer not performing this, to forfeit five hundred Pound.
5. Three or more Commiſſioners for Claims.
6. All Injunctions to ſtay Decrees of the ſaid Court, void.
7. The Sheriffs refuſing to deliver Poſſeſſion, to be puniſhed.
8. Where Deeds are wanting, the Sentence of the Commiſſioners not definitive.

9. All Releaſes, Conveyances, *&c.* to be good.

10. The old Eſtate of Tranſplanters to be charged with the Intereſt of Purchaſe-money, as they ſold their Intereſt in *Connaught*.

11. Reprizals for all honeſt Purchaſers, for good and valuable Conſiderations, ſince the Act of Settlement.

12. Tranſplanted Purchaſers to be reprized of equal Value and Purchaſe out of the forfeited Lands.

13. A Rebellion is now begun, and ſeveral are gone to *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and the Iſle of *Man*, by which they forfeited from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1688. All Entails, Remainders, *&c.* to be cut off.

14. Commiſſioners to inſpect into the Forfeitures, in order to give Reprizals by Commiſſions under the Great Seal, if thought neceſſary.

15. In Claim, to inſert the Quantity, Quality, and true yearly Value, County, and reſerved Rent.

16. To be reprized, ſuch as really purchaſed before the firſt of *November* laſt, but not Affinity.

17. Upon Certificate of the Commiſſioners, the Lord Chancellor to paſs Letters Patent.

18. Before Reprizal, to make full Proof of the original Money paid for the tranſplanted Purchaſe. And the ancient Eſtate to which he is to be reſtored, to be charged with, *&c.*

19. If the Tranſplanted diſcover, *&c.* to diſcover the Purchaſe, or to forfeit double the Money; one Moiety to the Diſcoverer, and another to the King.

20. Provided the ancient, *&c.* inveſted in the King.

21. *Newry* reſtored to *Dudly Bagnal*, Eſq; it being the Eſtate of *Nicholas Bagnal*.

22. The Quit and Crown Rent reſerved, and forfeiting Lands to be charged to Lands to be reſtored.

23. All original Debts in 1641, to be and ſtand charged; the Lands to be reſtored.

24. All Reprizals to be liable to the ſame Conditions and Debts as their former Eſtates.

25. All Incumbrances or Judgments due on forfeiting Perſons, and entered before the 22d of *May* 1689; and where he forfeited to be reprized.

26. Tranſplanters, Proprietors, their Reprizals or ancient Eſtate, to be liable to the ſame Incumbrances and Conditions as the former Eſtate.

27. Leſſees to continue, in caſe it be not the Manſion-houſe or Demeſne-Lands, not exceeding one and twenty Years, or three Lives.

28. Whoſe Huſbands died out of Poſſeſſion, Widows to be dowable.

29. The Lord *Clanrickard*, &c. That all Deeds, *&c.* be good, ſaving to all old Mortgagees.

A LETTER from Colonel *Walker*, giving a full Account of the Treachery of the late Governor of *London-derry*.

WHEN the Lord *M——y* left the Garison of *London-derry*, he gave private Orders to the Colonel he left Commander in Chief, *That he should punctually observe whatsoever Directions he should receive from him from* France. Now such were the Circumstances of that unfortunate Lord, that being suspected by the late King *James*, and looked upon as the Betrayer of that Kingdom, he had no other way of insinuating into his Favour, and regaining his lost Reputation with him, but by promising to make Colonel *L——n* an Instrument to break and ruin the Protestants, and render them incapable of opposing any Army, that should march against them.

The deluded Protestants in *Derry*, and all over the North, were extremely overjoyed that they had so good a Soldier for their Head; one whom they really believed to be of their own Religion, and who seemed to be so zealously and warmly affected to their Interest; and therefore they intirely relied and depended upon his Courage and Fidelity, and submitted themselves to his Conduct and Management, never entertaining the least Suspicion of him till it was too late; though it was whispered in every Corner of the Garison, that he had said, *He would heartily fight against* Tyrconnel, *but not against King* James. At length a formidable and regular Army of the *Irish* marched down towards the North, our Forces then having not the least Intimation of their Approach, till they came almost to the Towns where our Men were garisoned, which they were forced to quit in great Disorder and Confusion.

The Colonel, in the mean time, sat quietly at home, neither made any Provision for the Frontier Garisons, nor gave any Orders to fortify and secure them, and oppose the Enemy, before they were blooded and animated with Success. Soon after (without any Opposition) they over-run the two great Counties of *Down* and *Antrim*: And then the Colonel sent Letter after Letter to the Lord *K——n* at *Sligoe*, where there was good Store of Provisions and Forage, to come and join his Horse at last with the *Lagan* Forces. The Lord sent him Word, *That if the Horse came away, the Foot would not be persuaded to continue there; and that he feared there was not such Plenty of Provision for their Horse and Men in the* Lagan, *as they had at* Sligoe. Upon this Answer, the Colonel sends an Express to my Lord, *That both his Horse and Foot should quit* Sligoe, *and march immediately to the Assistance of* Derry.

My Lord, wearied with these Importunities, and not in the least mistrusting the Integrity of the Colonel, advances with his Forces, and was followed by all the Inhabitants of the Town. But no sooner were they come to *Ballishannon*, twenty Miles from *Sligoe*, but they received a Message from the Colonel, *That there was not Forage for the Horse in the* Lagan. The Enemy, by this time, had possessed themselves of *Sligoe*; so that they were forced to stay at *Ballyshannon*, where both their Horse and Men were exposed to the greatest Necessities, and were almost destroyed for want of Provisions.

All

All this while the Towns of *Enniſkilling* and *Ballyſhannon* had no Ammunition ſent them from him, though he had, at the ſame time, above 500 Barrels of Powder in the *Pallir* Store-houſe at *Derry*; neither could he be perſuaded by any Arguments to get Forage into *Derry*, though the neighbouring Country round about him had great Quantities of Hay and Oats, and made a voluntary Offer of them for the Service of the Gariſon. Beſides, as if he had all along deſigned the Ruin of that Place, and conſequently of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*, he ſtill gave Paſſes to every Man that aſked them: He endeavoured to poſſeſs them that were the moſt bold and reſolute, with ſtrange Apprehenſions of their Danger; and where this ſucceeded not, out of the Abundance of his Affection, he courted and invited others to accept of Paſſes.

Afterwards, when the Enemy made their Approaches nearer *Derry*, he drew out a Body of 7000 Men, pretending he would fight them at a Paſs they were to come over: But as ſoon as ever Colonel *Shelden* (with his Horſe) advanced, he gave him the Sign to come over, and ran away, ſwearing a great Oath, and ſaying, *Gentlemen, I ſee you will not fight*; though, at the ſame time, they were, in all Appearance, very zealous and willing to engage. From thence he immediately fled to the City, and then ſhut the Gates upon thouſands of Souls, pretending Scarcity of Proviſions, who all either periſhed for Hunger, or were left as a Prey and Sacrifice to the Rage and Fury of their inſulting Enemies.

Soon after Colonels *C*——— and *R*———, with two Regiments, came to the Aſſiſtance of *Derry*, whom he diſcouraged from ſtaying, declaring, *That they had Proviſion but for a few Days, and that the People who were in the City were but a Rabble.*

However, all the Tranſactions in their Council of War, as they called it, (though none were admitted to it but the Colonel's own Creatures) were managed with the greateſt Secreſy; and the better to delude the Gariſon, it was given out, *That the Forces would forthwith land.* And of this they were ſo fully perſuaded, that many went aboard the Ships that were in the Harbour, to careſs and congratulate the Soldiers ſafe Arrival, who were not ſuffered to return again; but againſt their Inclinations were brought into *England.* *C*——— next Day (when on board, and as it was agreed betwixt him and the confederate Colonel) ſends him a Letter, *That he had diſcovered ſome Ships at a Diſtance, which muſt needs be further Succours deſigned for the Relief of* Derry; *that he would fall down to the Harbour's Mouth, and return again with the reſt of the Fleet.* This Letter was handed up and down *Derry* to pacify the People, though generally they began to apprehend they were ſold and betrayed: And in this their Suſpicion they were confirmed by a Lady (related to the Colonel) who had forgot her Cue, and unwarily told a Lieutenant in the Gariſon, *That* C——— *did not deſign to land, and that his Letter was a mere Sham.* After this *C*——— ſet ſail, and hovered at a little Diſtance, expecting the Colonel, who had promiſed him to make his Eſcape, and go with him for *England*; but the Colonel not coming according to the Time appointed, he purſued his Voyage, and left us under the Apprehenſions of immediate Deſtruction. But (bleſſed

be

be God) we have hitherto made ſome tolerable Defence for ourſelves, and ſtill hope to give a good Account of the Place. I am,

Yours, G. WALKER.

The State of the Papiſt and Proteſtant Proprieties in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the Year 1641, when the then Rebellion began, and how diſpoſed in 1653, when the War and Rebellion was declared at an End, and how diſpoſed in 1662, upon the Acts of Settlement; and how the Proprieties ſtand this preſent Year 1689, with the Survey, Loſs, Coſt and Charges of both Parties by the aforeſaid War, or Rebellion: With Inferences and Expoſtulations from the whole, faithfully calculated in ſo conciſe a Manner and Order as was never done before: Humbly rendered to the Conſideration of the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and the Parliament of Lords and Commons now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*. To which is added, a Liſt of the preſent Nobility of *Ireland*, Proteſtant and Papiſt.

Printed in the Year 1689.

To the KING's moſt excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

AS it hath pleaſed the eternal Providence to make your Majeſty the illuſtrious Inſtrument of ſaving theſe three Kingdoms, now under your happy Government, from an Inundation of Popery and Slavery, juſt ready to break down the Banks of their ancient Laws and Liberties: So is it the Duty of every particular Perſon, to the utmoſt of his Abilities, to proſtrate at your Royal Feet thoſe Lights and Diſcoveries, which he may have gained by long Experience and Obſervation, to the End your Majeſty may the better be enabled, by the general Survey of the State of Affairs in any of your Kingdoms, and a fair Proſpect of their paſt ill Government, to apply thoſe Remedies which your Majeſty, in your great princely Wiſdom and Prudence, ſhall deem moſt conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of their future Hap-

Happineſs: Since it is yet undetermined among the moſt deeply learned, by which means a potent Monarch gains the moſt durable Renown, whether by erecting a new Fabric of Dominion, or by reforming the Errors of an ancient Conſtitution.

Theſe Papers, therefore, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, falling into my Hands, and being by myſelf imparted to ſome Perſons of eminent Degree, and better acquainted with the Affairs of Ireland, *I was encouraged to believe, that it would be no Unkindneſs to the Author, to proſtrate them with all Humility to your Majeſty's Royal Conſideration; that ſo your Majeſty might, with leſs Trouble, underſtand the preſent Condition of that your Kingdom, in Reference to the partial Diſpoſal of the Lands and Poſſeſſions in that Kingdom; whereby it doth manifeſtly appear, what Intereſt prevailed in the Puniſhment (if ſo it may be called) of the ſubdued* Iriſh, *for all the Maſſacres they committed, and all the Blood they ſpilt in the late Rebellion, as if the* Iriſh *had rebelled to be the only Gainers, and the* Engliſh *had expended ſo much Treaſure, and the Lives of ſo many thouſands, to be the only Loſers in the Diſtributions of their Conqueſts; the Victors not being permitted to enjoy what they had juſtly won by the Sword, while the* Iriſh *were reſtored to what they had as truly forfeited by their cruel Diſloyalty; by which partial Piece of Juſtice, the Victors were indeed ſubdued, and the Conquered were, in the Concluſion, victorious.*

All which being fully made out in the following Sheets, I thought it my Duty, moſt humbly to add this ſmaller Offering of my ſincere Integrity to ſerve your Majeſty, to the better Aſſiſtance and Information of Perſons more able, though of none more ready and zealous to approve himſelf, by all the ſtricteſt Performances of Loyalty and Allegiance,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, obedient,

and faithful Subject and Servant,

J. C.

This LETTER, and the Calculations annexed, were tranſmitted from *Dublin*, to the late King *James* II. in the Year 1688, ſome few Weeks before his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* landed in *England*.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE true Intent of your Majeſty's moſt humble Orator, by this and his former Addreſs, being to give Truth a Releaſe from the common Reſtraints of Fear, Flattery or Favour, that ſo your Majeſty having a true Repreſentation of Perſons and Things here, may be the better enabled and encouraged to apply ſuitable and ſeaſonable Remedies, to the moſt deſperate Maladies of this late happy, but now moſt miſerable, Country.

Your Majeſty cannot but know, that moſt Princes have, by advantageous Experience, found public Truths made known by private, when ſuppreſſed by public

public Perſons, yet that the Matters herein contained might contract no Prejudice by the obſcure Inſtrument that conveys it.

As in his former Letter he humbly referred the Particulars to a Perſon of greater Circumſtances of Credit with your Majeſty than can be found in this Country; and as to the Calculations hereunto annexed, your Majeſty will find their Credit moſt ſupported on your own Records, and where thoſe are defective, that Supply is made by thoſe probable Conjectures, which are, as well as the Records, in themſelves evident, thoſe Conjectures being either grounded on that common Principle of commutative Juſtice, *id valet quantum rendi poteſt*, or ſubjected to the Menſurations of the Altitude and Magnitude of cœleſtial Bodies made by Aſtronomers, which are demonſtrable, may, and muſt be more, but cannot be leſs than thoſe Computations make them.

I know that the Loſs of five Millions, and five Hundreds, and fifty Thouſands, mentioned in the Foot of the annexed Eſtimate, as loſt by a leſs than two Years *Iriſh* Government, ſeems to be a prodigious, and an incredible Loſs.

But that Sum not appearing to be a Third of the whole Value of the Kingdom, and it being manifeſt, that at leaſt one Fourth of the Houſes in this City of *Dublin* are now waſte, and that Houſe-rents here and elſewhere are fallen at leaſt one Third of their former annual Value, and that Lands in the Country are generally fallen more than one Fourth, and the Inheritance now refuſed at eight Years Purchaſe, which would not before have been ſold for near double that Value.

Some here, and thoſe none of the meaneſt Critics in Calculations, drawing Inferences from the aforeſaid Premiſes, do conclude that this Kingdom is ſunk more than a Moiety of its Intrinſic Value, within the ſaid Time.

Eſpecially, when they add to the aforeſaid Conſiderations, the great Impair of the *Britiſh* Trade; the Traders now left, being not worth a Moiety of thoſe we have loſt, and theſe ſeeming rather prepared for Flight than Stay.

While by the open Packing of *Iriſh* Juries, corrupting of Evidence, and Partiality of *Iriſh* Judges, they ſee it in the Natives Power to take what *Britiſh* Life or Eſtate they pleaſe, and to make the moſt innocent Perſon ſuffer as the greateſt Malefactor, and all the while not ſeemingly break any Law by ſo doing. It is well known that upwards of fifty Indictments were found by *Iriſh* Evidence againſt the *Britiſh*, who were moſt celebrated for Loyalty in this Kingdom; who, though they were afterwards all acquitted as being innocent, had yet, in all Probability, ſuffered as Traytors, had not the unexpected coming of the Earl of *Clarendon* to the Government, and his appointing Proteſtant Sheriffs broke thoſe Snares.

Your Majeſty ſo well knowing the Validity of Oaths, as to the Proof of Crimes and Titles by the *Engliſh* Laws, will eaſily believe what fatal Execution a People let looſe may do on a People bound by thoſe Cords; eſpecially, where Perjury is by ſome held no Sin, by moſt a venial Sin, and by others a Duty. How often do we now ſee forged Deeds, formerly moſt juſtly condemned, revived; how often do we ſee, and that to the great Scandal of Juſtice and Government, your Majeſty's *Iriſh* Council making Uſe of your

Majeſty's Name, as Highway-men do of your public Road, that they may the better violate your Law, rob your Subjects, and enrich themſelves, and, Pirate-like, make all Prize that are weaker and wealthier than themſelves?

How often do we hear the poor *Britiſh* reflecting on the late bad and miſerable Times, when the *Iriſh* made all the *Britiſh* within their Reach either Acceſſaries to their Guilt, or ſubject to their Wrath? When in ſix Months time, without Commiſeration to Sex or Age, without any Oppoſition or Provocation, they murdered upwards of one hundred thouſand *Britiſh* in one Province of this Kingdom, and that with all imaginable Circumſtances of Cruelty and Barbarity? All which muſt be true, or the Records taken on your Father of bleſſed Memory's Commiſſion, reciting Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Number of Perſons ſo murdered, muſt be all falſe; and had the Government, Gariſons, and Army, been then, as now, in the *Iriſh* Hands, it is more than probable there had not one *Britiſh* Perſon been left alive in this Kingdom.

And can the Fright of the *Britiſh* at, and their Flight from, theſe Flames now, which they found and felt ſo deſtructive then, be Matter of Blame to them, or Surprize to any, or can it be preſumed that the Natives Diſappointment by that War had leſſened their Rage, or bettered their Nature, if when the *Iriſh* had no Share in the Government, nor Arms, nor Knowledge how to uſe them, and no Command of Gariſons or Soldiers, but theſe and many other Advantages in the *Britiſh* Hands; if they were then able to make their Wrath ſo ſucceſsful, what can rationally be expected to become of the *Britiſh* now amongſt them? I do the more willingly enumerate theſe Particulars, rather to confirm the following, and more moderate Eſtimate, than the larger made by others, concerning the aforeſaid Loſs. Yet this I may with more Truth than Satisfaction affirm, that if the judicial Proceedings paſt in that Time are not reviewed, if the Gaps lately made, to let in an Inundation of arbitrary Power on the *Britiſh* Propriety is not repaired, and thoſe who made them ſeverely puniſhed; and laſtly, if no better Security than *Iriſh* Judges, Sheriffs and Juries can be found to preſerve the *Britiſh* Proprieties, *Ichabod* may well be the Character, a Foreigner the Maſter, and Deſolation the Portion of this unhappy Country, when it becomes a Habitation for wild Beaſts, or worſe Creatures, under only the Shape and Reſemblance of human Features.

Your Majeſty's Improvement of theſe and better Helps may ſo open your Ears, that, in the Words of the Pſalmiſt, *The ſorrowful Sighing of the Priſoner may come up before you*; and then I no ways doubt, but in the further Words of the ſame Pſalmiſt, according to the Greatneſs of your Power, and Goodneſs of your Nature, you will preſerve thoſe who ſeem appointed to die, that they may yet live to pray for your Majeſty's long Life, *&c.* as doth, it may pleaſe your Majeſty, your Majeſty's moſt humble, dutiful, and obedient Subject and Servant.

An Eſtimate, containing,

1. The Latitude, Longitude, and Survey of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland.*

2. What

2. What Part, or how many Acres thereof are profitable, and how many unprofitable.

3. The annual Value, with the Value of the Inheritance of both in 1641, before the late *Iriſh* Rebellion began, with what it was reduced unto in the Year 1653, when the ſaid Rebellion was declared at an End.

How the ſaid *Iriſh* Propriety was ſettled, and diſpoſed in the ſaid Year 1653.

How diſpoſed in 1662 and 1663, by the Acts of *Settlement* and *Explanation*, and by the Commiſſioners for executing the ſaid Acts.

How it ſtands on the Date of this Eſtimate, *viz.* in the Year 1688.

The particular Loſs and Gain of both Proteſtant and *Iriſh* Part by the ſaid Rebellion.

The whole Charge of the then King and the Proteſtant Party, to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion.

Laſtly, Inferences from all the aforeſaid Calculations.

The Survey.

The Latitude of *Ireland*, North, is parallel to *Dumfries* in *Scotland*, which is about ſixty Miles more North than *England*.

South, it is parallel to *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*.

The Longitude, Weſt, to the utmoſt Point of *Ireconough* in the County of *Galway*.

Eaſt, to the Head of *Hoath* near *Dublin*.

The whole Number of Acres, by comparing ſeveral Surveys, appears to be about ten Millions and four hundred thouſand *Iriſh* Acres (twenty one Foot to the Perch) which make about ſeventeen Millions *Engliſh* Meaſure, and makes *Ireland* equal in Quantity to *England*, *Wales* excepted.

Of the ſaid ten Millions four hundred thouſand Acres, there appears to be about three Millions of Mountains, Wood, Bog, and other unprofitable Acres.

So that the profitable Part appears to be about ſeven Millions and four hundred thouſand Acres, which were thus ſeiſed, poſſeſſed and enjoyed *anno* 1641, before the Rebellion began.

Firſt, The *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Propriety was then about two Millions four hundred thouſand of the ſaid profitable Acres, *Iriſh* Meaſure.

The *Iriſh*, or Roman Catholics Propriety was the Remainder, being about five Millions of the ſaid Acres.

Memorandum, that *anno* 1653, the Rebellion was publicly declared to be at an End, and then the aforeſaid *Iriſh* Propriety of the ſaid five Millions of Acres was diſtributed and diſpoſed of as follows.

Firſt, Unto ſuch of *Iriſh* Roman Catholics, who proved their conſtant good Affection to the *Britiſh* Intereſt, were reſtored about one hundred thouſand Acres.

Secondly, There was ſet aſide to ſatisfy the Officers and Soldiers who ſerved in the *Iriſh* War before *anno* 1649, being the Year *Oliver Cromwel* came over into *Ireland*, in the Counties of *Wicklow*, *Longford*, *Letrym*, *Donnegal*, and within the *Mileline* of *Sea* and *Shannon*, about four hundred thouſand Acres.

Thirdly, There was diſtributed to the Adventurers who advanced Moneys on the Acts of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of King *Charles* I. to carry on the War of *Ireland*, about eight hundred thouſand Acres.

Fourthly, There was ſet forth to the Officers and Soldiers, who ſerved from 1649 until 1653, being the declared End of the ſaid War, about two Millions of Acres.

Fifthly, There was ſet forth to ſeveral Grants, about one hundred thouſand Acres.

Sixthly, To the Roman Catholics, according to their ſeveral Proofs of their Qualifications by the Commiſſioners at *Loughreagh*, purſuant to the Decrees of the Commiſſioners at *Athlone*, about ſeven hundred thouſand Acres in the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*.

Seventhly, There was ſet aſide for the Support of the Government, the forfeited Houſes in the walled Towns, and about eight hundred thouſand Acres in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Louth*, *Cork*, *Cathorlough* and *Kildare*, the moſt of which were let in Leaſes of thirty one Years to *Britiſh* Proteſtants.

Memorandum, That the aforeſaid *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Proprieties were, *anno* 1653, reſtored to the reſpective former Proprietors.

And thus ſtood the Proprieties of Lands in the Kingdom of *Ireland* until *anno* 1660, the Reſtoration of the late King.

Memorandum, That in the Years 1661, 1662, and 1663, by Acts of Parliament, and Decrees of the Court of Claims, there were taken away from the aforeſaid Intereſts and Retrenchments of one Third, by the Explanatory Act, and reſtored to former Proprietors about two Millions of Acres of the aforeſaid Lands, ſo that at the Period of the ſaid Commiſſions of Claims, the aforeſaid Propriety was as follows:

Firſt, The Proteſtant Propriety, and the Propriety of the Roman Catholics, who proved their conſtant good Affection to the *Engliſh*, were untouched, either by Act of Parliament or Decrees of the Court of Claims.

Secondly, The Lands of the Officers who ſerved his Majeſty in the *Iriſh* War, before the Year 1649, were reduced to about one hundred and ninety thouſand Acres, the reſt of their Lands were reſtored to former *Iriſh* Proprietors.

Thirdly, The aforeſaid Adventurers Satisfaction was by the ſaid Acts of Parliament, and Decrees of the Court of Claims reduced to about three hundred thouſand Acres.

Fourthly, Remaining then with the Officers and Soldiers who ſerved ſince the Year 1649, about twelve hundred thouſand Acres.

Fifthly, There was then left with the tranſplantable *Iriſh* in the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*, about ſix hundred thouſand Acres.

Sixthly, There were confirmed to Grantees, by the Acts of Parliament about two hundred thouſand Acres, of which about one Moiety was to Roman Catholics, the other to *Britiſh* Proteſtants.

Seventhly, There is left of Courſe, Lands undiſpoſed, and Overplus Lands, in the Hands of Soldiers and Adventurers, about one hundred thouſand Acres.

So that there appears, confirmed by Acts of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Explanatoric Acts, about ſeventeen hundred and eighty thouſand Acres to the Soldiery and Adventurers, and to the Proteſtant Grantees by Proviſoes in both the ſaid Acts about one hundred thouſand Acres, and the like Sum of courſe retrenched and undiſpoſed Lands are ſtill in the King's Hands, which makes in all about two Millions of *Iriſh* Acres, which is all that the Crown of *England* Intereſt hath got, and the *Iriſh* then loſt by that Rebellion: But ſince by his Majeſty's preſent Rent Roll there appears above two Thirds of the aforeſaid two Millions, to be got by pretended Deeds, ſet up by the *Iriſh*, or by Purchaſes made at unvaluable Rates, both by the *Iriſh* and the former *Britiſh* Inhabitants of that Country; ſo that now there is little Appearance of that late numerous and victorious Intereſt, which reſcued this Kingdom out of the *Iriſh* Rebels and *Britiſh* Malcontents Hands; which how valuable the foreſaid two Millions of Acres were, and now are, will appear by the next general Head, which contains the annual Value and Inheritance of the ſaid Lands in the Year 1641, before the Rebellion began, and to what Value both Roman Catholic and Proteſtant Propriety was reduced in the Year 1653, when the ſaid Rebellion was declared at an End: All which will more fully appear by the following Diagram,

The Value *in* 1641, *before the* Rebellion *began.*

The whole Kingdom contains ſeven Millions four hundred thouſand profitable Acres, of which the four Shillings an Acre, comes to one Million four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds Sterling, twelve Years Purchaſe, comes to ſeventeen Millions ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

Iriſh Propriety then was five Millions of Acres, one Million of Pounds *Sterling* comes unto twelve Millions *Sterling*.

Britiſh Propriety two Millions and four hundred thouſand Acres, four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, comes to five Millions ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

The reduced Value of the Whole, and of each Propriety in 1653, when the Rebellion was declared at an End, was, annual Value at Nine-pence an Acre, Inheritance at eight Years Purchaſe.

The whole Kingdom ſeven Millions four hundred thouſand Acres comes to two hundred ſeventy ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*, comes to two Millions two hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641, and 1653, is fifteen Millions five hundred and forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

The *Iriſh* Propriety then about five Millions of Acres, at Nine-pence an Acre *per annum*, comes to one Million eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*. The Inheritance at eight Years Purchaſe, comes to one Million and a half *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641, and 1653, of this Propriety was nine Millions four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds.

The *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Propriety was two Millions and four hundred thouſand Acres at 9 *d. per annum*, comes to ninety thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

The

The Inheritance at eight Years Purchaſe, comes to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641 and 1653, in this Propriety, was five Millions and forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That beſides the aforeſaid *Iriſh* Propriety in Lands, there appears by your Majeſty's Records in the Auditory-Office that there were as many Houſes in walled Towns, beſides Tithes and Rectories belonging to the *Iriſh*, which did yield *anno* 1653, about five thouſand Pounds *Sterling per annum*, which at eight years Purchaſe was then worth forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That the Proteſtant Propriety, within the walled Towns, is not included in the above Calculations, neither the Tithes or Glebe belonging to two thouſand four hundred Pariſh Churches; there being about that Number of Pariſhes in this Kingdom.

The next general Head is the particular Loſs and Gain of both *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* by the ſaid Rebellion.

Memorandum, That by the aforeſaid Article it appears, that the *Britiſh* have got, and the *Iriſh* have loſt, by the ſaid Rebellion, about two Millions of Acres; which by the aforeſaid Valuations in the Year 1653, appear to be worth two Millions of Nine-pences *per annum*, which is ſeventy-five thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, at eight Years Purchaſe for the Inheritance, is ſix hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

This was the common Value when the *Britiſh* entred on the forfeited Lands; and to this is to be added the aforeſaid forty thouſand Pounds for their Intereſt in walled Towns and Rectories.

This ſix hundred and forty thouſand Pounds is the Whole of the *Britiſh* Gain and *Iriſh* Loſs by the ſaid Rebellion.

Memorandum, That the *Iriſh* Loſs of Houſes, Goods, Stocks, *&c.* being occaſioned by their own Rebellion, are not included in this Calculation.

The next Thing conſiderable is the *Iriſh* Gain, and the *Britiſh* Loſs, which appear by theſe following Particulars:

I. By thirteen Years Loſs of Rents, the annual Propriety of the *Britiſh* did amount, as aforeſaid, before the Rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds, which for thirteen Years amounts unto ſix Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

II. The ſaid Rebellion began the 23d of *October* 1641, at which Time the *Britiſh* had one whole Year's Stock of Hay and Corn by them, which uſually ſupplied them with Materials to ſatisfy their *November* and *May* Rents then enſuing, and had likewiſe then ſowed their Winter Corn, both which could not be leſs worth than half a Year's Rent of the whole Land, which appears as aforeſaid, to be two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

III. The *Britiſh* Propriety was, as is well known, well ſtocked and improved *anno* 1641, and conſiſting of two Millions four hundred thouſand Acres *Iriſh* Meaſure, which appears to be near a Third of the whole Kingdom, muſt have its Proportion of the three Millions of unprofitable Acres as aforeſaid, and there could not be leſs Stock on two Acres and a half *Iriſh* Meaſure

Meaſure (which conſidering the Addition of the Unprofitable, muſt be more than four *Engliſh* Acres) than one Beaſt on the paſturable Part; what Acres were under Corn muſt be of a much higher Value, which Beaſt *Communi Rato*, could not be of leſs Value than twenty Shillings; by which the Value of the *Britiſh* Stock, at a moderate Rate, appears in the Year 1641, to be worth two Millions four hundred thouſand Pounds.

IV. The Value of their Houſes, Goods and Improvements, cannot be valued at leſs than double the Value of their Stocks, which makes four Millions eight hundred thouſand Pounds. The aforeſaid four Sums which were received, and robbed or taken from the *Britiſh*, during the ſaid Rebellion, appears to be thirteen Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, which ſuppoſeth the whole *Britiſh* Propriety to be robbed, ſpoiled or enjoyed by the *Iriſh* during the ſaid Rebellion; whereas it is evident, that the Metropolis of *Dublin*, the City of *Drogheda* in the Province of *Leinſter*, the City of *Londonderry*, *Colerain*, Town and Caſtle of *Enniſkilling*, Towns of *Belfaſt* and *Carrickfergus* in the Province of *Ulſter*, the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Bandonbridge*, *Youghal* and *Kingſale* were never in the *Iriſh* Hands; but theſe compared with all the other Towns and Cities of this Kingdom, with more than nineteen Parts in twenty of all the Lands, which within ſix Months after the Rebellion began, were ſtill in the *Iriſh* Hands, there cannot be abated in the aforeſaid Conſideration one Tenth of the aforeſaid Sum.

Yet abating the Tenths, there remains neat Loſs to the *Britiſh*, and got by the *Iriſh* twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

V. On or about the Years 1662 and 1663, there was taken from the *Britiſh*, and reſtored to the *Iriſh*, by Acts of Parliament and Decrees of the *Court of Claims*, above two Millions of profitable Acres, the annual Value of which ſaid Lands *anno* 1653, when the *Britiſh* firſt entred upon them at Ninepence an Acre, appears to be ſeventy-five thouſand, which at eight Years Purchaſe for the Inheritance, is ſix hundred thouſand Pounds; but by the *Britiſh* Enjoyment and Improvement of the ſaid Lands from 1653 until 1662, and 1663, the annual Value of the ſaid Lands was raiſed unto two Shillings Threepence an Acre, which was two hundred twenty and five thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, and the Inheritance at ten Years Purchaſe, Lands being then ſo uſually ſet and ſold in thoſe Times, and the Inheritance of the aforeſaid two Millions, appearing not to be worth more in the Year 1653, when the *Britiſh* entred on them, than ſix hundred thouſand Pounds, which being deducted out of two Millions two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, it appears that the *Britiſh* have loſt, and the *Iriſh* have got by the two Millions of Acres ſo as before reſtored, ſixteen hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, which being added to the aforeſaid twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds, its clear by the aforeſaid Particulars, that the *Britiſh* have loſt, and the *Iriſh* have got by their Rebellion, thirteen Millions ſeven hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds; to which being added the five Millions forty thouſand Pounds Damage done the *Britiſh* Propriety, as appears by the foremention'd Diagram, in reducing the Values of the Inheritance of the ſaid Lands in 1653, from what it was worth in 1641, makes the neat Damage of the

Proteſtant

The Inheritance at eight Years Purchaſe, comes to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641 and 1653, in this Propriety, was five Millions and forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That beſides the aforeſaid *Iriſh* Propriety in Lands, there appears by your Majeſty's Records in the Auditory-Office that there were as many Houſes in walled Towns, beſides Tithes and Rectories belonging to the *Iriſh*, which did yield *anno* 1653, about five thouſand Pounds *Sterling per annum*, which at eight years Purchaſe was then worth forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That the Proteſtant Propriety, within the walled Towns, is not included in the above Calculations, neither the Tithes or Glebe belonging to two thouſand four hundred Pariſh Churches; there being about that Number of Pariſhes in this Kingdom.

The next general Head is the particular Loſs and Gain of both *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* by the ſaid Rebellion.

Memorandum, That by the aforeſaid Article it appears, that the *Britiſh* have got, and the *Iriſh* have loſt, by the ſaid Rebellion, about two Millions of Acres; which by the aforeſaid Valuations in the Year 1653, appear to be worth two Millions of Nine-pences *per annum*, which is ſeventy-five thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, at eight Years Purchaſe for the Inheritance, is ſix hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

This was the common Value when the *Britiſh* entred on the forfeited Lands; and to this is to be added the aforeſaid forty thouſand Pounds for their Intereſt in walled Towns and Rectories.

This ſix hundred and forty thouſand Pounds is the Whole of the *Britiſh* Gain and *Iriſh* Loſs by the ſaid Rebellion.

Memorandum, That the *Iriſh* Loſs of Houſes, Goods, Stocks, *&c.* being occaſioned by their own Rebellion, are not included in this Calculation.

The next Thing conſiderable is the *Iriſh* Gain, and the *Britiſh* Loſs, which appear by theſe following Particulars:

I. By thirteen Years Loſs of Rents, the annual Propriety of the *Britiſh* did amount, as aforeſaid, before the Rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds, which for thirteen Years amounts unto ſix Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

II. The ſaid Rebellion began the 23d of *October* 1641, at which Time the *Britiſh* had one whole Year's Stock of Hay and Corn by them, which uſually ſupplied them with Materials to ſatisfy their *November* and *May* Rents then enſuing, and had likewiſe then ſowed their Winter Corn, both which could not be leſs worth than half a Year's Rent of the whole Land, which appears as aforeſaid, to be two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

III. The *Britiſh* Propriety was, as is well known, well ſtocked and improved *anno* 1641, and conſiſting of two Millions four hundred thouſand Acres *Iriſh* Meaſure, which appears to be near a Third of the whole Kingdom, muſt have its Proportion of the three Millions of unprofitable Acres as aforeſaid, and there could not be leſs Stock on two Acres and a half *Iriſh* Meaſure

Meaſure (which conſidering the Addition of the Unprofitable, muſt be more than four *Engliſh* Acres) than one Beaſt on the paſturable Part; what Acres were under Corn muſt be of a much higher Value, which Beaſt *Communi Rato*, could not be of leſs Value than twenty Shillings; by which the Value of the *Britiſh* Stock, at a moderate Rate, appears in the Year 1641, to be worth two Millions four hundred thouſand Pounds.

IV. The Value of their Houſes, Goods and Improvements, cannot be valued at leſs than double the Value of their Stocks, which makes four Millions eight hundred thouſand Pounds. The aforeſaid four Sums which were received, and robbed or taken from the *Britiſh*, during the ſaid Rebellion, appears to be thirteen Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, which ſuppoſeth the whole *Britiſh* Propriety to be robbed, ſpoiled or enjoyed by the *Iriſh* during the ſaid Rebellion; whereas it is evident, that the Metropolis of *Dublin*, the City of *Drogheda* in the Province of *Leinſter*, the City of *Londonderry*, *Colerain*, Town and Caſtle of *Enniſkilling*, Towns of *Belfaſt* and *Carrickfergus* in the Province of *Ulſter*, the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Bandonbridge*, *Youghal* and *Kingſale* were never in the *Iriſh* Hands; but theſe compared with all the other Towns and Cities of this Kingdom, with more than nineteen Parts in twenty of all the Lands, which within ſix Months after the Rebellion began, were ſtill in the *Iriſh* Hands, there cannot be abated in the aforeſaid Conſideration one Tenth of the aforeſaid Sum.

Yet abating the Tenths, there remains neat Loſs to the *Britiſh*, and got by the *Iriſh* twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

V. On or about the Years 1662 and 1663, there was taken from the *Britiſh*, and reſtored to the *Iriſh*, by Acts of Parliament and Decrees of the *Court of Claims*, above two Millions of profitable Acres, the annual Value of which ſaid Lands *anno* 1653, when the *Britiſh* firſt entred upon them at Ninepence an Acre, appears to be ſeventy-five thouſand, which at eight Years Purchaſe for the Inheritance, is ſix hundred thouſand Pounds; but by the *Britiſh* Enjoyment and Improvement of the ſaid Lands from 1653 until 1662, and 1663, the annual Value of the ſaid Lands was raiſed unto two Shillings Threepence an Acre, which was two hundred twenty and five thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, and the Inheritance at ten Years Purchaſe, Lands being then ſo uſually ſet and ſold in thoſe Times, and the Inheritance of the aforeſaid two Millions, appearing not to be worth more in the Year 1653, when the *Britiſh* entred on them, than ſix hundred thouſand Pounds, which being deducted out of two Millions two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, it appears that the *Britiſh* have loſt, and the *Iriſh* have got by the two Millions of Acres ſo as before reſtored, ſixteen hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, which being added to the aforeſaid twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds, its clear by the aforeſaid Particulars, that the *Britiſh* have loſt, and the *Iriſh* have got by their Rebellion, thirteen Millions ſeven hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds; to which being added the five Millions forty thouſand Pounds Damage done the *Britiſh* Propriety, as appears by the foremention'd Diagram, in reducing the Values of the Inheritance of the ſaid Lands in 1653, from what it was worth in 1641, makes the neat Damage of the

Proteſtant

Proteſtant Propriety by the ſaid Rebellion to be eighteen Millions eight hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

The next general Head is the particular Charge of the ſaid Rebellion to the King, and the *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Intereſt of this Kingdom.

1. By an adjuſted Account now on Record here in *Dublin*, it appears, that from the 23d of *October* 1641, to the Year 1649, there was due only to the commiſſioned Officers, about eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

2. There could not be leſs than double that Sum due to the Non-commiſſioned Officers and private Soldiers within the ſaid time, which amounts to three Millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds.

3. There was received by the ſaid Officers and Soldiers in Monies, Quarters and Proviſions within the ſaid time, one Fourth of the Whole, which was defaulted out of the Officers Debentures, and amounted to one Million three hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

So that from 1641 to 1649, the Charge of the ſaid War appears to be at leaſt ſix Millions ſeven hundred and forty thouſand Pounds; and what ſince to the Period of the War in 1653, appears by theſe following Particulars:

1. By an adjuſted Account, there appears due to the Officers and Soldiers, who ſerved within the ſaid time, about twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, which was ſatisfied in Lands.

2. The ſaid Officers and Soldiers were paid two Parts more in Money, which was two Millions four hundred thouſand Pounds.

3 There was one Fourth deducted out of both Officers and Soldiers Debentures on the Account of Quarters and Proviſion, which amounts to, as aforeſaid, twelve hundred thouſand Pounds.

4. By an adjuſted Account it appears, that the *Engliſh* Adventurers advanced in the Years 1641 and 1642, about four hundred thouſand Pounds, which Money being advanced and paid in the aforeſaid Years of 1641 and 1642, and no Satisfaction made until the Year 1655 and 1656, the Intereſt muſt be more than the Principal, which amounts at leaſt to eight hundred thouſand Pounds.

5. There was near ten thouſand *Scots*, who ſerved moſt Part of the War in the Province of *Ulſter*, under the Command of General *Leſley*; but their Arrears being never ſtated, adjuſted nor paid, cannot be ſo particularly aſcertained, but cannot be leſs than one Million of Pounds.

Memorandum, That there was many independent Troops in *Ulſter* and *Munſter* whoſe Accompts were never adjuſted, ſatisfied or paid.

Memorandum, That in this Calculation is alſo omitted the moſt Chriſtian and charitable Relief given and ſent by the States of *Holland*, who in one Ship ſent thirty thouſand Pounds in Proviſions in the Beginning of the Rebellion, which came ſo ſeaſonable, that hundreds of *Britiſh* Families were thereby preſerved from ſtarving and periſhing; nor is there mentioned the Charge of Ships, Arms or Ammunition during the War.

Memorandum, That there is not any Mention made of the great Collection of Charity for the Relief of the deſpoiled Proteſtants of the Country.

The

The aforeſaid Particulars ſince the Year 1649, amounted to ſix Millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds; before 1649, appears to be ſix Millions ſeven hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

Both Sums containing the Whole of the aforeſaid Charge amount to thirteen Millions three hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

The *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Loſs and Damage appears to be as aforeſaid eighteen Millions eight hundred ſixty-two thouſand Pounds, and both together make thirty-two Millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds.

From all the Premiſes aforementioned the Inferences following do naturally ariſe.

1. Whereas the *Engliſh* Adventurers Debt, who advanced Money on the Credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Year 1641 and 1642, for Support of the *Iriſh* War, did amount to more than eight hundred thouſand Pounds, and it appearing as aforeſaid, that they received more than three hundred thouſand Acres of Land for Satisfaction of the ſaid Debt, and it likewiſe appearing by the aforeſaid Diagram, that the annual Value of the ſaid Lands was at moſt but eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty Pounds, it is manifeſt that the ſaid Adventurers paid more than ſeventy Years Purchaſe for what was not worth really more than eight.

2. Whereas there appears as aforeſaid due to the *Engliſh* Soldiery above all the Deductions, ſix Millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, and thoſe who ſerved before the Year 1649, having received but one hundred and ninety thouſand Acres of Land, and as many Houſes in walled Towns, and Incumbrances as were worth at moſt but five thouſand Pounds *per annum*.

And whereas it appears that the Soldiery ſince 1649, had left them by the *Court of Claims* about twelve hundred thouſand Acres, making in all about thirteen hundred and ninety thouſand Acres, which with the five thouſand Pounds *per annum* for Rents of Houſes, *&c.* appears at moſt to be worth no more than fifty-ſeven thouſand one hundred twenty-five Pounds *per annum*, as appears by the aforeſaid Diagram, it is as clear that the ſaid Soldiery have paid more than one hundred and fifteen Years Purchaſe for what was not worth more than eight.

3. Whereas it appears as aforeſaid, that the whole Loſs in Houſes, Lands, Tithes, and Rectories of the *Iriſh* do amount at moſt but to ſix hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, and it appearing that the *Britiſh* loſt, and the *Iriſh*, during their Rebellion, got,

1. As much Corn and Hay from the *Britiſh* as was at leaſt worth as aforeſaid two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, which Sum alone is more than one Third of their whole Loſs.

2. The *Britiſh* Stock of Horſes, Sheep, Cattle, *&c.* appears as aforeſaid to be worth two Millions eight hundred thouſand Pounds, which appears to be more than four times the aforeſaid Loſs.

3. The *Britiſh* Houſes, Goods and Improvements which the *Iriſh* got, and the *Britiſh* loſt, appears to be five Millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds, which is more than nine times the aforeſaid Loſs.

4. The Rents which the *Iriſh* received from the *Britiſh* Propriety during their Rebellion, amounting to five Millions eight hundred and forty thouſand Pounds as aforeſaid, is more than nine times the aforeſaid Loſs.

The *Britiſh* Loſs in their Improvements on the reſtored Lands by the *Court of Claims* in 1662 and 1663, amounts to ſixteen hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds as aforeſaid, which alone is near treble of the Whole of the *Iriſh* Loſs.

Memorandum, That the aforeſaid five Sums which the *Iriſh* got from the *Britiſh*, deducting the Tenth as aforeſaid, is fifteen Millions and thirty thouſand Pounds; ſo that it is plainly demonſtrated, that the *Iriſh* got from the *Britiſh* more than thirty times what they loſt by their Rebellion.

Memorandum, That to the aforeſaid *Britiſh* Loſs, there is yet to be added the Damage done their Propriety, from the Value it was worth in the Year 1641, to what it was reduced to in the Year 1653, which appears to be five Millions two hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds, which makes the whole Loſs and Damage done the *Britiſh* by that Rebellion to amount unto above twenty Millions of Pounds *Sterling*; which Sum appears to be loſt out of leſs than a Third of the whole Propriety of this Kingdom, and is,

1. More than double the Value of the whole Propriety of their Lands in the Year 1641, and more than twenty times the Value it was reduced to in the Year 1653.

2. It appears as aforeſaid to be more than the whole Propriety, that all the Lands in this Kingdom was worth in the Year 1641.

3. The Proteſtants Loſs and Damage as aforeſaid appears to be near double the Charge of the aforeſaid War.

4. It appearing before the Death of *Charles* the Second, that Lands in this Kingdom were raiſed to equal Value in 1641, it is demonſtrable, that the *Britiſh* Induſtry had raiſed this Kingdom, in thirty Years time, notwithſtanding all their Diſcouragements, to upwards of fifteen Millions of Pounds *Sterling*.

The late King *Charles*, in favour of the *Iriſh*, releaſing by the Explanatory Act the clear Right which the Crown had to the whole Province of *Connaught*, Counties of *Clare*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*, his Majeſty thereby parted with ten times more than the *Iriſh* forfeited.

VI. By Proviſoes in the Act of Settlement and Explanation, and by Penſions and other Donatives given the *Iriſh*, as appears by the Treaſury Accounts of both Kingdoms, there appears much more given to them than was forfeited or loſt by them.

VII. The laſt Parliament in this Kingdom giving his Majeſty twenty-eight Subſidies, and three hundred thouſand Pounds in Money, gave more in value than all the Forfeitures by that Rebellion, they ſettling a Revenue of upwards of two hundred thouſand Pounds *per annum* on the Crown, with a *Nemine Contradicente*, by that gave more than ten times the Value of the ſaid Forfeitures.

VIII. The Charge of that Rebellion appearing to be thirteen Millions three hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, it is evident, that the aforeſaid *Iriſh* Loſs will not pay a fourteenth Part of the ſaid Charges.

IX. Ad-

IX. Admit the Lands of this Kingdom were before the Commencement of the preſent *Iriſh* Government (or *Iriſh* Adminiſtration) raiſed to the Value of 1641, and that Lands were only fallen one Fourth in their yearly Value, which appears to be about three hundred and ninety-three thouſand Pounds, and that they were only ſunk in the Inheritance one Third, which is five Millions five hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, then both making five Millions nine hundred and forty-three thouſand Pounds, which this Kingdom is already ſunk, with only one Year's *Iriſh* Government.

X. Whereas it appears by the excellent Preface of the Act of Settlement, that *anno* 1660, ſeven Years after the aforeſaid Rebellion was declared at an End, when Perſons and Things were in calm and ſerene Frame in this Kingdom, the moſt able of the *Iriſh* Agents, were fully heard before his Majeſty and Council in *England*, what they could anſwer in behalf of their Countrymen; yet on the ſaid Hearing, the univerſal Guilt of the *Iriſh*, with their horrid Maſſacres and barbarous Murders in that Rebellion, were fully proved, their juſt Forfeitures of their Lives and Eſtates affirmed, and that Rebellion declared by the ſaid King and Council in *England*, and afterwards by the Parliament and Council of *Ireland*, the moſt horrid and univerſal Rebellion which ever befel that Kingdom; and as thereby it appears to be the higheſt in point of Guilt, ſo by what hath been ſaid as aforeſaid, it appears to be the greateſt in point of Loſs and Charge; and though, as by the ſaid excellent Preface it further appears, that by God's Bleſſing on the *Britiſh* Forces, the ſaid *Iriſh* were totally, univerſally, and abſolutely ſubdued; yet it appears as aforeſaid, that Affairs have been ſo managed, that the nocent, conquered *Iriſh* Party, both in times of Peace and War, have been Gainers, and the innocent victorious *Britiſh* the only Loſers by that Rebellion: But let it ever be remembered by your Majeſty, and not forgot by all ſucceeding Kings of *England*, nor the *Engliſh* Nation, that if the public Diſturbances in *England*, heightened into a Civil War (chiefly occaſioned by the Maſſacre and Rebellion here) at the ſame time, and the great Corruptions of thoſe through whoſe Hands moſt of the Adminiſtrations paſſed, relating to *Ireland*, had not prevented, that Rebellion had not coſt the *Britiſh* one Fourth of the Time, nor one Penny Charge, but on the contrary the very Forfeitures of the *Iriſh* would not only have paid all that whole Reckoning, but an Overplus ſufficient to have plentifully rewarded the victorious *Britiſh*, which no doubt will be found mathematically true, if ever the *Iriſh* give another Occaſion to try it.

Laſtly, Whereas it appears as aforeſaid, that the whole Loſs, Coſts and Charge of the King and Proteſtant Party, to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion, did amount to thirty-four Millions four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, and whereas it ſufficiently demonſtrates who have been the greateſt Gainers and the greateſt Loſers, ſo it ſhews who have moſt cauſe to complain of the diſmal Effects of that Rebellion, whether the conquering *Britiſh*, or the conquered *Iriſh*; and ſo it is more than probable, that the ſaid Rebellion began the 23d of *October* 1641, and ended in the Year 1653, and that as it coſt and loſt more Treaſure, ſo if there were as careful a Scrutiny made after the Blood ſpilt, or occaſioned to be ſpilt, as of Treaſury ſpent, both

would appear much greater than the Price of all the late Chriſtian Victories over the *Great Turk*, which may be a ſufficient and ſeaſonable Caution, both to Prince and People to prevent future Rebellions in this Kingdom, which, ſince its original Conqueſt, hath by the Sins of both been made an *Acheldama*, or Field of Blood. The late unuſual Prodigies from the Heavens, the late diſmal Apparitions in the Air, the late unheard-of Inundation on this City, the aſtoniſhing Variances of our great Ones detecting each others Nakedneſs, the late Revival of our national and religious Animoſities, with the *Britiſh Migremus hinc*, and other fatal Prognoſtics, ſeems to foretell as fatal, or more fatal, Judgments, than that which laſt befel this Kingdom, which, next to the Abomination of Deſolation, which befel the *Jews*, was the heavieſt and ſharpeſt that ever befel ſo ſmall a Spot of the World, ſince the World began; which, were it deſcribed, as it ought, could not be believed but by ſuch as ſaw it, were Actors in it, or ſuffered by it, which, with God's Bleſſing on your Majeſty's Counſels, may be yet eaſier prevented than hereafter cured, which is the proper End of this Eſtimate, and gives Foundation for the *Britiſh* following Expoſtulation with their King and their *Iriſh* Neighbours.

Dread Sir,

WHAT have we done, to merit the Severity of your higheſt Diſpleaſure? Nay, what have we not done, which might intitle us to your higheſt Favour? Were we or our Anceſtors ever falſe? or were our *Iriſh* Adverſaries, or theirs, ever true to the Crown of *England?* The *Iriſh* have frequently made us, and our Anceſtors, Beggars, but never yet made either Rebels. Were not our Eſtates ſeized, our Houſes burnt, our Goods and Stock plundered, our chargeable and laborious Improvements ſpoiled, our Perſons ſtripped and inhumanly murdered in the Year 1641, only for our Loyalty to our God, and our King? And when by an Article made in the Ceſſation, every individual Perſon was left to chooſe his Party, did not we as univerſally and unanimouſly declare ourſelves of your Father's Party, as the *Iriſh* declared themſelves to be of the Rebel's Party? We, and our Anceſtors, have been conſtantly made the Butt, but it is evident that the Crown of *England*, and the Sovereignty of this Country, have been the Mark of the Natives Wrath. Though your Father left us, and that by a Law, to be ſupported by the Parliament of *England*, and they really were kind to us, in the Day of our Extremity, yet our Loyalty to him ſo ſubjected our Gratitude to them, and the natural Care of our Relations, that when we wanted Hands to revenge the innocent Blood, which the Natives had ſo inhumanly ſpilt, or to prevent them of ſpilling more; yet even then, at your Father's Command, we ſent large Supplies of both Horſe and Foot, to fight againſt that very Parliament, which then, under God, were our only Support.

And did we not continue thus dutiful, till your Father's Neceſſities forced him to deſert us, and give us Leave to ſhift for ourſelves, and in this Exigence, which was about the Year 1646, was not his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, by the perfidious Treachery, and Breach of Articles made by the *Iriſh*, reduced to that Streight, that he was forced to give up his Majeſty's Sword, either

to

o the Parliament of *England*, or to the confederate *Iriſh* Aſſembly? And did not the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, who was then a proſcribed Perſon by the Parliament, and a General to the ſaid Confederate Aſſembly, adviſe his Grace, rather to give up the Sword to the *Engliſh*, than to the *Iriſh*, and is not the Reaſon of that Advice made public to the World in his Memoirs?

And did not the ſaid Duke of *Ormond* then publicly, and frequently caution the Parliament's Commiſſioners, how they ever truſted the *Iriſh*, letting them know, that they would ſerve any *Engliſh* Governor as they had ſerved him? And did he not adviſe his Officers and Soldiers to join with any Party that was *Engliſh*, to fight againſt the *Iriſh?* Purſuant to this Advice, we ſtrait joined ourſelves to the Parliament's Forces, and were eminently inſtrumental, in that great Victory obtained againſt the *Iriſh* at *Dungan Hill*, and though we found a continued Series of Succeſs to attend our Service under the *Engliſh* Banners, yet no ſooner did we ſee your Father ſold by the *Scots*, little better than impriſoned by the Parliament; and eaſily foreſeeing thoſe Methods, preſaging worſe to enſue, though the Parliament's Forces were triumphant in the three Kingdoms, yet notwithſtanding all Diſcouragements, we entered into a new Treaty with the Confederate Catholics, and out of our paſſionate Deſire to ſerve and ſave your Majeſty's Father in that Exigency, your Brother and we ſubmitted to whatever Articles were propoſed by the ſaid *Iriſh*; yet as advantageous as thoſe Articles were to them, and as prejudicial as they were to us, the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners could not be prevailed with to ſign them, until the 17th of *January* 1648, when they well knew, it was too late to prevent what followed the 30th following, which Articles, whoſoever reads will find them the moſt traiterous that were ever made by Subjects with their Prince.

We thus finding that we could not do what we would for your Father, and vainly hoping the *Iriſh* might be more loyal and faithful to your Brother, we joined ourſelves to them, and continued with them, till we found it was more for his Service to leave them, than longer ſtay with them, their Armies proving cowardly and treacherous, and their Clergy charging us with their Crimes, though we ſtood untill we loſt our Lives by fighting with our Countrymen in the Field, while they ſaved theirs, by running into the neighbouring Woods and Bogs. Though we were the only Party that ſtood, and the *Iriſh* the only Party that run, at the Fight at *Dublin*, yet their Eccleſiaſtics charged us as the Occaſion of that Defeat, and the ſame Cauſe producing the ſame Effect, elſewhere the Clergy openly preached, that they could expect no better Succeſs while they joined with us that were Heretics; and being diſappointed in their frequent Attempts to murder the Duke of *Ormond*, and charging all their Miſcarriages on his want of Conduct, whereas their ſupreme Truſts had the whole Conduct of their Army, and his Grace nothing left but the bare Title of General; and he refuſing to quit his empty Command at their Deſire, at a great Meeting of their Biſhops and others their dignified Clergy, they fixed up a public Excommunication againſt him, and all that ſhould join with him, or adhere to him; which forced his Grace to leave the Kingdom *incognito*, and ſo he left us the ſecond time to ſhift for ourſelves; and we conceiving it more for your Brother's Service to leave them, than longer to join with them, we ſerving

again

again under our Countrymen's Banners, in leſs than two Years time, with our Help, the whole Kingdom ſubdued: But that Army being headed by a Junto Parliament, and they and their Confidents put into all Places of Truſt and Power in the other two Kingdoms, as well as in this, yet ſo deſirous were we to ſerve your Brother, and arrive at a laſting Settlement; and ſo well known were our Deſires and Intentions to our Brethren, and they ſo confident of our Aſſiſtance, that a few of us, without the Help of an *Iriſh* Hand, on the 13th of *December* 1659, ſurprized and ſeized the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dublin*, and in leſs than fourteen Days got the Power of the whole Kingdom into our Hands, and as ſoon as we had ſettled it, tendered the Government to his late Majeſty, with the Offer of a well-regulated and diſciplined Army to aſſiſt his Reſtoration to his other Kingdoms, and had the Honour of being the firſt of the three Kingdoms, who declared for his Reſtoration. Was not his Majeſty ſo highly pleaſed with the Senſe of this our ſeaſonable Loyalty, that he made our Tender and his gracious Acceptance to be made a perpetual Record in his High Court of *Chancery* in this Kingdom, and without any Knowledge, Petition, or Capitulation of ours, of his own free Will, gave us his Royal Aſſurance of being continued in our Employs? And when by previous or legal Grants that Grace was made unpracticable, in that Caſe, the loſing Party was to be repriſed in Value, Worth and Purchaſe, as in and by the ſaid Record, relation being thereunto had, it may and will more fully appear.

And was not moſt of us ſoon after choſe Members of Parliament in this Kingdom? and, did we not then and there, with all imaginable Circumſtances of Duty and Affection, without any Conſideration of our own Streights or Exigencies, give his Majeſty twenty-eight Subſidies, and the Inheritance of a Revenue of more than two hundred thouſand Pounds *per annum?* And ſo paſſionately deſirous were we of living like good Neighbours, good Subjects, and good Chriſtians, with the *Iriſh*, that we as readily conſented to pay his Majeſty one full Year's Profit of our Eſtates, which we afterwards made up three hundred thouſand Pounds in Money, which was then more than one Third of all the current Coin in this Kingdom, and this barely to ſupply and enable his Majeſty to exerciſe his greater Bounty to ſuch of the *Iriſh* as he knew moſt deſerving; yet was this thought too little by the *Iriſh* Agents, though we had loſt much of our Eſtates and Improvements very ſeverely by the Proceedings of the *Court of Claims*, and the ſaid Agents promiſing us an abſolute Confirmation in what we had left, without expecting more from us, we readily conſented to retrench one Third of what we then had. The aforeſaid Particulars being moſt of them Matters of Record, ſome Matters of Fact, and all demonſtratively true, let all the Annals and Records of this, or former Ages be examined, and ſee if thence can be extracted a Loyalty exceeding this of ours.

But, Oh! let it not be told in *Gath*, nor publiſhed in the Streets of *Aſkalon*, the Returns we have had for all theſe our aforeſaid Services, let them ſink in perpetual Oblivion, and never be remembered by Poſterity, that we who gave ſuch Evidences of our Loyalty to our exiled Prince, were not thought

thought fit to be employed after his Return, that we who ſo faithfully ſerved him in War and Miſery, ſhould be thrown out of his Service in times of Peace and Proſperity, our Employs being not only taken from us, without any of that promiſed Compenſation made us; but that which is yet worſe, thoſe very Employs put into the worſt of *Iriſh* Hands. Are not many of them now armed in Peace, whom we lately diſarmed in War for being Rebels? Are not many, we then made Priſoners, now made our Maſters? Are not we made Captives to them in Peace, which we made our Captives in time of War? Did we give up the conquered *Iriſh* to your Brother's Mercy to be now given up by your Majeſty to their Cruelty? Are not the Perſons, moſt rebellious, reputed now the moſt loyal and meritorious? Is not their horrid Rebellion made now the Standard of Loyalty and Merit? How often do we now hear the *Ultock Iriſh* boaſt of their Merit, that they killed *one hundred thouſand Heretics in ſix Months time*, and reproaching the *Leinſter Iriſh* that they killed not half that Number in double that time? Whoever thought that the *Boyles*, *Coots*, *St. Georges*, *&c.* ſhould be turned out and purſued as diſaffected to your Majeſty, and the *Mac-Gennis*, *Mac-Mahons*, *Oneals*, *&c.* brought into their Places, and received as good Subjects.

And as I have often heard the Britiſh *making the aforeſaid and like Expoſtulations with their King, ſo have I heard them as frequently making theſe and the like Expoſtulations with their* Iriſh *Neighbours.*

Sirs, What are our Crimes, or what have we, or our Fore-fathers done? What is the Greatneſs of our, or their Guilt, that nothing but our utter Extirpation can be our Expiation? Have not they and we been ever purſued as Beaſts of Prey, by many of you, who have given clearer Evidence of your being Wolves and Tygers, than Men and Chriſtians? Have we not dearly bought the Eſtates we have here enjoyed? Might we not have bought the beſt Land in *England* on eaſier Terms, than we paid for the worſt in *Ireland?* Did we firſt get them by Oppreſſion or Injury, that we muſt now loſe them by Perjury and Forgery, after we have made the annual Value more worth than the Inheritance when purchaſed?

You well know, that *Cataline*-like, the Evils you have done cannot be ſafe, but by attempting greater; and we as well know, that the ſpeedier is your Haſte, the ſooner you will be at your Journey's End. You muſt believe as your Church believes, and do as your Prieſts will have you do; and we well know what they would have done with excommunicated Heretics. You cannot be true to your own Principles, and continue true to us. We do not expect Grapes from Thorns, nor Figs from Thiſtles; ſuch as is the Tree, ſuch will be the Fruit; your national Principles are bad, but your Eccleſiaſtics worſe: Theſe are the two Bellows that blow up the Flame of your Wrath to the Height, that nothing but our Blood can be our Expiation. Should we give up our Lands, Stock and Improvements, ſhould we voluntarily yield ourſelves to be your Slaves, nay, ſhould we turn Papiſts, that would not ſave us, nor ſatisfy you, our original Guilt is our unpardonable Sin; we are *Britiſh*, and true to the *Britiſh* Intereſt, which can be expiated with nothing leſs than our Blood. Are not Thouſands of you yet alive, who drank not many

Years

Years ſince, too deep of that Cup, and are you thirſty ſtill? Were not Hecatombs of our ſlaughtered Brethren then Victims to your mercileſs Rage, and are you enraged ſtill? Was the Harveſt ſo pleaſant then, that now you have Power, you are ſo induſtrious to ſow the ſame Seeds again? Have you ſo ſoon forgot, that when we wanted Hands to revenge that innocent Blood which you ſo barbarouſly ſpilt then, and were utterly unable to prevent you of ſpilling more, did not God himſelf ariſe and plead our Cauſe, when our Swords could not reach you? Did not his Arm find you out? Did he not then ſend a Peſtilence and a Famine amongſt you; what the one left, did not the other take; and what both left, did not the Sword devour? And, were not theſe as inexorable to your Cries, as you had been before to ours? Did not theſe deal as ſeverely with you, as you had done before with us? Did not theſe depopulate as many Villages, Pariſhes and Towns in your Proprieties as you had before in ours? He that thus miraculouſly helped us, and has juſtly puniſhed you in that Rebellion, why think you may he not do the like for us in your next, which you now ſeem to be preparing for? We know his Almighty Arm is not ſhortned, your Exultations, your *Te Deums*, your Churchmerriment for the Exaltation of Roman Catholiciſm, may like the Muſic, or rather Howlings at *Moloch*'s Sacrifices, drown the preſent Cries of the Oppreſſed, and ſtop the Ears of Men, but will it, think you, as eaſily ſtop the Ears, or withhold the Hand of God? As we find your Malice no ways abated, ſo we wiſh and adviſe you to be very cautious how you force it upon another Trial, whether his Arm be any way ſhortened? When many of you had drunk deep of our Blood, to ſatiate your Rage, were not many of the ſame Perſons ſhortly after in the Time of Famine, as greedy of our Fleſh, to ſatisfy your Hunger; and did you *Canibal*-like eat ſeveral, and were you not at laſt, by the ſame juſt God, reſerved to be yet more chaſtiſed by the ſharpeſt and ſevereſt of *Engliſh* Hands? You made it your Sport to deſtroy us, they made it their Work to deſtroy you? They with as much Eaſe conquered you, as you before had murdered us: Their great Endeavour was to keep off our Hands from being your Aſſiſtance, and then feared no Harm which could come to them ſingly from yours.

When your ſupreme Council were conſulting how to deſtroy *Cromwell*, you know the Advice given by the Lord Viſcount *Clanmaleer*, which was to join with him, giving this as his Reaſon, that he never knew his Countrymen join with any Party, but they ſtrait deſtroyed them; you may make yourſelves as infamous to Poſterity, as he who deſtroy'd *Diana*'s Temple; you may deſtroy again much of the Country, but cannot long keep it.

What if like *Iſaac* we are now bound as a ready Sacrifice to your Rage? was it your Courage that did thus bind us, or our Submiſſion to the Will of God and his Vice gerent; and as God wrought a miraculous Delivery for him, ſo we doubt not but in his Time, which is the beſt Time, he will work the like for us? What, if by the Miſrepreſentation of a great Courtier, or greater Favourite with his Prince than with his God, we are now as the *Jews* once were to *Haman*, given up to his Hands to be deſtroyed? Have we not a Queen *Heſter* in our View, who is more able to ſave, than to deſtroy us? what

if

if we who have been as terribly formidable to the *Iriſh*, as *Sampſon* was to the *Philiſtines*, having now our Strength taken from us, are become as contemptable as he, without his Locks; yet on the Return of our Strength, we deſpair not ſoon to pull down that *Iriſh* Fabric which you have now ſet up to make us your Slaves? What if your Numbers were treble what they are, or can be, it is well known we never feared your Numbers; the more you are, the more will be to kill, to be taken and to run away? Do not think that the *Iriſh* Harp, or the fading *Flower-de-Luce* can ſecure you from the *Britiſh* and *Belgic* Lions in a Day of Trial.

You eſcaped well in the laſt Rebellion, think not to ſpeed ſo well in the next; we know you got Favour and Forfeitures enough in your laſt Rebellion to make Satisfaction for the Charge and Miſchief you may do in your next, *ſero Sapient Phryges*, wherein perhaps God may ariſe and ſpirit Men to call to account that Ocean of innocent Blood you ſpilt, and as yet unaccounted for, which Day of Reckoning, his Juſtice will not for ever delay; and though Juſtice have leaden Heels, yet it hath in all Ages been found to have Iron Hands, could thoſe who have put Arms into your Hands, put Courage into your Hearts, or other Souls into your Bodies, they might hope to make you good Soldiers. It is confeſſed by all, that the *Britiſh* were ever the beſt Fighters, and it cannot be denied but you were ever eſteemed the beſt Runners. Naturaliſts obſerve, that where Nature is defective one way that Defect is ſupplied another; ſo the Want of Courage in your Hearts is ſupplied with the better Agility of the Heels: *Oh! the Conſolation of a ſoft Bog, and a thick Wood in a Day of Battle! Some of you have complained you have been oppreſſed by* Engliſh *Governors.* It is confeſſed, that the Government of this Kingdom, being a ſubordinate Government, we as well as you have too often received Severities from powerful Miniſters; but did we ever take Rebellions, Murders, Maſſacres, *&c.* for a Cure, or *Iriſh* Blood for our Revenge? Though you may have ſome Cauſe, yet we know your Complaints have exceeded your Cauſe. We can remember the Complaint which the preſent Deputy made to his *Engliſh* Predeceſſor of great Partialities in our then Judicatures; and we as well remember, that it was deſired he would aſſign one Inſtance to juſtify his Complaint, and for his Encouragement was openly aſſured, that the Cauſe ſhould be re-heard, the injured *Iriſhman* relieved, and the offending Judge and Jury puniſhed; but we could never hear of any one Inſtance given to make good the Complaint.

Do not Multitudes of your own People rather wiſh the Return of that *Engliſh* Governor, than a Continuance under the preſent Deputy? Was not the Kingdom improved under the one? and, is it not ſunk a Moiety already of its intrinſic Value under the other? Trade was then encreaſed, Improvements encouraged, Juſtice equally adminiſtered, is it ſo now? The Army was then well governed, the Eſtabliſhments paid eighteen Months in twelve Months time, is it ſo now? All the public Debts cleared, the Kingdom well ſatisfied, and near fifty thouſand Pounds left in the Receiver's Hands. Will your preſent Deputy ever, think you, do the like; in a Word, never was Governor received with greater Acclamation, never was that Government diſcharged

with greater Satisfaction, and never was that Government left with greater Lamentation, will it be ſo now? As this is the firſt Experiment which the Crown of *England* ever made of *Ireland*'s thriving under an *Iriſh* Government, ſo it is hoped it may be the laſt; and it is our only Wiſh, that it may not now prove to be too dearly bought. It is manifeſt, by the Experience of former Ages, that the *Iriſh* lived well and ſafe under the *Britiſh* Government, and 'tis as manifeſt, that the *Britiſh* cannot live ſo under yours.

But you alſo further plead, that you are innocent, and moſt injuriouſly barred of any Benefit by that Plea, and that by the expreſs Words of the Explanatory Act.

1. You cannot but acknowledge, that in the Times of Uſurpation, you had Time without Limitation to prove your Innocence.

2. Such of you as did appear ſo, were all reſtored.

3. When conſtant good Affection was thought too narrow, the Qualifications for Innocency ſo opened the Door, that you got the whole Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare* from the then Power.

4. On the late King's Reſtoration in 1660, the Clamour of Innocency was again revived; and though the univerſal Guilt of the *Iriſh* was then fully proved, and the juſt Forfeiture of your Lives and Fortunes affirmed, as appears by the Preface of the Act of Settlement aforementioned, yet a Year's time more was allowed for Trial of your Innocence.

5. On paſſing the Explanation Bill in the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, it was made appear, that your Agents had inſerted that Bar, or Clauſe againſt Innocency in the Act of Explanation, on purpoſe to reproach the then expected Settlement.

6. The Commiſſioners for executing the Act of Settlement being prevailed with by your Agents, to put the Proof of your Guilt upon us, and they ſeverally refuſing and undervaluing the Evidence of the Soldiery, both before and ſince 1649, as Parties, by reaſon of the Satisfaction confirmed to them by the Acts, and rejecting the *Iriſh* as *Participes Criminis*, and the *Iriſh* having deſtroyed all the old *Britiſh* within their Reach, there was little Poſſibility to prove the Guilt of the moſt rebellious, many who were preſcribed by public Proclamation, and large Sums offered to any to bring in their Heads, were by theſe Reſtraints made innocent: The Marquis of *Antrim*, the only ſurviving General which the Rebels had in *Ulſter*, was openly declared innocent; and the then Duke of *Ormond* being ſo declared the ſame Day, was heard to ſay, that that Judgment was certainly erroneous; for that they heading two differing Parties, and fighting with each other, on different Authorities, could not poſſibly be both innocent; the Lords *Taaff*, *Preſton*, *Muſkerry*, and *Caſtlehaven* being the only ſurviving Generals in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, were ſo far from eſteeming themſelves obnoxious for what they did in that Rebellion, that they not only procured a Reſtoration to their former Proprieties by the Acts of Settlements, but had large Donatives of forfeited Lands confirmed to them by that Law; and three of them the Addition of new Honours conferred on them, to make them the more ſignally meritorious, and were raiſed to that Elevation of confident Merit, that they and others,

moſt

moſt active in that Rebellion, petitioned the Government here to have their Arrears ſtated, for the good Services they did his Majeſty in that Rebellion: So that by the aforeſaid Reſtraints given by the Commiſſioners, and by the powerful Intereſt of the aforeſaid Generals, and their Clergy, few or none were made Nocents, but ſuch as wanted either Friends or Money to make them innocent: But when the guilty Claimant found, that it was eaſier buying an inconſiderable Part of his Eſtate from the Soldier or Adventurer, than to run the Riſque of the Whole by the expenſive Methods of that Court, they would uſually purchaſe that ſmall Proportion, and limit their Claims to the purchaſed Part, and to that no Oppoſition being given, they were declared innocent of courſe, and being thus declared, they would ſoon after get their whole Eſtate by due Courſe of Law, though this Cheat is expreſly mentioned in the Act of Explanation; yet there may the Reader find the Decrees under the Name or Title of Decrees, *Quo ad hoc*, made good by that Law, as illegal as were their whole colluſive Decrees, paſſed after the 2d of *July* 1663, the *Britiſh* well knowing that was the Time limited by Law for their Adjudication; and the *Britiſh* preparing little or no Oppoſition againſt the worſt of the Claimants, Innocents were made as faſt as their Claims were read, and the Work was ſo ſweet and pleaſant to the Commiſſioners, that they continued making Innocents until the 22d of *Auguſt* following, fifty-one Days after the Time by Law limited was expired; and in theſe fifty-one Days made more Innocents than they had done before, and that the Benefit (deſerves a worſe Name) might be equally divided, the Commiſſioners agreed, that each Commiſſioner, in his Turn, prepare his Liſt of Claimants for that Day's Work; only the laſt Day, *viz.* 22d of *Auguſt*, there were upwards of ſeventy Claims poſted up to be heard; and their Clerk having not Time to read half the Claims, and he making that Day as many Innocents as the Court, was reported to ſhare half the Benefit of that Day's Work.

Yet as *illegal*, *corrupt*, and *horrid*, as theſe Decrees were, they muſt, and that by a *Britiſh* Parliament, be confirmed, and one Third of what was left the *Britiſh* retrenched, or not one Foot could be confirmed to the *Britiſh* by that Law, as appears to any that reads but that Act of Explanation: *Theſe were fine Innocents!* Theſe and their Nocents are like to make fair Sheriffs, Judges, and Juries of ſuch Eſtates as are ſecured, or left the *Britiſh* by that Law.

And as the *Iriſh* had theſe Encouragements in times of Peace, ſo on Enquiry it will be found, that they had as many or more in times of War, which (as appears) was begun not only with the higheſt Approbation and Encouragement of their own Clergy, but had the united Concurrence, Benedictions, and Maſſes of moſt of the Romiſh Clergy in *Europe* for their good Succeſs. *Urban* VIII. the then Pope, thought it not enough to ſend his Nuntio to be Preſident of their Councils, and to act as General over their Armies, but with him ſent his Bull, bearing Date the 17th of *May* 1642, ſix Months after the Beginning of the ſaid Rebellion, when above one hundred thouſand innocent *Britiſh* had been inhumanly butchered by the *Iriſh*, and they at that inſtant murdering more as faſt as they could; yet in the ſaid Bull, his Holineſs was pleaſed to call theſe perfidious horrid *Iriſh* Murderers, *Faithful Chriſtians*,

godly Warriors, their Rebellion *a godly Undertaking to relieve their Country*, and their poor maſſacred and murdered *Britiſh* Proteſtants, *Heretics and Workers of Iniquity*; and by the ſaid Bull, gives further Encouragement to the ſaid *Iriſh* to confeſs to any ſecular or regular Prieſt approved by the Ordinary of the Place, who on hearing their ſaid Confeſſions, was impowered to give them Abſolutions from all their Sins, how great or heinous ſoever they were.

In Imitation of this holy Example, given by his Holineſs himſelf, it is notoriouſly known, that no Penance was more uſually impoſed by their bigotted Clergy, on the vileſt Offenders, than the murdering of innocent Proteſtants, under the Name of *Heretics*; and that before they would give Abſolution, would frequently advance Monies, and promiſe their ſaying ſeveral Maſſes for their good Succeſs.

And to conclude, at the Writing hereof, there is ſuch Intelligence here obtained, which gives more than a probable Aſſurance, the ſame Spirit is now at work; and ſome of the ſaid Clergy have actually employed profligate Villains to murder ſuch Proteſtants, as are in proſpect, under God, moſt likely to preſerve the Reformed Religion in this Part of the World.

Are theſe the Doctrines or Practices of Chriſtians? Or, are they not rather the Doctrines of the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning? Well might the Heathen cry, *Sit Anima mea cum Philoſophis*; and as well may the Chriſtian ſay, *Noſtrum non eſt Evangelium, aut hi ſunt Anti-chriſti potius quam Chriſti Pontifices & Sacerdotes.*

A LIST *of the Nobility of* IRELAND, *in* 1688.

Proteſtants.	Proteſtants.	Papiſts.
Duke of *Ormond.*	Earls.	Earls.
	Inchiquin.	*Caſtlemayne.*
Earls.	*Clancarty.*	*Carlingford.*
Kildare.	*Orrery.*	*Tyrone.*
Thomond.	*Mountrath.*	*Tyrconnel.*
Cork.	*Drogheda.*	
Deſmond.	*Waterford.*	Proteſtant Viſcounts.
Barrymore.	*Mount-alexander.*	*Grandiſon.*
Meath.	*Down.*	*Wilmot.*
Oſſory.	*Longford.*	*Loftus.*
Roſcommon.		*Swords.*
London-derry.	Papiſts.	*Kilmurry.*
Donnegal.	Marquis of *Antrim.*	*Caſtleton.*
Arran.		*Chamworth.*
Conaway.	Earls.	*Sligo.*
Carberry.	*Clanrickard.*	*Waterford.*
Ardglaſs.	*Caſtlehaven.*	*Stangford.*
Rannalagh.	*Weſtmeath.*	*Tuam.*
Cavan.	*Fingall.*	*Caſhell.*

Proteſtants

Proteſtants.	Papiſts.	Proteſtants.
Viſcounts.	Viſcounts.	Barons.
Carelow.	*Bronkart.*	*Loghlin.*
Cullen.	*Galmoy.*	*Coleraine.*
Shannon.	*Kingſland.*	*Leitrim.*
Dromoore.	*Gormanſtown.*	*Donmore.*
Mazarine.	*Mayo.*	*Killard.*
Kells.	*Killmaſlock.*	*Kingſton.*
Dungannon.		*Colooney.*
Fitzharding.	Proteſtant Barons.	*Santry.*
Clare.	*Kinſale.*	*Clawnally.*
Charlemount.	*Kerry.*	*Altram.*
Powers.	*Hoath.*	Biſhops 24.
Bleſſingtown.	*Mountjoy.*	
Roſs.	*Foliot.*	Barons Papiſts.
Lisburn.	*Maynard.*	*Athenry.*
	Gorges.	*Cahir.*
Papiſt Viſcounts.	*Digbey.*	*Baltimore.*
Rathcoole.	*Lifford.*	*Strabane.*
Bareford.	*Herbert.*	

An ANSWER to a Paper importing a Petition of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix other Biſhops, to his Majeſty, touching their not diſtributing and publiſhing the late Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience.*

Vide, utrum Tunica filii tui ſit, an non? Quam cum cognoviſſet pater, ait, Tunica filii mei eſt, fera peſſima comedit eum. Gen. xxxvii. Ver. 32, 33.

With Allowance.

London, Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, for his Houſhold and Chapel, 1688.

[*The King, by this Time, had not only been induced by his Privy-Council of Jeſuits, Prieſts,* &c. *to ſet forth another Edition of his Declaration of Indulgence, but to lay a Snare for the Biſhops, by ordering them to cauſe it to be read in all Churches and Chapels through the Kingdom. In the preceding Reign, they had officiouſly read a Declaration of another Kind, namely*, of his Majeſty's Reaſons for diſſolving his Parliament; *and Advantage was taken of that Ductility then, to exact the like Conformity to the Royal Pleaſure now. But the Ends to be ſerved by the ſame Means were widely different; then the Laiety were to be*

cruſhed

cruſhed between the Church and the King; but now the Church was to be cruſhed between the King and the Laiety; and they underſtood that the Difference of Purpoſe authoriſed a Difference of Conduct: Accordingly, inſtead of the implicit Obedience expected from them, Archbiſhop Sancroft, *and ſix of his Suffragans, reſolved to remonſtrate againſt the Command impoſed, and to plead the Doctrine of Prudence, Honour, and Conſcience in their own Excuſe. This Reſolution of theirs, and the Reaſons on which it was grounded, were drawn up in the Form of a Petition, and preſented to his Majeſty by all but the Metropolitan, who was indiſpoſed, in Perſon; and it was this Petition which the notable Author of the following Piece, by his Majeſty's own Royal Authority, undertakes to anſwer.*]

An ANSWER *to a Paper, importing a Petition of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *&c.*

NOT to amuſe my Reader with any Reaſons or Excuſe of this Undertaking, let this ſuffice for both: That ſeveral Copies of this Paper, inſtead of diſtributing his Majeſty's Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, having been privately diſperſed through moſt Counties of *England*, I thought it every Man's Duty, and (among the reſt) mine, to undeceive them who have not the ſame Brains, but more Honeſty and Loyalty, than thoſe that ſent it, and beſtow ſome Ink upon the Tetter, that it ſpread no further. In order to which, and that every Man may at once ſee the Whole before him, and thereby come to the truer Concluſion, I ſhall take my Riſe from the Occaſion of this Paper, and thence proceed to the Matter of it. Now the Occaſion was thus:

His Majeſty finding it had been the frequent Endeavours of the four laſt Reigns, to reduce this Kingdom to an exact Conformity in Religion, and how little the Succeſs had anſwered the Deſign, but rather deſtroyed Trade, depopulated the Country, and encouraged Strangers; and being reſolved to eſtabliſh his Government on ſuch a Foundation as might make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him by Inclination as well as Duty, on the 4th of *April* 1687, iſſued his moſt gracious Declaration for *Liberty of Conſcience*, thereby declaring, That he will protect and maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and full Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions and Properties, as now eſtabliſhed by Law, without any Moleſtation, *&c.*——That all Execution of penal Laws for Matters Eccleſiaſtical, as Nonconformity, *&c.* ſhall be, and are thereby ſuſpended.——That all his Subjects have Leave to meet and worſhip God in their own Way, without Diſturbance.—— And foraſmuch as the Benefit of the Service of his Majeſty's Subjects is by the Law of Nature inſeparably annexed to, and inherent in his Royal Perſon, and that no one for the future may be under any Diſcouragement or Diſability, by reaſon of ſome Oaths or Teſts uſually adminiſtered; that no ſuch

Oaths

Oaths or Teſts ſhall be hereafter required of them; and that he would diſpenſe with them, *&c.*

And becauſe ſeveral Endeavours had been made to abuſe the Eaſineſs of the People, as if he might be perſuaded out of what he had ſo ſolemnly declared, his Majeſty, as well to ſtop the Mouth of the Gainſayers, as to ſhew his Intentions were not changed ſince the ſaid 4th of *April*, by a ſecond Declaration of the 27th of *April* laſt paſt, enforces and confirms the ſaid former Declaration, conjures his loving Subjects to lay aſide all private Animoſities and groundleſs Jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch Members of Parliament as may do their Part to finiſh what he has begun, for the Advantage of the Monarchy over which God hath placed him, as being reſolved to call a Parliament that ſhall meet in *November* next at furtheſt.

This Declaration was forthwith printed, and by Order of Council required to be diſtributed, publiſhed, and read in the reſpective Churches through the Kingdom: And in that it was not enjoined to be read in any the Congregations thereby permitted, what greater Evidence can there be of his Majeſty's real Intentions to the Church of *England*, when, however he ſuffered others, he owned not yet any eſtabliſhed National Church but the Church of *England*? Upon this the enſuing Paper was on the 18th of *May* following (between the Hours of Nine and Ten at Night) preſented to his Majeſty by ſix Biſhops the Subſcribers.

To the KING's *moſt excellent* MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of divers of the ſuffragan Biſhops of the Province, now preſent with him, in behalf of themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes.

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT *their great Averſeneſs they find in themſelves to the Diſtribution and Publication in all their Churches of your Majeſty's late Declaration for* Liberty of Conſcience, *proceedeth neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to your Majeſty, our holy Mother the Church of* England, *being both in her Principles, and conſtant Practices, unqueſtionably loyal, and having to her great Honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be ſo by your Majeſty, nor yet from any want of due Tenderneſs to* Diſſenters; *in relation to whom, they are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the Matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe the Declaration is founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing Power, as has been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years* 1662, 1672, *and in the Beginning of your Majeſty's Reign, and is a Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, and Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the*

the Nation, and reading it, even in God's Houſe, and in the Time of his divine Service muſt amount to, in common and reaſonable Conſtruction.

Your Petitioners therefore moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed not to inſiſt upon the Diſtribution and Reading your Majeſty's Declaration.

Canterbury.

St. Aſaph.	*Bath* and *Wells.*
Chicheſter.	*Peterborough.*
Ely.	*Briſtol.*

And here alſo for Method's Sake, and before I come to the Matter of it, I hold it requiſite that I ſpeak ſomewhat to the Perſons the Subſcribers, and the Time of their preſenting it.

As to the Firſt, the holy Scriptures ſtiles Biſhops the *Angels of their Churches*; and by the Common Law of *England*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is * *Primus Par. Angl.* The Biſhops, Lords Eccleſiaſtical ſecular †,—and ſit in Parliament *Jure Epiſcopatus*, which they hold ‖ *per Baroniam.*——The Statute (*pro Clero*) calls them Peers of the Realm *‖.——That of Queen *Elizabeth*, one of the greateſt States of the Realm †‖.—— They have Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and are not bound to obey any Mandate but the King's; and by reaſon of all this, preſumed to have a more than ordinary Influence upon the People. Our Saviour calls his Diſciples *the Salt, and Light of the World.* And why? but that they ſhould ſeaſon others with their Doctrine, and guide them, by their Example, into the Way of Peace. His Name is the *Prince of Peace*; his Sermon on the Mount was, *The Goſpel of Peace*; the Bleſſings in it are to the *Poor in Spirit, the Meek, the Merciful, the Peace-makers*, &c. His Life was one continued Practice of it; and his laſt Legacy to his Diſciples was *Peace.* He gave to *Cæſar* the Things that were *Cæſar*'s; and that Tribute, which yet was the Product of an abſolute Power, he not only paid it without diſputing the Authority, but commanded it to others: And though the Imperial Power after his Death was of the ſame Abſoluteneſs, yet St. *Paul* ſays not, the Senate had declared it illegal, but calls it the *Ordinance of God*, and enjoins Subjection to it. What the Apoſtles in their Time were, the ſame ever, and now challenge the Governors of all Churches; next, and under Kings, they are in the ſtead of God to the People; and where they make a falſe Step, what Wonder if the unthinking People forget the Precept, and take after the Example? They ſee nothing but (*ſub imagine luſca*) by Twilight, and conceive according to the Colour of thoſe Rods are caſt before them; they hear a Noiſe, but know not whence it cometh, or whether it goeth, and run away the Cry, without ſo much as laying a Noſe to the Ground for it. What made the People ſet up *Adoniah* againſt *David*'s Diſpoſition of the Crown to *Solomon?* *Abiathar* the High Prieſt was in the

* 4 Inſt. 5. † Idem 362. ‖ 25 *E.* III. c. 24. *‖ 8 *Eliz.* c. 1. †‖ 1 Inſt. 134.

Head

Head of them. What made the Nobles break the Yoke? The Prophets had prophecied falſly, the Prieſts applauded it with their Hands, and a fooliſh People loved to have it ſo. Or, what made the *Jews*, who had ſo often acknowledged our Saviour, turn head againſt him, and crucify him? The chief Prieſts, the Scribes and Elders had poſſeſſed the People, that the *Romans* would come and take away their City. Thus we ſee what Influence great Men have upon the heedleſs Multitude; and therefore how wary ought they to be, how they give them the leaſt Example of Diſobedience; for it is ſeldom ſeen, but where the one diſputes, the other cavils; and where the Leaders make but a Shrug at the Government, the People think it high time to be mending it. Our own Hiſtories are as one Example of it; or if they run narrow, *Tacitus* may be believed of his, *Erant in Officio, qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi. There were* (ſaith he) *ſome in Power that were more for commenting than executing the Emperor's Directions.* Nor are Diſputes or Excuſes of leſs Danger; for it is a Kind of ſhaking off the Yoke, and an * Eſſay of Diſobedience; eſpecially if in thoſe Diſputings, they which are for the Direction ſpeak fearfully and tenderly, and thoſe that are againſt it, audaciouſly. And if by ſuch Means a Fire break out in the State, it will want no Fuel, when it is kindled from the Altar.

And for the Time of their preſenting it, I ſhall conſider it as it may reſpect the preſent Circumſtances of the Kingdom, or that half Scantling of Time they gave his Majeſty to conſider of their Excuſes.

As to the former, the Glut of Reformers in *Edward* the Sixth's Time was great, and the Qualifications ſo indifferent, that the Church of *England* has ever ſince laboured under it, and the ſame Elements that compounded her, half deſtroyed her: For, as the Laws, not the Doctrine, brought them firſt together, they no ſooner found themſelves ſtreightned in the *One*, than they made it up with the *Other*, and themſelves ſomewhat in the Broils, that were otherwiſe nothing in the Peace of the State: Theſe Humours, during her, and King *James*'s Reign, lay fermenting in the Body, but in his Son's, broke out into a Peſtilence. The Crown fell, the Church followed it, and the moſt diligent Enquirer might have ſought *England* in herſelf, yet miſſed her; till at laſt it pleaſed him, whoſe only it is to ſtill the Raging of the Sea, to ſay to the Madneſs of the People, *Huc uſque, nec ultra.* His late Majeſty King *Charles* the Second was reſtored; and ſo little averſe were the Catholic Lords to the Church of *England*, that their Votes, which otherwiſe might have kept them out, brought them once more into the Houſe of Peers; nor were they ſcarce warm in their Seats, before the Act of Uniformity was paſſed, and driven with that Violence, that it had like to have overturned all again. The Diſſenters were not fit for Employ, they had Money in their Purſes, and the World was wide enough; the Catholic Lords were leſs to be truſted, they cumbered the Ground, and 'twas but fit they were down. There remained nothing but to caſt out the Heir, and then the Inheritance would be the eaſier divided. And here alſo it pleaſed God to appear in the Mount; he plucked

* Lord *Bacon*'s Eſſay of Subjection.

him out of the deep Waters, and ſet him on the Throne of his Anceſtors: And as he came to the Crown through the greateſt of Difficulties, he has been preſerved in it by no leſs a Providence. He ſtifled two Serpents in the Cradle of his Empire, and in a three Years Government conquered all Example in his own. And now, when our troubled Waters had begun to ſettle again, what Need of whiſtling up the Winds for another Storm? When the Wounds of the Kingdom were almoſt cloſed, what Charity was it to unbind them too ſoon, or under Pretence of eaſing the Patient, to ſet them bleeding a-freſh? In a Word, when the Brands of our late Rebellions lay ſmothered in their almoſt forgotten Embers, what Prudence was it to rake them into another Flame? I ſee little of the Dove in it, and am loth to ſay, too much of the Serpent.

And for that half Scantling of Time they gave his Majeſty to conſider of their Excuſes, it ſeems here alſo, that the Spirit of Direction (like *Baal* in the *Kings*) was ſome way or other out of the Way. The Declaration was no new Thing, it had been publiſhed the 4th of *April* 1687, and his Majeſty had received the general Acknowledgments of the Kingdom for it, which argued their Satisfaction in it. Their Corn was in the Ground, and now, if ever, was the Time to ſow Tares; and therefore, to prevent their choaking it, his Majeſty the 27th of *April* 1688, (which was one full Year, and three Weeks after) enforces his firſt Declaration, and commands it to be read in all Churches within ten Miles of *London*, on the 20th and 27th of *May*, and in all other the Churches through the Country on the 3d and 10th of *June* following, time enough (one would think) to have conſidered the Matter, ſo as to have given the King ſome time to have adviſed. Whereas on the contrary, they make no Scruple of it, till the 18th of *May*, about Ten at Night, and then (the 19th being a Day appointed for Hunting) they preſent the Paper before-mentioned, as well knowing, that if his Majeſty had an Inclination of countermanding his Declaration, he was ſo ſtraitned in time, that he could not do it, for it was to be read the Day after. And, what can be rationally interpreted from it, but that they had been all that while numbering the People, to ſee whether the Party were ſtrong enough? And I am the rather inclined to it, for that ſince the Time of the firſt Declaration, the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* has not been ſo much in Vogue as it was formerly; it would keep cold for another Time, and to have preſſed it now, who knows but the People might have believed it? In ſhort, *Nathan*, *Zadoc*, &c. had ſome Pretence for oppoſing *Adoniah*; *Me thy Servant, and* Zadoc *the Prieſt, he hath not called.* So *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, were Eccleſiaſtical Princes, and thought they might have as much Right to govern as *Moſes*: But when the Church of *England* (founded on the Law of *England*) acknowledges the King ſupreme in all Cauſes, themſelves * *infra ætatem, & in cuſtodia Domini Regis*; when the King, by his Declaration, has ſecured them in their Religion, Poſſeſſions, and Properties, and by virtue of his Royal Prerogative (and for the Quiet of the Nation) only indulged it to others (yet making no Doubt of

* *Glan.* l. 7. c. 1. *Bract.* l. 5. 427.

the

the Parliament's Concurrence to it) is it juſt that their Eye be evil, becauſe the King's is good? Or, muſt the King of Heaven be confined to a Party? I never heard that Diſobedience was any Qualification for it; and therefore if they will not enter themſelves, why do they ſhut it againſt others that would enter?

But perhaps the Petition (if yet there can be any Reaſon for the Breach of a Duty) may give us the Reaſon of it. The Title ſays, *In behalf of themſelves, and others of their abſent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes.* Which makes good what I before hinted, that inſtead of diſtributing and publiſhing his Majeſty's Declaration to be read in their reſpective Dioceſes, as in bounden Duty to their ſupreme Ordinary the King, they ought to have done; and the Clergy, in reſpect of their Canonical Obedience to them, muſt have obeyed under the Pain of Suſpenſion, and in caſe of Contumacy of Deprivation; they had been feeling the Pulſe of their Clergy, and finding little Return from them, but *ſpeak, Lord, for thy Servant heareth*, they concluded the Flock would follow the Shepherd; and conſequently, if the Party were not ſtrong enough, the Multitude of the Offenders might make it diſpuniſhable; whereas it has been ſeen, that a Ferry-boat's taking in too many Paſſengers, to encreaſe the Fare, has been often the Occaſion of ſinking all together. And if the Loyalty of the Church of *England* receive any Blemiſh by it, what can they ſay, but that ſhe was *wounded in the Houſe of her Friends?* For by the ſame Reaſon, that a Metropolitan refuſes the Injunctions of his ſupreme Ordinary the King, by the ſame Reaſon may a Dioceſan refuſe his Metropolitan, and every inferior Clergyman his Dioceſan; and when the Chain is once broken, you may diſpoſe the Links as you pleaſe.

But the Petition ſays, *It was neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty.* No: Then why was it not complied with? *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, ſaith St. *James*; nor will it be poſſible to clear that Son of Diſobedience, that ſaid *I go*, but went not. A Biſhop (as before) is not bound to obey any Mandate but the King's; which Exception proves the Rule, and that he is inexcuſably obliged to obey the King's; for all Biſhops are ſubject to the Imperial Power, who is to be obeyed againſt the Will of the Biſhop. *Mauritius* * the Emperor (ſays Biſhop *Taylor*) commanded St. *Gregory* to hand an unlawful Edict to the Churches; the Biſhop adviſed the Prince, that what he went about was a Sin, did what he could to have hindered it, and yet obeyed. It was the Caſe of *Saul* and *Samuel*: The King deſires *Samuel* to join with him in the Service of the Lord; he, with the Liberty of a Prophet, refuſed at firſt, but afterwards joined with him: Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop, in the ſame Place, further ſays, *That even the unlawful Edicts of a lawful Prince may be publiſhed by the Clergy*: How much more then thoſe that are lawful? And that this Declaration is ſuch, I ſhall ſhew preſently, when I come to ſpeak to their Word *Illegal*. In ſhort, the † Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is Ordinary of the Court, and a Biſhop's private Opinion may be Warrant enough for him to ſpeak when he is required, but ‖ not to reprove a Prince upon Pretence of Duty.

* *Doctor Dub.* fol. 606. † *Heylin's* Life of A. B. *Laud*, 209. ‖ Id. *Doctor. Dub.* 608.

Our holy Mother the Church of England *being both in her Principles and conſtant Practices unqueſtionably loyal.* Nor have they hitherto appeared other, and if not Religion, moral Gratitude muſt have obliged them to it. All the Biſhoprics of *England* (but * *Sodor* and *Man*, which was inſtituted by Pope *Gregory* the Fourth) are of the Foundation of the Kings of *England* †, and thoſe in *Wales* of the Prince of *Wales*: Nor is it leſs than Reaſon, that they look up to the Hand that fed them; Or, to whom more juſtly ought they have paid the Tribute of Obedience, than to him that took them from the Flock, and ſate them among Princes? In a Word, the late War was *Bellum Epiſcopale*; and if King *Charles* the Firſt would have confirmed the Sale of Church Lands, he had ſaved himſelf: And why then do they reproach the King his Son with their Loyalty, when they inſtance the contrary in ſo ſmall a Trial of that Obedience; eſpecially when, were the Matter doubtful, the Preſumption were for Obedience, and even unjuſt Commands may be juſtly obeyed? For as we fear the Thing is unjuſt, ſo have we Reaſon to fear the Evil of Diſobedience, for we are ſure that is evil; and therefore we are to change the ‖ ſpeculative Doubt into a practical Reſolution, and of two Doubts take the ſureſt Part, and that is to obey; becauſe, in ſuch Caſes, *Reum facit Superiorem, iniquitas Imperandi; innocentem Subditum, ordo ſerviendi:* The Evil (if there be any) is imputed to him that commands, not him that obeys, who is not his Prince's Judge, but Servant; and they that are under Authority are to obey, not diſpute; nor ſhall any thing done by virtue thereof be ſaid to be § *contra pacem. David* commanded *Joab* to put *Uriah* in the Head of the Battle, to the End that he might fall by the Enemy: *Joab* obeys; *Uriah* is killed; and yet not *Joab*, who might have prevented it, but *David*, who commanded it, is charged with the Murder. In a Word, to pretend Loyalty for a common Principle, and yet make Diſputing and Diſobedience the Practice of it; what is it but a drawing near with the Mouth, when the Heart is fartheſt from it? The Voice perhaps may be the Voice of *Jacob*, but the Hands are the Hands of *Eſau*.

And having to her great Honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be ſo by your Majeſty. And, does his Majeſty leſs than acknowledge it in this Declaration? He has in the Word of a King ſecured to them their Religion, Poſſeſſions, and Properties; and, why? but to aſſure them, he repented not the Character: And it was their Intereſt, if not Duty, to keep it up; nay, the Honour of their Church depended on it, inaſmuch as Men value Things according to the preſent Good or Evil they do in the World; and what Advantage can that Religion give us to another Life, when it ſhall be found miſchievous, or deſtructive to this? They have, I ſaid, the Word of a King for their Security; but if they force him in his own Defence, to ſecure againſt it, whom can they blame but themſelves, who firſt made the Challenge? *Abiathar*'s Service to *David*, was acknowledged by *Solomon*; but when he once began to boggle, he forgave, but removed him. And our Biſhop *Bonner*, though he got his Biſhoprick by thwarting the Pope, yet he loſt it again by

* 4 Inſt. 285. † 1 Inſt. 94, & 97. ‖ Id. *Duct. Dub.* f. 136, & 531. § 9 *Coke* 68. 10 *Coke* 70.

oppoſing

oppoſing the King. In a Word, the holy Spirit in the *Apocalypſe*, acknowledges the good Works of the Seven Churches of *Aſia*, but bids ſome of them remember whence they had fallen, and repent, and do the firſt Works, or he would remove their Candleſtick.

Nor yet from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters. No! Why then have thoſe penal Laws been executed with ſo much Rigour againſt them? Or, why are they ſo averſe from having them eaſed at preſent? What brought them into this Kingdom, I have touched before, and what turned them out again, our Trade with them is demonſtrable enough in the late Proteſtants of *France*. I will not ſay, but they might have been kept out at firſt; but being ſettled and embodied into a People, it may ſeem ill Policy to remove any greater Number to gratify a Leſſer. It is not the Nobility, or the Gentry, that are the Traders; nor is it the Gown that enriches more than particular Perſons; but the Trade of the Merchant, and the Induſtry of the middle Sort, that enriches a Nation, and without which *Vena porta*, let a Kingdom have never ſo good Limbs, it will have but empty Veins. It was Trade gave *England* its firſt Credit abroad, and the Manufacture at home found Matter to it; the one drained other Kingdoms to water our own, and the other brought a Balance to it, in making the Export come up to the Import, and both together ſecured the Dominion of the Sea, and made the Wealth of either *Indies* a kind of Acceſſary to it; and all this carried on by the middle Sort of People. Take our Sea-ports, and the Seaman is but here and there a true Church of *England* Man; the Merchant that employs him not much better at Heart; the Artiſan through the Kingdom has more than a Spice of the Diſeaſe; and the Body of the People not leaſt infected with it. However, let them be quiet within themſelves, and they diſpute no Authority; but when they are uneaſy, and mewed up at home, what wonder if they change it for a freer Air? What makes us complain of the Want of Trade? That our Neighbours have gotten into our Manufacture: That our Ships are not ſo well manned as formerly, and the Rents of Lands fallen: The Reaſon is obvious, ourſelves have cut off our own Hands. The Merchant ſits down with what he has, or turns Builder; the Workman carries his Art with him; the Seaman will have his Opinion as well as his Pay; and the Lump of the People their Conſciences, or good-night Landlord! whereas, ſince his Majeſty's late Indulgence, Trade is viſibly encreaſed, Building ſtops of itſelf, the Kingdom begins to people again, and the numerous Addreſſes on this Occaſion, ſpeak ſo general a Satisfaction, that if ſuch be the Dawn, what may there not be expected from its full Day? And is there no Equity, that the Catholic alſo come in for a Share, though the Word *Diſſenter* ſeems not (in proper Speech) to comprehend him; for neither the Law of *England*, or themſelves, ever knew him by that Name? However, that ſome Tenderneſs might be due to them, may be gathered from the *Engliſh* Litany. The Church of *England* knows, the King profeſſes the Faith of *Rome*; and therefore when they beſeech God, *That it may pleaſe thee to keep and ſtrengthen in the true worſhipping of thee in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs of Life, thy Servant* James *our moſt gracious King and Governor*, what do they mean by it? If after the Way which ſome

of

of them call Idolatry, ſo worſhips he the God of his Fathers, and they beſeech God to keep and ſtrengthen him in the true worſhipping of him, they imply that Worſhip to be a true Worſhip; and if they do not believe it, and yet uſe the Words, how will they avoid a Sin? for whatever is not of Faith, is Sin. In a Word, the King has made a general Indulgence to all his Subjects, the Catholics fall under no particular Exception in it; and therefore the Law of Reaſon, as well as the Law of the Land, gives them the Benefit of it.

In relation to whom, they are willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhall be thought fit, when that Matter ſhall be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation. What the Temper hitherto has been, is but too ſenſible already, and what it is like to be for the future, may be gueſſed by what is paſſed. The King (who by the Law of *England* is *Supremus in Eccleſiaſticis*) has thought fit, conſidered, and ſettled the Matter; and were a Parliament now ſitting, the * King is ſole Judge, all the reſt but Adviſers. The Royal Prerogative is a Part of that † Law of the Land, and by that Authority, the King has ſettled it; and therefore it becomes no Man to be wiſer than the Law. Nor is the Advice of *Ignatius* to his Clergy foreign to it, *Nolite ‖ Principes irritare ut acerbentur, ne anſam detis iis qui illam contra vos quærunt.* Provoke not Princes, ſaith he, to become bitter, leſt ye hand an Occaſion to thoſe that ſeek one againſt ye. But ſuppoſing it a Matter only cogniſable in Parliament, why could not they have held till then, and in the mean time obeyed? eſpecially when the King had, by the ſame Declaration, declared his Reſolution of calling a Parliament in *November* next at fartheſt; and our Law ſays, *Extra* § *Parliamentum nulla petitio eſt grata, licet neceſſaria.* No Petition, how neceſſary ſoever, is grateful out of Parliament. Or, how then could the Convocation be concerned in it? for (beſides that the Matter is merely political, and ſingly reſpects the Quiet of the Kingdom) if the King, who is ſupreme Ordinary of all *England*, may by the ancient Laws of this Realm, and without Parliament, make Ordinances and Conſtitutions for the Government of the Clergy, and deprive them for Non-obedience thereunto, as has been more ‖* than once reſolved, he may; what have the Convocation to be conſulted in it? eſpecially when they have ſo often, in *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the ‖† the Second, and *Edward* the Third's Time, been commanded by the King's Writ, that as they love their Baronies (which they hold of the King) that they intermeddle with nothing that concerned the King's Laws of the Land, his Crown and Dignity, his Perſon, or his State, or the State of his Council or Kingdom: *(Scituri pro certo quod ſi fecerint, Rex inde ſe capiet ad Baronias ſuas)* willing them to know for certain, that if they did, the King would ſeize their Baronies. And by the Statute of *Henry* ‖‖ the Eighth, it is provided, That no Canons or Conſtitutions ſhould be made, or put in Execution by their Authority, which were contrariant, or repugnant to the King's Prerogative, the Laws, Cuſtoms, or Statutes of the Realm. In a Word, the King has commanded, they have diſobeyed, and by their ill Example perverted others,

* 22 *E.* 3. 3. † *Stan. Pl. Cor.* 162. 1 Inſt. 97. ‖ Epiſt. 12. § 4 Inſt. 11. ‖* *Crook Jac.* 37. *Moore* 755. ‖† 4 Inſt. 322. ‖‖ 25 *H.* VIII. c. 19.

and

and are yet very uncondeſcending (for ſo the People word it) themſelves. And what would *Henry* the Eighth have done in ſuch a Caſe, made Uſe of his laſt Argument, or thrown up the Game for a few croſs Cards?

But among many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe this Declaration is founded upon ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, as has been often declared illegal in Parliament: And what were thoſe Conſiderations? If a Man ſhould put an ill Conſtruction upon them, it may be ſaid, their Lordſhips never intended it; and if they intended not to amuſe the People, why did they not ſpeak plain *Engliſh*, and ſpecify thoſe Conſiderations? inaſmuch as all Petitions ought to contain Certainty and Particularity, ſo as a direct Anſwer may be given to them; which could not be here: For whatever the King's Anſwer might have been, ſomewhat more alſo might have been hooked in from the Words; and *Alexander* would have given it a ſhort Anſwer, *(Aut Ligna inferte, aut Thus.)* Either made it a Chimney or an Altar. But it ſeems it moved in ſundry Places, though the beſt Scripture for this pretended Illegality, be a Declaration in Parliament: Their Lordſhips inſtance nothing beyond their own Time; but I conceive it not impoſſible to bring them thoſe of elder Times, that have been ſo far from doubting the King's Diſpenſing Power, that they held it unqueſtionable.

The Statute 1 *Hen.* IV. *cap.* 6. ſays, The King is contented to be concluded by the wiſe Men of his Realm, touching the Eſtate of him and his Realm, ſaving always the King's Liberty, *i. e.* his Prerogative of varying from that Law, as he ſhould ſee Cauſe.

In the Parliament-roll, 1 *Hen.* V. *n.* 22. the Statutes againſt Proviſors are confirmed; and that the King ſhall not give any Protection or Grant againſt the Execution of them; ſaving to the King his Prerogative *.

And what was meant by that, may appear by a prior Roll of the ſame Year, *N.* 15. where the Commons pray †, That the Statutes for the putting Aliens out of the Kingdom, may be held and executed: The King conſents, ſaving his Prerogative, and that he diſpenſe with ſuch as he ſhall pleaſe. Upon which the Commons anſwer, That their Intention was no other, and by the Help of God never ſhall be.

Queen *Elizabeth* hath diſpenſed with the ancient Form and Manner of inveſting and conſecrating of Biſhops; and the Parliament of the 8th of her Reign, *cap.* 1. declares it lawful, as being done by her inherent Prerogative. And when, by the ſame Prerogative or Privilege, and Royal Authority (for ſo it is worded) ſhe diſpenſed with the Univerſities, *&c.* ſo Popiſh a Thing as *Latin* Prayers, and which their Lordſhips the Biſhops ſtill uſe in Convocations, though it be directly contrary to the Statute 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. for uſing the Common Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue only; what is meant by it, but that the Queen might lawfully diſpenſe with that Statute? for, if otherwiſe, there is no eccleſiaſtical Perſon in the Kingdom, but would have found the temporal Cenſures too heavy for him, when it had been too late to have aſked a Parliamentary Conſideration, whether legal or not.

* Serj. *Rolle*'s *Abridg. 2 part. tit. Prerog.* 180. † *Id. Tit. Prerog.*

And

And in particular, in the Years 1662 *and* 1672, *and in the Beginning of your Majeſty's Reign.* As to the firſt of which, Matter of Fact ſtands thus: King *Charles* II. by his Declaration from *Breda*, had declared Liberty for tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhould be diſquieted for Difference in Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. And in his Declaration of the 26th of *December* following ſtood firm to it, but that no ſuch Bill had been yet offered him. While it thus lay, an Act of Indemnity, and one other of Uniformity were paſſed: The firſt regenerated themſelves; and the ſecond, with the old Ingredient, *the Growth of Popery*, was a probable Way to exclude others. The 25th and 26th of *February* the Commons come to ſome Reſolves againſt that and Diſſenters; which, with the Reaſons of them (wherein yet they declare not the Declaration illegal) they preſent his Majeſty on the 28th in the *Banqueting Houſe*. The King complies; and it was too ſoon after a Rebellion to have done otherwiſe: However, if they had declared it illegal, it was but the ſingle Opinion of the Commons, wherein the Lords made no Concurrence: And therefore to ſay, this diſpenſing Power was in the Parliament of 1662 declared illegal, when (in common and reaſonable Conſtruction) a Declaration in Parliament is intended of both Houſes of Parliament; why may it not be as well urged, That thoſe other Votes and Reſolves of the Commons, touching the Bill of Excluſion, were a legal Declaration in Parliament, when yet the Lords ſwept their Houſe of it?

Then, for that other of 1672, the King, in the Interval of Parliament, was engaged in a War with the *Dutch*, and, to ſecure Peace at home while he had War abroad, had put forth a Declaration for Indulgence to Diſſenters: The Parliament meet, grant a Supply of twelve hundred thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds; and, without charging the Declaration with Illegality, pray his Majeſty to recal it. The Argument prevailed, and the King did it; which ſhews, that it was in the King's Option not to have done it, or done it.

And laſtly, for that other in the Beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, that alſo (without declaring it illegal) was but ſome Heats of the Commons. There were at that time two open Rebellions; the King (who is ſole Judge of the Danger of the Kingdom, and how to avoid it) had granted Commiſſions to certain Perſons not qualified according to the Statute 25 *Car.* II. The Commons offer to bring in a Bill for the indemnifying thoſe Perſons: The King knew his own Authority, and ended the Diſpute. And if any Man doubts the Legality of the King's diſpenſing with that Statute, a ſubſequent Judgment (in the Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*) has determined the Point*; and that the Power of diſpenſing with penal Laws, upon Neceſſity, or urgent Occaſions, of which the King is ſole Judge, is an inſeparable Prerogative in the King, not given him in Truſt, or derived from the People, but the ancient Right of the Crown, innate in the King, and unalterable by them. And that this has been the ancient Judgment of the Judges from time to time, I ſhall meet with the Occaſion of ſhewing it in the next Paragraph.

* *Trin. 2. Jac.* II. *in B. R.*

And

And is a Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation both in Church and State. And ſo indubitably is it, that nothing can be more: For the beſt of Laws being but good Intentions, if a Prince ſhould be tied up to ſuch unalterable Decrees, as in no Caſe whatever he might vary from them, it might ſo happen, that what at one time was intended for the Good of Church and State, may at another prove the Deſtruction of both, if not as timely prevented. The preſent Caſe is a pregnant Inſtance of it: One would have thought, that the frequent Endeavours of the four laſt Reigns, for the reducing this Kingdom to an exact Conformity in Religion, might have anſwered the Deſign; but (if his Majeſty in his Declaration had not told us his Thoughts of it) our own Experience might have taught us, the Effects thereof have in a manner brought the Kingdom to nothing: And what ſhould the King have done in this Caſe; ſate ſtill, and expected a Miracle, or interpoſed his Royal Authority for the ſaving it? The Queſtion anſwers itſelf: And if the Power of diſpenſing with penal Laws, were not inſeparably and unalterably in him, how could he have done it? What elder Parliaments have declared in it, I have already ſhewn; and that the Judges ſucceſſively have gone with it, is, or may be, obvious to every Man.

Such was the Reſolution of all the Juſtices in the Exchequer Chamber, 2 *Rich.* III. 12. and that the King might grant Licence againſt a penal Statute. And what is that but a diſpenſing with it? In like manner, by all the Juſtices in the ſame Place, 2 *Hen.* VII. 6. that the King may grant a *non obſtante* to a penal Statute, though the Statute ſay, ſuch *non obſtante* ſhall be merely void; and ſuch was the Caſe there.— The 13 *Hen.* VII. 8. to the ſame Purpoſe.—Allowed for good Law, *Plowd. Com.* 502 — Confirmed by Sir *Edward Coke*, 7 *Coke* 36.—and 12 *Coke* 18, 19. And laſtly, by a Judgment in his now Majeſty's Reign, of which before. And if ſo neceſſary a Part of the Government, ſo ſolemnly determined by Parliaments and Judges, is fit to be ſlighted, or not obeyed, which amounts to the ſame, I leave it to every Man.

That your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, and Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the Nation, and reading it even in God's Houſe, and in the Time of his divine Service, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable Conſtruction. And on the other hand I conceive, that both in *Prudence*, *Honour*, and *Conſcience*, they were highly obliged to it: For what is *Prudence*, but the active Faculty of the Mind, directing Actions morally good to their immediate Ends? That this Declaration is morally good appears by the Purport of it; and that is, *his Majeſty's Deſire of eſtabliſhing his Government on ſuch a Foundation as may make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him by Inclination as well as Duty.* And what greater *Prudence* could there have been, than by their Lordſhips diſtributing that Declaration as enjoined to them, and by their Paſtoral Authority requiring it to be read in all Churches, *&c.* to have directed it to its immediate Ends, which were the eſtabliſhing the Government, and making the Subjects happy? Or, if Wiſdom muſt come in for a Share, the Offices of that are Election and Ordination; the Choice of right Means for, and ordering them aright to, their End.

The right Means of quieting the Nation was before them; and I think it no Queſtion, whether their Lordſhips not diſtributing it, has ordered it aright to the End. The King had enjoined it to be publiſhed, and Wiſdom, in this Caſe, like Scripture, is not of private Interpretation, but lies in him that has the Power of commanding, not in him whom Conſcience binds to obey. In a word, if Obedience in Subjects is the Prince's Strength, and their own Security, what Prudence or Wiſdom could it be, by weakening the Power of commanding, to leſſen their own Security?

Then for *Honour* and *Conſcience*, though in this Place they ſeem to mean the ſame Thing, and may be both reſolved into *Nil conſcire ſibi*, yet I'll take them ſeverally. And how ſtands it with the Honour of *the Church of* England, *both in Principles, and conſtant Practices, unqueſtionably loyal, and to her great Honour, more than once ſo acknowledged by his Majeſty*, to ſtart aſide in this Day of her Trial? Both the laſt *Armaghs*, *Uſher* and *Bramhal*, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, Biſhop *Morley*, &c. have all along, by their Doctrine and Practices, beat down that other of reſiſting Princes, in that *the Church of* England *held no ſuch Cuſtom*: nor have the moſt eminent of her Clergy, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Scott*, and others, until this laſt uncomplying Compliance, taken any other Meaſures. And ought not their Practice now to have made good their Principles? Or that Advice of the preſent Biſhop of *Ely* to the Church of *England*, to have been conſidered and followed *? *Let her be thankful* (ſaith he) *to God, for the Bleſſings ſhe hath, and unto the King, under whom they will be continued to her; and take Heed of overturning or undermining the Fabric, becauſe ſhe cannot have the Room that ſhe would chooſe in it.* And what greater Aſſay to it can there be, than Diſobedience? inaſmuch as he that thinks his Prince ought not to be obeyed, will, from one thing to another, come at laſt to think him not fit to be King. Nor muſt the Anniverſary of the now Biſhop of *Cheſter* †, be paſt in Silence. *Though the King* (ſaith he) *ſhould not pleaſe or humour us; though he rend off the Mantle from our Bodies, (as* Saul *did from* Samuel) *nay, though he ſhould ſentence us to Death (of which, bleſſed be God and the King, there is no Danger) yet if we are living Members of the Church of* England, *we muſt neither open our Mouths, or lift our Hands againſt him, but honour him before the Elders and People of* Iſrael. And having inſtanced in the Examples of *the Prophets, our Saviour, his Diſciples, and Chriſtian Biſhops* under heathen Perſecutors, and demanded, whether ever the *Sanhedrim* queſtioned their Kings? *Nor muſt we* (ſaith he) *aſk our Prince, why he governs us otherwiſe, than we pleaſe to be governed ourſelves: We muſt neither call him to account for his Religion, nor queſtion his Policy in civil Matters; for he is made our King by God's Law, of which the Law of the Land is only declarative.* In a word, this and the like has been the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and when, on that Ground, his Majeſty has more than once acknowledged her Loyalty, who in Honour more obliged to make it good, than thoſe that ſerve at her Altar? unleſs (perhaps) they coin a Diſtinction to ſalve it, and that the Church may be of one Opinion, and the Churchmen of another.

* His Coronation Sermon, *pag.* 27. † His Sermon on that Occaſion, *p.* 13, 14.

And

And then in *Conſcience* their Obligation was higher: For beſides what I ſaid before, that the People are apter to follow Example than Precept, every Man (and even their Lordſhips with the reſt) is party and privy to an Act of Parliament, and bound in Conſcience to the Obſervance of it: Nor is there either Biſhop, or Clergyman in the Church of *England*, who has not ſubſcribed to the Lawfulneſs of this Declaration's being read in the Church, during the time of divine Service. As thus: Every Clergyman at the time of his Inſtitution, ſubſcribes (in a Book kept for that Purpoſe) That the King's Majeſty, under God, is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm: And that the Book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God †. Now, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now uſed in and through the Church of *England*, is enacted by Authority of Parliament, to be read in ſuch Order and Form as is mentioned in the ſaid Book: And the Rubric, *i. e.* the Order and Form how thoſe Prayers ſhall be read, is, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as much enacted as the Book itſelf; and in that Rubric, next after the *Nicene* Creed (in the Communion Service) follow theſe Words: *Then ſhall the Curate declare unto the People what Holy-days, or Faſting-days are in the Week following to be obſerved*, &c. *And that nothing ſhall be proclaimed or publiſhed in the Church, during the time of divine Service, but by the Miniſter; nor by him any thing, but what is preſcribed by the Rules of this Book*, or enjoined by the King, *or by the Ordinary of the Place.* Now, when all Clergymen have ſubſcribed, That the Book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God; and that the King has enjoined, that his Declaration be read in all Churches, during the time of Divine Service; theſe Subſcriptions of theirs (beſides the Authority of King and Parliament) conclude themſelves, from offering any thing againſt the Lawfulneſs of reading it, as it had been enjoined to them, and the Rubric required of them. And being ſo, what Excuſe can there be, why they did not read it?

Or ſuppoſe that Clauſe, *Or enjoined by the King*, had not been in the Rubric (as it was firſt inſerted in this Act of Uniformity, and every Man that was of the Convocation of 1661, knows by whom:) were none of the King's Declarations ever read in Churches (and that, during the time of divine Service) before that time? I think there were, and (amongſt many others) that of the Declaration of Sports, for one. Or that the *Ordinary of the Place* had enjoined the contrary, ought not the King, the ſupreme Ordinary, and as their Subſcriptions farther acknowledge, *the ſupreme Governor of this Realm under God*, to have been firſt obeyed? I think he ought; for the Authority of the Greater ſuperſedes the Leſſer; nor is there any Power in his Dominions, but what is derived from him. And whatever Station the King has given them in the Church, it is not to be preſumed he thereby locked out himſelf. Nor muſt a Remark of the ſaid Biſhop of *Cheſter*, in his Sermon before-mentioned, be forgotten here: *The Jews* (ſaith he *) *ſay, That the Keys of the Temple were not hung at the High Prieſt's Girdle, but laid every Night under* Solomon's *Pillow, as belonging to his Charge.* The Moral of it holds true; for when a Prince

† Eccleſiaſtical Canons 1603, Art. 36. * *Page* 15.

ſhall have little Authority in the Church, it is not to be expected he ſhould have much better in the State.

And *laſtly*, for their Lordſhips *ſo far making themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution and Reading of it*, &c. *muſt amount to, in common and reaſonable Conſtruction.* A Clergyman's merely reading the Common Prayer in his Church, is no giving his Aſſent to it, unleſs after his ſo reading it, he ſhall publicly, and openly, before the Congregation there aſſembled, declare his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent, to all and every thing contained, and preſcribed in and by the ſaid Book, intitled, *The Book of Common Prayer*, &c. which neceſſarily implies, that neither the Diſtributing nor Reading it, *&c.* can in common and reaſonable Conſtruction amount, to the making the Publiſher, or Reader of it, a Party to it †.

The Apoſtle ſays, *Submit yourſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake.* And upon this the Biſhop of *Hereford* grounds his Judgment for the Reading this Declaration. *The King* (ſaith he ‖) *expreſly commanding it to be read in all Churches, without requiring him that reads it, to declare either his Conſent, Aſſent, Allowing, or Liking it; I would gladly know how this is contrary to the Word of God? Shew it me. Or, if, as it is ſaid, this Diſpenſing Power be contrary to the Laws of the Land, as is declared in the Parliament* 1662, *and* 1672, *is it contrary to the Law of God? Shew it me*, Page 5, 6. *Or that to read any thing in the Houſe of God is declaring my Conſent to it?* Page 8. *No certainly*, Page 9. *For in the Reading this Declaration there is no Doctrine taught, only Matter of Fact declared, and perchance to try my Obedience*, Page 10. *And done out of pure Obedience to my King, upon God's Command, and to ſo good an End as the preſerving Truth and Peace among us; which if we loſe on this Occaſion, they will have much to anſwer for who are the Authors of it*, Page 13. Beſides whom, there are ſeveral other Biſhops of the Church of *England*, who have obeyed his Majeſty's Commands in it, albeit they may not have ſo publicly declared it. And having ſaid ſo much to the Matter of the Paper, I think I may well paſs the Prayer of it, *That his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed not to inſiſt upon the Diſtribution, and reading that Declaration.*

And therefore, upon the whole, if this Declaration had not been thought fit to have been diſtributed, as enjoined, leſs ought the ſaid Paper to have been diſperſed privately, and by ſuch previous Diſpoſition, ſtollen the Form of the Deſign into the Matter it was to work on: And conſidering the Evils we had paſſed, and that the Kingdom wanted a Lenitive, not a Corroſive, leaſt of all ought *the People on the Wall* to have been hared with new Jealouſies: The People (I ſay) who need more a Balance than a Fly, ſomewhat to moderate, not multiply their Motion.

In ſhort, Truſt is the Sinew of Society, which is the right Object of true Policy; and Diſtruſt, a diſbanding of it. The King, as he has *more than once acknowledged the Church of* England's *Loyalty*, has as often declared, that *he will protect and maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as*

† *Vid.* Act of Uniformity before every Common-Prayer Book, Par. 3, 4.
‖ His late Diſcourſe on this Occaſion.

by

by Law eſtabliſhed: And in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever. The King has ſaid it, and ſhall he not perform it? He has pledged his Royal Word, and ſhall we doubt the Truth of it? It is not with God that he ſhould lie; nor with his Vicegerent that he ſhould be changed. And therefore let us (as his Majeſty by this his Declaration conjures us) lay aſide all private Animoſities, and groundleſs Jealouſies: *Let us fear God, and honour the King*, and not diſcover the Falſeneſs of our own Hearts, by diſtruſting our Prince's.

In a word, let every Man, in his Station, contribute (*his Mite*) to the Peace and Greatneſs of his Country: Let him ſhew his Love to God, in his Obedience to his Prince: And let no Man, by ſetting up Conſcience againſt Duty, run the Hazard of daſhing the *Firſt* Table againſt the *Second.*

A true Account of the Preſervation of the Regalia of *Scotland*, viz. Crown, Sword, and Scepter, from falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Uſurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet; with the Blazon of that Family.

Edinburgh, Printed in the Year 1701.

The Atchievement of Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet, ſometime Governor of the Caſtle of *Dunnottor*, and Preſerver of the Regalia.

ARgent, a Lion paſſant, guardant, Gules, crowned with an Imperial Crown, holding in his dexter Paw, in Pale, a Sword, hilted and pomelled Or, in the dexter chief Point a Thiſtle proper, enſigned with a Crown of the laſt, and in the ſiniſter the Badge of *Nova Scotia*, as a Knight Baronet; which Shield is timbered with Helmet and Chachements befitting his Degree, on a Wreath of his Tinctures, for Creſt a Demi-man armed at all Points, pointing forth his Right-hand towards the Motto on an Eſcrol, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*; which Blazon is thus matriculate 27th of *December* 1673.

This Family carries the Lion paſſant, guardant, for the Paternal Coat of *Ogilvie*, the Sword, Crown and Thiſtle, as additional Figures of Honour granted to him by Authority, for ſpecial and eminent Service done to his King and Country, in preſerving the Honours of *Scotland* from falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh* (intimate by his Motto, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*) as is evident from the following Account inſtructed by principal Papers and Evidents. For 'tis more ſatisfactory to Man to know the Truth of Things as they were really deſigned and acted from the Teſtimony of original

ginal Papers and Documents, than from the Allegations and bare Aſſertions of Pretenders, without Proof or Inſtruction.

When the Rebels in *Britain* under *Oliver Cromwel* the Uſurper, had triumphed over the beſt of Men, and juſteſt of Kings, *Charles* the Firſt, and thoſe that perſiſted in their Loyalty to him in theſe lamentable Times of Confuſion, the Regalia or Honours of *Scotland* were delivered to the Cuſtody of the Earl *Mariſchal*, and were lodged in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunnottor*, within the Shire of *Mearns*, as a Place of greateſt Security and Diſtance from the Enemy.

The ſaid Earl being obliged to be in the Fields to defend his King and Country againſt the Uſurper, he made Choice of *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, as the fitteſt Man for his Valour, Prudence and Loyalty, to intruſt the Keeping of the ſaid Caſtle of *Dunnottor*, with the Honours, *viz.* the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, and other Monuments of the Kingdom therein, makes him his Lieutenant, and gives him the Commiſſion following.

Foraſmuch as the King's Majeſty and Committee of Eſtates, have intruſted the Care and Keeping of the Houſe and Caſtle of Dunnottor *to us* William *Earl* Mariſchal, *and have allowed forty Men, a Lieutenant, and two Serjeants, to be entertained within it upon the public Charge: Therefore we do hereby nominate* George Ogilvie *of* Barras *to be our Lieutenant for keeping of the ſaid Houſe and Caſtle, and give unto him the ſole and full Power of the Command thereof, and of the Men that are to be entertained therein, for keeping thereof under us, with Power to him to bruick, enjoy, and keep the ſaid Place, with all Fees, Dues, and Allowances belonging thereto, as fully, in all Reſpects, as any other Lieutenant in ſuch a Caſe may do. In Witneſs whereof, we have ſubſcribed theſe Preſents at* Stirling, *the eighth Day of* July, 1651.

Sic Subſcribitur, MARISCHAL.

Archibald Primroſe, Witneſs.
William Keith, Witneſs,
Alexander Lindſay, Witneſs.

The Earl *Mariſchal*, having intruſted, as ſaid is, the Government of the ſaid Caſtle, and the Honours therein, to *George Ogilvie*; he accompanies the King to *England*, and after the Battle of *Worceſter*, was taken by the *Engliſh*, and carried to *London*, where he was detained Priſoner in the Tower for a long time.

George Ogilvie of *Barras* being ſole Keeper of the Honours, and Governor of the ſaid Caſtle, which he found not ſufficiently provided with Men, Ammunition, and other Proviſions, to hold out againſt a long Siege, as the King had ordered, acquaints *John Campbell* Earl of *Loudon*, then Chancellor, who returned him the following Anſwer.

SIR,

YOUR Letter of the laſt of *October*, came to my Hands the 9th of *November* Inſtant, and the Parliament being appointed to meet here upon the 12th Day, I ſtaid the Bearer, in Expectation that I might return you the Parliament's

Parliament's Anſwer and Orders; but the Parliament not having met, and there being no Meeting of the Committee of Eſtates, I can give you no poſitive Advice nor Order: But I conceive that the Truſt committed to you, and the ſafe Cuſtody of theſe Things under your Charge, did require that Proviſions, a competent Number of honeſt ſtout Soldiers, and other Neceſſaries, ſhould have been provided and put in the Caſtle, before you had been in any Hazard; and if you be in a good Condition, or that you can ſupply yourſelf with all Neceſſaries, and that the Place be tenable againſt all Attempts of the Enemy, I doubt not but you will hold out: But if you want Proviſions, Soldiers, and Ammunition, and cannot hold out againſt all the Aſſaults of the Enemy; which is feared you cannot do, if hard put to it, I know no better Expedient than that the Honours be ſpeedily and ſafely tranſported to ſome remote and ſtrong Caſtle in the *Highlands*; and I wiſh you had delivered them to the Lord *Balcarras*, as was deſired by the Committee of Eſtates, nor do I know any better Way for the Preſervation of theſe Things, and your Exoneration. And it will be an irreparable Loſs and Shame, if theſe Things ſhall be taken by the Enemy, and very diſhonourable for yourſelf. I have here retained your Letter to the Lord *Balcarras*, hearing he is ſtill in the North, and not to come to this Country. I have written to Sir *John Smith*, to furniſh you the Remainder of the Victuals you wrote he ſhould have given you: If he be in the North you will ſend it to him, and if he be gone home to *Edinburgh*, I cannot help it. So having given you the beſt Advice I can at preſent, I truſt you will, with all Care and Faithfulneſs, be anſwerable according to the Truſt committed to you, and I ſhall continue your aſſured and real Friend,

Sic Subſcribitur, LOUDON *Cancel.*

Dated at *Finlarge*, 13th *November*.

Directed thus, *For my much reſpected Friend*, George Ogilvie, *Governor of* Dunnottor.

The Governor, *George Ogilvie*, being diſappointed of ſufficient Force and Proviſions to hold out a long Siege, and obſerving the Advances the *Engliſh* made daily in reducing the Nation, was exceedingly perplexed, how to prevent the Enemies getting the Honours of this Kingdom in their Hands; he adviſes with his Wife (a Lady of great Prudence and undaunted Courage) ſhe therefore forms a very happy Contrivance, that ſhe ſhould convey the Honours privately out of the Caſtle, and ſecure them without her Huſband's Knowledge, that when he ſhould be put to it, and tortured by the Enemy, he might freely declare he knew not where they were. In order thereto, this Lady ſends for Mr. *James Granger*, Miniſter of *Kinneff*, his Wife, in whom ſhe had great Confidence, and imparts to her the Deſign; ſhe promiſing to be faithful, they privately carried the Honours out of the ſaid Caſtle to Mr. *James Granger* the Miniſter (the other Truſtee) and put them under Ground within the Church of *Kinneff*; and the Manner how the Honours were tranſported from the Caſtle thither, was on a Servant Woman's Back, in a Sack amongſt Hards of Lint.

George Ogilvie, the Governor, not being able to hold out the Caſtle againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, that then beſieged him ſo cloſe, and expecting no Relief, and all other Forts and Caſtles in the Kingdom being in the Enemy's Poſ-

ſeſſion,

ſeſſion, enters into Capitulation with Colonel *Thomas Morgan*, and ſurrenders on honourable Terms, the Gariſon being permitted to march out of the ſaid Caſtle with Drums beating and Colours flying, which were carried by the preſent Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Son to the ſaid Captain *George* (who was the laſt Perſon who carried Colours at that Time in *Scotland* for the King) and one of the Articles of Capitulation being to deliver up the Honours (for the *Engliſh* were certainly informed they were in the Caſtle) or give a rational Account of them: Theſe are the very Words of Capitulation, which the preſent Sir *William* (the ſaid Captain *George* his Son) hath in his Cuſtody.

After the Surrender, the *Engliſh* demanded the Honours, or an Account of them. The Governor declared, he knew not where they were, for his Wife had privately taken them away without acquainting him; upon which he was put into cloſe Priſon in the ſaid Caſtle; his Lady being examined and threatned with Torture, ſhe boldly affirmed, by way of Evaſion for her own Safety, that ſhe had delivered the Honours to *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore*, who carried them abroad to the King. But the *Engliſh* diſtruſting her, put her in cloſe Priſon alſo, and ſent out a Party to the Houſe of *Barras*, to apprehend the ſaid Sir *William Ogilvie*, their only Son and Child, that they might torture him in ſight of his Parents, to extort a Confeſſion from them; but he by Providence made a timely Eſcape, and underwent much Toil and Fatigue, by travelling Night and Day, till he came to his Friends in *Augus*, where he remained *incognito*.

After the ſaid Captain *George* and his Lady had been cloſe Priſoners for a Year, in which Time they ſuffered much inhuman Uſage, by the Cruelty of the *Engliſh*, who cauſed a Centinel to ſtand at the Priſon Door, and another at the Priſoners beſide, that they ſhould not commune about the Honours: And after all, the ſaid Captain *George* and his Lady adhering to their former Declarations, that the Honours were carried abroad by the now Earl of *Kintore*, had ſuch an Appearance of Truth, that upon Mediation of Friends, Major-General *Dean* was prevailed upon to grant them Liberty to go to their own Houſe of *Barras*, upon ſuch Conditions as here follows, conform to the principal Warrant.

Whereas in the Capitulation made upon the Surrender of the Caſtle of Dunnottor, *between Colonel* Thomas Morgan *and Captain* George Ogilvie *the then Governor, it was among other Things agreed, that the ſaid Captain* George Ogilvie *ſhould deliver up the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, of the late King of* Scots, *which were in his Cuſtody, or give a good Account thereof: And foraſmuch as I have cauſed the ſaid Captain* Ogilvie *ever ſince that Time to be retained a Priſoner in the ſaid Caſtle, for not delivering the ſaid Crown, Sword and Scepter, or giving a good Account thereof. Now in regard he makes divers Pretences that the ſaid Crown, Sword, and Scepter were taken away out of* Dunnottor *without his Knowledge; and laſtly, that his Wife conveyed the ſame to a Gentleman that carried them to foreign Parts; I am willing that in caſe he ſhall procure good Security of* 2000 *or* 1500 l. Sterl. *that he ſhall render himſelf a true Priſoner to you upon Demand; as alſo that his Wife ſhall do the like, he ſhall have his Liberty out of the Caſtle unto his own Houſe, being ſeated within four Miles of the ſame, providing*

viding he do not at all go from the Houſe above three Miles; and I do hereby authoriſe you to receive ſuch Bond of him as ſaid is, for his and his Wife's further-coming, and thereupon to give him the Liberty abovementioned, for which this ſhall be your Warrant. Dated the Third of December 1652.

Sic Subſcribitur,

Direct to Captain John Garnor, *the preſent Governor of* Dunnottor. Ri. Dean.

Upon this Warrant, Captain *George* and his Lady were ſet at Liberty, and Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphie* became Cautioner for them, as by the following Bond.

WHEREAS the Right Honourable Major General Richard Dean, *hath iſſued an Order unto Captain* John Garnor, *now Governor of* Dunnottor, *that he grants Liberty to Captain* George Ogilvie, *together with his Wife (they being both Priſoners in the ſaid Gariſon) to repair to their dwelling Houſe, providing they give ſufficient Security, that they depart not above three Miles from* Barras, *being their Habitation, and that they or either of them, act nothing that is, or may be prejudicial to the Parliament of the* Commonwealth *of* England; *and likewiſe an Advertiſement or Warning given, they preſent themſelves true Priſoners at* Dunnottor Caſtle, *to the Governor thereof, or his Depute; and that the ſaid Capt.* Ogilvie *and his Wife ſhall perform the aboveſaid Articles, I whoſe Name is underwritten, do bind myſelf, my Heirs, Executors and Adminiſtrators, under the Penalty and Forfaulture of* 2000 l. *of lawful current* Engliſh *Money, in caſe of failzying to preſent, enter again, and make forthcoming the ſaid Priſoners, when the Governor ſhall ſend for them: In witneſs thereof, I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal the* 10*th of* January 1652. Sic Subſcribitur,

Sir Robert Grahame *of* Morphie,

Teſtes, Rich. Hugkes, John Turner.

Some time after this, the ſaid Captain *George* and his Lady were neceſſitate and enforced by the Rigidity and Strictneſs of the *Engliſh*, to find Security of new, as the following Bond doth evince.

WHEREAS upon Solicitation for Capt. George Ogilvie *and his Wife's further Enlargement, the Honourable Colonel* Liſburn, *Commander in Chief of all the Forces in* Scotland, *hath ordered Captain* Garnor *of* Dunnottor Caſtle, *upon Security given, to give them ſix Weeks time to go about their lawful Affairs; I do therefore engage myſelf, my Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators, Aſſigns, in the Sum of five hundred Pounds of good and lawful* Engliſh *Money, for their perſonal Appearance into the former Obligation of Confinement, ſix Weeks after the Date hereof. In witneſs hereof, I have put my Hand and Seal the* 1*ſt of* February 1653. Sic Subſcribitur,

James Anderſon,

Atteſted by John Barkley, Richard Hugkes.

Under this Reſtraint Captain *Ogilvie*'s Lady died, and he remained therein till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. and all that time he had a ſpecial

Care of the Honours, by ſending monthly clean Linen to Mr. *James Granger* the Miniſter, and his Wife, with Inſtructions to take out of the Ground, and wrap them in the ſame, leſt they ſhould be ſpoiled or tarniſhed, which the Miniſter of *Kinneff* and his Wife punctually obſerved, and were faithful in their Secrecy, till the King's Reſtoration (for which they got a pecunial Reward) and then delivered them to the ſaid Captain *George*, who, according to the King's Order, did deliver them to the Earl *Mariſchal* in as good Condition as he at firſt received them, as is evident by the following Receipt, which will demonſtratively and undeniably prove, that the aforeſaid Captain *George* and his Lady were the principal Keepers and Preſervers of the Honours of *Scotland* (whatever others pretend) and the only Sufferers therefore; which honourable Piece of Service, ſo faithfully performed, ſhould never be forgot by King or Country, in ſaving the Honours, which prevented both the Diſgrace of the Kingdom, and the irreparable Loſs of our ancient Regalia.

But notwithſtanding of this noble and good Service done by the ſaid Captain *George* and his Lady, yet at King *Charles* the Second's Reſtoration, the then old Counteſs *Mariſchal* wrote to his Majeſty, that her Son *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore* (who was then abroad upon his Travels, and knew nothing of the Matter) had preſerved the Honours, being that the ſaid Captain *George* had unwarily imparted to the ſaid Counteſs where they were hid, and how by that Contrivance of his Wife, in affirming that ſhe had delivered them to the ſaid *John Keith*, they had ſaved themſelves, and concealed the Honours from the *Engliſh*; and his Majeſty knowing nothing of Captain *George Ogilvie* and his Lady's ſpecial Service in preſerving of the Honours (in reſpect they did not timely apply) did upon the ſaid Counteſs her Miſrepreſentation, create her ſaid Son firſt Knight-Mariſchal of *Scotland*, and then Earl of *Kintore*, and ordered him a Penſion of 400 *l. Sterl.* a Year, which he enjoyed all King *Charles* the Second's Life-time, and is as yet continued to him with the ſaid Place and Dignity, for his pretended Preſervation of the Honours.

Captain *George Ogilvie*, then in the mean time in *Scotland*, being informed that the aforeſaid Counteſs and others had miſrepreſented to his Majeſty, his faithful Service, in preſerving of the Honours, by which he was like to loſe the Honour and Merit of ſo noble and eminent an Action, performed with the Hazard of his own and his Lady's Life, with the Ruin of his Fortune, he ſends to *London* his Son, the ſaid Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, to give a true Relation of the Preſervation of the Honours, who addreſſes his Majeſty with the following Petition.

To the KING's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of William Ogilvie, *Son to* George Ogilvie *of* Barras.

Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Petitioner is ſent up here by his Father, to give your Majeſty Notice, that his ſaid Father hath had, and ſtill preſerves the Crown, Scepter, and Sword of *Scotland* in his Cuſtody, long before the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed the Caſtle of *Dunnottor*, with the great Hazard of his Life, and

and long and ſtreight Impriſonment, which occaſioned the Death of his Wife. And in reſpect of your Petitioner's Father his great Intereſt with theſe Honours, he could not deſert that great Charge, to come here and attend your Majeſty himſelf.

Wherefore he hath ſent your Petitioner to have your Majeſty's particular Order, in relation to the aforeſaid Honours.

The ANSWER to the Petition was as follows:

Whitehall, 28 *September* 1660.

HIS Majeſty ordains the Petitioner's Father to deliver his Crown, Scepter, and Sword, to the Earl *Mariſchal* of *Scotland*, and to get his Receipt of them. *Sic Subſcribitur*,

LAUDERDAIL.

This Order was by the then Earl of *Lauderdale*'s Advice, who ſaid, if *John Keith* had kept the Honours, then the ſaid *George Ogilvie* was not able to deliver them; but if the ſaid *George* had the Keeping of them, it would evidently and undeniably appear who was the true Preſerver.

At this time the then old Counteſs *Mariſchal* being informed that the Honours were hid in the Church of *Kinneff*, ſhe endeavours, by all Means, to perſuade Mr. *James Granger* the Miniſter to deliver them to her; but Captain *George* getting a Surmiſe thereof, goes to the ſaid Church, and takes out the Scepter, and carries it to his Houſe of *Barras*, and takes alſo an Obligement from the ſaid Miniſter to make the reſt of the Honours forthcoming to him, as appears by his Obligement, whereof the Tenor follows,

WHEREAS *I have received a Diſcharge from* George Ogilvie *of* Barras, *of the Honours of this Kingdom, and he hath got no more but the Scepter; therefore I oblige myſelf that the reſt*, viz. *the Crown and Sword, ſhall be forthcoming at Demand, by this my Ticket, written and ſubſcribed this ſame Day I received the Diſcharge*, 28*th* September 1660. *Sic Subſcribitur*,

M. J. Granger.

Within few Days thereafter, Captain *George* gets the King's Order to deliver up to the Earl *Mariſchal* the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, which readily he obeys, and gets the Earl's following Receipt, all written with his own Hand.

AT Dunnottor *the* 8*th Day of* October 1660, *I* William *Earl* Mariſchal, *grants me to have received from* George Ogilvie *of* Barras, *the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom, entire and compleat, in the ſame Condition they were entruſted by me to him, and diſcharges the aforeſaid* George Ogilvie *of his Receipt thereof, by this my Subſcription, Day and Place aforeſaid.* Sic Subſcribitur,

Mariſchal.

Captain *George Ogilvie* not only preſerved, by his Prudence, Fidelity, and diligent Care, the Honours as ſaid is, but alſo conſiderable Writs and Monu-

numents intruſted to him when Governor of *Dunnottor* (the Way and Manner too tedious to inſert) ſuch as the King's Papers. The Receipt whereof follows,

WE William *Earl* Mariſchal *grant us to have received from* George Ogilvie, *ſome time Governor of our Caſtle of* Dunnottor, *ſome Papers belonging to the King's Majeſty, which was in* Dunnottor, *the Time of his being Governor there, in two little Coffers, which Papers conſiſting to the Number of eight-ſcore ſixteen ſeveral Pieces, whereof there are four Packets ſealed, and one broke open, of which Papers I grant the Receipt, and obliges me to warrant the ſaid* George *at his Majeſty's Hands, and all others whatſomever, by this my Warrant. Signed, ſealed, and ſubſcribed at* London, *the firſt of* December 1655.

Sic Subſcribitur, *Mariſchal.*

The ſaid Captain *George* alſo preſerved the Regiſters and Papers of the Kirk of *Scotland*, which is evident by a Receipt thereof, granted to him by the Lord *Balcarras*, by Order of a Commiſſion from the Kirk; alſo the Monuments and Charters of the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, which he delivered to *Robert Zull*, upon the Order of *Robert Honnyman*, Clerk to the Univerſity, and got his Receipt thereof. And ſicklike, the principal Papers and Charters belonging to the Family of *Hamilton*, which he delivered to *James Hamilton*, then Servant to the preſent Dutcheſs Dowager of *Hamilton*, and got his Receipt thereof, written on the End of my Lady Dutcheſs her Letter, brought by him to the ſaid Captain *George*. All which principal Receipts and Documents are regiſtrat, for Preſervation, in the Books of Council and Seſſion, being the general Regiſter of this Kingdom.

Captain *George Ogilvie* having faithfully exonered himſelf of the aforeſaid Truſts, takes Journey for *London*, to wait upon the King, by whom he was kindly received, and delivered to his Majeſty the Earl *Mariſchal*'s Receipt of the Honours; which the King having read, Captain *George* humbly requeſted it back, that it might be kept in his Family as an Evident of his and his Wife's Loyalty and good Service done to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, which his Majeſty granted, and was graciouſly pleaſed to confer a deſerved Mark of his Highneſs's Favour upon him and his Family, by making him a Knight Baronet, by a Patent dated at *Whitehall*, 5th of *March* 1661, and gave him a new Charter of the Lands of *Barras*, changing the Holding thereof, to hold thereafter Blench of his Majeſty and his Succeſſors, 3d of *March* 1662, which is ratified in Parliament 11th of *Auguſt* 1679: In which Patent, Charter, and Ratification, is narrated the eminent Service done and performed by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, and that he was the Preſerver of his Majeſty's Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Honours of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Damages ſuſtained by the ſaid Sir *George* and his Lady there through, from the Beginning of the Uſurpation: During which Time (notwithſtanding of all Temptations and Threatnings uſed againſt them by the Uſurper) they carried themſelves with the greateſt Integrity and Conſtancy, under all their Sufferings.

This

This Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* was deſcended of the honourable Family of *Ogilvie* Earl of *Airlie:* He married *Elizabeth Douglas*, Daughter of Mr. *John Douglas* of *Barras*, Brother-german to *William* Earl of *Angus*, Grandfather to the late Duke of *Hamilton*. By this Lady he had the preſent Sir *William Ogilvie*, who married *Iſabel Ogilvie*, Daughter to Sir *John Ogilvie* of *Invercarity*, by whom he hath very hopeful Children.

A clear Vindication and juſt Defence for publiſhing of the foregoing Account; with other remarkable Inſtances, and obſervable Paſſages relating to, and confirming the Truth of it.

For Truth ſeeks no Corners, fears no Diſcovery, and Juſtice is no Reſpecter of Perſons.

THAT the publiſhing an Account of the Preſervation of Crown, Sword, and Scepter of *Scotland*, from falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Uſurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Caſtle) and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, was not done of Deſign to offend, or derogate from the juſt Honour of any, far leſs thoſe of the Family of *Mariſchal* (for whom the ſaid Sir *George Ogilvie* did on all Occaſions evidence, and his Poſterity do yet continue a grand Veneration and due Regard.) But there being an Account of the Earl of *Kintore*'s Family given to be inſerted in Mr. *Alexander Niſbet*'s Book of Heraldry; in which Account, the ſole and chief Preſervation of the Honours is aſcribed to the now Earl of *Kintore*, and the then Counteſs-Dowager *Mariſchal* his Mother; and not only makes Mention of the ſaid Sir *George* in a diſhonourable Manner, but doth alſo ſmother (and might in proceſs of Time have totally obliterate) the good Service, Loyalty and Sufferings of the ſaid Sir *George* his well-deſerving Lady: And it being credibly reported, That at the ſame Juncture the ſaid Earl's Account was given to Mr. *Niſbet* at *Edinburgh*, the like Account was ſent to *London*, to be inſert in *Morery*'s Dictionary (and that a long time before the Printing and publiſhing Sir *George*'s Account) what leſs could have been done! than, in Self-defence, to vindicate the Fame and good Name, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the ſaid Sir *George* and his Lady: For the Conſideration, that the good Name and Reputation of the Righteous ſhall be vindicated and ſecured after Death, is, to a generous Nature, ſenſible of true Honour, a great Spur ond Encouragement to worthy and virtuous Deeds; and the earneſt Deſire that People, of old, had of leaving a good Name behind them, and of perpetuating the Fame and Glory of their Actions to After-ages, did animate their brave Spirits in the Purſuit of Virtue, and, with the Hazard of their Lives, to do great and glorious Exploits for their Country: And as it is the Argument of a great Mind to be moved by this Conſideration; ſo it is a Sign of a low and baſe Spirit to neglect it: Beſides, there is a certain Civility in Human Nature, which will not ſuffer Men to wrong the Dead, and to deny them the juſt Commendation of their Worth. I ſay, what leſs could have been done, than to

vindicate

vindicate the good Name and Reputation, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the deceaſed Sir *George Ogilvie* and his Lady, by publiſhing to the World the true Matter of Fact, in the whole Contrivance and Procedure, from the evident Inſtructions and Documents left by the ſaid Sir *George*, and the Account of the Tranſactions, and pregnant Circumſtances clearly by him narrated? which, it is preſumed will abundantly ſatisfy all unprejudiced and unbiaſſed Perſons, that the ſaid Sir *George* and his Lady, were the only Sufferers for, and Preſervers of, the Honours; but particularly his Lady, being of an heroic and maſculine Spirit, like the brave old *Douglas*, was eminently and mainly inſtrumental (by the Divine Aid) in preſerving of the Honours, as anon will more fully appear: For Sir *George*'s Lady not only conveyed the Honours out of the ſaid Caſtle, by her ſpecial Care and Contrivance, without her Huſband's Privity and Knowledge; but gave out and maintained, both for concealing of the Honours in a feaſible Way, and as a Mean of her own and her Huſband's Safety, and Exemption from Torture, that ſhe had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, who had carried them abroad to the King: And to confirm the *Engliſh* that it was ſo, Sir *George*'s Lady (being of a ready and accurate Wit) contrived a Miſſive Letter, as if from the now Earl of *Kintore*, giving her an Account, That the Crown, Sword, and Sceptre of *Scotland*, were ſafely delivered by him to the King; which Letter the *Engliſh* intercepting, ſhe having ſo ordered the Matter that it ſhould fall into their Hands, did thereafter almoſt believe it to be true; but before that was done, the *Engliſh* menaced and maltreated Sir *George* (and his Lady in particular) to the higheſt Degree of Cruelty, in ſo far as Colonel *Morgan* was upon the Point to expoſe her to an exquiſite Torment, by putting her in the Boots; and he ſaid, ſhe was the moſt reſolute and undaunted Woman ever he ſpoke to: For ſhe bid him do his utmoſt, ſhe'd give him no further Account of the Honours. And that the *Engliſh* were intending to have wreaked their Fury on Sir *George* and his Lady, may be ſhrewdly gueſſed, by their cauſing a Centinel to ſtand at the Priſon Door, and another at the Priſoners Bed-ſide all Night, that they (Sir *George* and his Lady) ſhould not commune nor converſe anent the Securing and Concealing of the Honours. And becauſe Sir *George*'s Lady bravely and conſtantly maintained, That ſhe had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, as aforeſaid, they, to diſgrace and affront her the more, cauſed their Provoſt-Martial to attend her, when ſhe obtained the Liberty and Favour to take the Air for ſome Hours within the Precinct of the Caſtle, ſhe being then almoſt ſtifled by a cloſe and ſqualid Impriſonment, which certainly haſtened, if not procured her Death, being a Woman of a high and fine Spirit, that would rather (like a Piece of true Steel) break than yield; for in a little time after Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphy*'s becoming Bail for her, and her ſaid Huſband's rendering themſelves Priſoners again to the *Engliſh* Governor of *Dunnottor* Caſtle upon Demand, ſhe became hectic, being then almoſt worn out, both by her former long and ſtreight Impriſonment, and by the deep Impreſſions the immoderate Care of preſerving the Honours had made on her; to which being added, the Thoughts of her remaining ſtill under Reſtraint, and the continual Damps of re-entering to cloſe Priſon; no Wonder that her high

high and noble Spirit, being as unconquerable as ſhe had then made the Honours, broke the Priſon of her Body by a happy and peaceable Death, to enjoy, as there's good Reaſon to hope, a Crown of Glory, being the promiſed Reward of the Righteous. And as this Lady excelled in Piety and Virtue, ſo there is one very remarkable Inſtance of her ſteady Integrity (which ſhould eternize her Name) that when ſhe was on her Death-bed, ſhe then, and not till then, did impart to Sir *George* her Huſband, how, and where the Honours were hid and repoſited, and took his Hand upon Oath, that although he ſhould be brought to the Scaffold to be execute, he ſhould never betray his Truſt, nor deliver up the Honours to the *Engliſh*. So by what is above narrated, it will unqueſtionably appear, that neither the now Earl of *Kintore*, nor his Mother, were either privy to, or had a Hand in conveying the Honours out of the ſaid Caſtle, nor in ſecuring and hiding of them; but after the Thing was providentially and happily done, for Sir *George*'s Lady to make Uſe of the now Earl of *Kintore*'s Name, was a very lawful Stratagem in her, and that which no generous Man then abroad would have declined to own, but would not have reaped the Fruits of Sir *George* and his Lady's Labours, nor taken the whole Reward due for their Sufferings. And that Lady might have made Uſe of Sir *John Strachan*'s Name (if Providence had ſuggeſted it) who was wont to come from King *Charles* the Second, then in Exile, to get Account of the Poſture the Caſtle and Gariſon of *Dunnotter* was in, and likewiſe to know how Matters then ſtood in this Kingdom: And for Inſtance that Sir *John Strachan* did ſo, he brought a Letter writ with King *Charles*'s own Hand, under Cover of one from the then Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, directed thus, *To the Governor and Gentlemen in the Caſtle of* Dunnottor; which Letters are yet extant, packed up, and folded in the moſt ſecret and compendious Manner. The Tenor of the King's Letter is *verbatim* as follows.

Gentlemen,

ASSURE yourſelves I am very careful of you, and ſenſible of your Affection to me, give Credit to what this Bearer ſhall ſay to you, and obſerve any Directions you ſhall receive from Lieutenant General Middleton, *you ſhall ſhortly hear again from me, and I would have you find ſome Way frequently to adverti ſe me of your Condition, which I will take all poſſible Care to relieve.*

Paris, March 26*th*, 1652. CHARLES R.

The Tenor of *Middleton*'s Letter to the Governor is *verbatim* as follows.

My dear Friend,

I Am ſo overjoyed to hear, that you, in this time, do behave yourſelf ſo gallantly, that I ſhall be moſt deſirous to do you Service; the Particulars I remit to the Bearer, my Couſin and yours, to whom give Truſt, ſince he is particularly inſtructed from him, who ſhall rather periſh, than be wanting to his Friend, and who, in all Conditions, is, and ſhall be

Yours, J. M.

The Bearer, as is ſaid before, was Sir *John Strachan*.

By

By theſe Letters it doth further appear, That Sir *George Ogilvie* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Caſtle) could not have carried himſelf with more Loyalty and Gallantry than he did. And although it be acknowledged in one Part of the now Earl of *Kintore*'s Account, given to Mr. *Niſbet*, that there could be (then) no Hopes of Succour, nor the ſaid Caſtle able to hold out long, if once attacked; yet, in another Part of the Earl's Account, it is alledged, That after Colonel *Morgan* had laid Siege to *Dunnottor* Caſtle, and that the Cannon had played againſt it two Days, the Governor capitulated for himſelf alone, and made the *Engliſh* Maſters of the Place, by which they got all the Furniture, Plate, Pictures, Books, and ancient Papers belonging to the Family of *Mariſchal*. To which it is anſwered, That there being no Relief given, and all Hopes thereof being then cut off, and but thirty-ſix Men in the Gariſon (a mere Handful in Compariſon of the [Number then requiſite to defend the Place) and all of them Day and Night upon Duty, were extremely fatigued and over-waked, yet they maintained their reſpective Poſts valorouſly for the Space of ten Days, during which Time the ſaid Caſtle was bombarded and alſo battered by the Cannon of the *Engliſh*; and when the Governor found, that the Gariſon was not able to hold out longer, and all other Forts within the Kingdom being then reduced, and under Command of the *Engliſh*, and the main Chance being ſecured, and preſerved by his Lady, *viz.* the Honours and the King's Papers, the ſaid Sir *George* (the Governor) made an honourable Capitulation, the Gariſon being permitted to march out of the ſaid Caſtle with Colours flying, Drums beating, and kindled Matches, for the Space of a Mile from the Place; and the *Engliſh* were aſtoniſhed to Admiration, to ſee ſuch a ſmall Force make ſo long and vigorous Reſiſtance againſt ſuch a prevailing Army: And the *Engliſh* expreſly told, that if the Caſtle had not been that Day ſurrendered, they were reſolved to have ſtormed it the very next Day following, which eaſily they might have done, conſidering (as aforeſaid) the bad Poſture the Gariſon was in. And that which did (ſometime before) mightily incommode and perplex Sir *George* the Governor, was a Mutiny raiſed and fomented by one *David Lighton*, who had been a Colonel abroad, yet by the ſaid Governor's Prudence, Diligence and Conduct, the Mutiny was ſuppreſſed and cruſhed in the Bud, by cauſing train-out Colonel *Lighton*, and never allowed him to re-enter the Caſtle, whereby the Soldiers were quaſhed and compoſed, and the direful Effects of that Mutiny prevented, which was to have ſacrificed the Governor, and all under his Charge, to the mercileſs Cruelty of the *Engliſh*. And it was a ſignal Act of Providence the Deſign was diſcovered: For there being ſeveral veteran Soldiers in the Gariſon, who had ſerved in *France* and other Places, moſt of them Strangers to the Governor, and getting no Pay from the Public, made the Governor's Poſt uneaſy, and alſo brought him to a deal of Charges, he being neceſſitate to give Pay to the ſaid Colonel *Lighton*; and alſo, to the Surgeon, Engineer and Cannoneer, all out of his own Pocket, he having got no Pay either to himſelf or them, from the Public. The Manner how the King's Papers was conveyed out of the Caſtle was thus: The Governor's Lady made a Girdle of Linnen, and packed them up, and ſewed them in ſo dextrouſly that no Part of the Girdle appeared more

bulkiſh

bulkiſh than t'other, and were happily carried out about a young Gentlewoman's Middle, whom the ſaid Governor's Lady had kept in the ſaid Caſtle as a Friend (for a while before) on that Deſign. And after the Caſtle was ſurrendered, as aforeſaid, and that Sir *George* (the Governor) and his Lady were caſt in Priſon by the *Engliſh*, their own private Eſtate was not only miſmanaged and neglected, but the Generality of the Country and Neighbourhood looked upon Sir *George* and his Lady as forlorn Perſons, and upon their Fortune as ruined, in ſo much that thoſe to whom they were indebted, did inſtantly diſtreſs them; and the *Engliſh* did harraſs them, by ſeizing upon and taking away of the Horſes which laboured their own Mains of *Barras*; and Sir *George* and his Lady were not only enforced to ſuffer all this, but were alſo neceſſitate to be at great Charges, during the Time of their Impriſonment, in complimenting and treating the Officers and Soldiers of the *Engliſh* Gariſon, out of their private Eſtate, and the doing whereof was the great Mean (under the Divine Protection) of Sir *George* and his Lady's Preſervation from the extreme Cruelty and Torture they were threatened with by the *Engliſh*. And after Sir *George*'s Lady had, by her Reſolution and Conſtancy, baffled all the Threats and bad Uſage of the *Engliſh*, they (the *Engliſh*) profered her and her ſaid Huſband a vaſt Sum of Money for the Honours; but that Bait, though very prevalent with a great Part of Mankind, did not in the leaſt ſtagger Sir *George* nor his Lady's Reſolutions of Integrity and Loyalty, which were as firm as the Rock on which they were then impriſoned, and remained untainted to the End, *& finis coronat opus*. So that Bribes was not able to allure them, nor Threats to fright them into a Diſcovery of theſe notable Regalia, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom. And the ſaid Sir *George* was ſo cautious and circumſpect, as to keep and leave to his Poſterity, as an Evidence of his and his Lady's Loyalty, not only all the moſt material Papers relative to the Preſervation of the Honours, but alſo all the Miſſive Letters ſent him thereanent, with the Doubles of his own Returns and Anſwers, and all the Paſſes granted by the *Engliſh* to him and his Lady from time to time, during their Reſtraint and Confinement to the Houſe of *Barras*. And the ſaid Sir *George* did alſo leave to Poſterity Memoirs of the moſt remarkable Inſtances, and obſervable Paſſages that occurred and fell out, anent his and his Lady's Sufferings and Loſſes in preſerving of the Honours; without which Adminicles, it was not poſſible to have writ truly on this Subject: But there's as much ſure Evidence, fairly exhibited, for proving the Truth of what's aſſerted, as can be reaſonably expected, or the Nature of the Thing can bear or require; and doth ſo irrefragably convince all, as to leave them nothing to ſay againſt it, unleſs there be any who will obſtinately ſay, we will not believe it, nor yet our own Eyes, nor the Verdict of our Reaſon.

And that the now Earl of *Kintore* and his Mother did aſcribe to themſelves the chief and ſole Preſervation of the Honours, and did ſo inform King *Charles* II. at his Reſtoration (before Sir *George Ogilvy* was able to apply, having then the Honours under his Care) is evident, both by the Narrative of the ſaid Earl's Account given to Mr. *Niſbet*, and alſo by the Anſwer given by King *Charles* to the then Earl of *Strafford*, when the late Earl of *Airly* (then

Lord *Ogilvy*) did ſolicit *Strafford* to repreſent to his Majeſty the eminent Service done by the ſaid Sir *George Ogilvy* and his Lady, in preſerving the Honours of *Scotland*. *By my Lord* Ogilvy's *good Leave*, ſaid the King, *it muſt not be ſo*; *for my Lady* Mariſchal *wrote to me, that ſhe and her Son* John *had preſerved the Honours*. This the late *Airly* did aver to be the King's Anſwer.

And that the ſaid Counteſs endeavoured to procure Mr. *James Granger*, then Miniſter of *Kinneff*, to deliver up the Honours to her, is evident, by her ſending of *Robert Keith* of *Whiteriggs* (then Sheriff deput of the *Mearns*) to perſuade him thereto; but Sir *George* getting a Surmiſe of the Deſign, did expoſtulate with the ſaid Miniſter thereanent, who the more to aſcertain the ſaid Sir *George*, wrote him a Letter, wherein he expreſly ſays, *I'll break my Neck before I break to you*. Theſe are Mr. *Granger*'s own Words; yet Sir *George*, to prevent ſuch Endeavours, went and took up the Scepter to the Houſe of *Barras*, and at the ſame time got an Obligement from the Miniſter, to make the Crown and Sword forthcoming to him upon Demand: and Sir *George*, after he had taken up the Scepter, ſaid to the Miniſter, *The Piper plays the worſe that wants the Nether Chafts* (being an old *Scottiſh* Maxim) intimating thereby, that the ſaid Counteſs her Deſign was rendered abortive. And altho' the ſaid Miniſter's Wife got a pecunial Reward for her, and her Huſband's Fidelity and Secrecy (who were employed by Sir *George*'s Lady, as Truſtees for hiding of the Honours) yet notwithſtanding of all the good and loyal Service, ſo well contrived, prudently managed, and faithfully performed by Sir *George* and his Lady (who were, under God, the prime Actors, the only Sufferers for, and main Preſervers of the Honours) neither he the ſaid Sir *George*, nor his Son Sir *William*, got either Place, Penſion, or any pecunial Reward; but when Sir *George*, after the King's Reſtoration, and that he had delivered the Honours to the Earl *Mariſchal*, and gotten the Earl's Receipt of them, went to *London*, and was kindly received by the King, and was made a Knight-Baronet, and got the Change of the Holding of his Lands, and the Promiſe of a Penſion, how ſoon the King's Revenues were ſettled. And ſome time thereafter, the preſent Sir *William* went up to Court (a ſecond time) in Expectation of the Penſion promiſed his Father Sir *George*: And although King *Charles* II. was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, from his own Mouth, to the preſent Sir *William* (upon his re-minding the King of Sir *George* and his Lady's Loſſes and Sufferings in preſerving of the Honours) *Be you confident, I'll ſee to the Standing of your Family*: Yet the then *Lauderdale*, who was ſole Secretary, poſtponed and wearied out the ſaid Sir *William* with Dilators and Shifts to the great Loſs of his Money and Time at Court: And after Sir *William* had long waited, he was at laſt ſo ſlighted and neglected by *Lauderdale* (then become his Enemy) that he was neceſſitate to return home, without Place or Penſion; although his Father and he computed their Loſſes to be then (*per Lucrum Ceſſans, & Damnum Emergens*) a thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, the Intereſt of which, by this time, would have amounted to a conſiderable Sum. Now let the World judge, if it be not conſonant to Equity and Reaſon, that the Family of *Barras* (being the Poſterity of the ſaid Sir *George Ogilvy* and his Lady) ſhould have a real Reward, according to the Merit of ſuch an heroic

roic and noble Action, and a full Recompence of the Damage they ſuſtained thereby. And by what is above narrated, Truth doth appear in its naked Colours, without Fear or Favour of any; for the God of Truth will not ſuffer it to be ſmothered, nor paſs without its due Commendation, and deſerved Reward.

And ſuch a ſingular Piece of Loyalty, ſo prudently and faithfully performed, ſhould be a Motive to induce all honeſt-hearted *Scotchmen* and good Patriots in this and ſucceeding Ages, not only to pay a grateful Acknowledgment to the Memory of thoſe renowned Perſons Sir *George Ogilvy* of *Barras*, and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, but alſo to look upon their Poſterity as the Repreſentatives of thoſe to whom *Scotland* owes its unconquered Crown.

A LETTER from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of *Scotland*, in the Year 1320, yet extant under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope *John*; wherein they declare their firm Reſolutions to adhere to their King *Robert* the *Bruce*, as the Reſtorer of the Safety and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succeſſion; but withal, they notwithſtanding declare, that if the King ſhould offer to ſubvert their Civil Liberties, they will diſown him as an Enemy, and chuſe another to be King, for their own Defence.

Tranſlated from the Original, in *Latin*, as it is inſert by Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Roſehaugh*, in his Obſervations on Precedency, *&c.*

Edinburgh, Re-printed in the Year 1703.

Sanctiſſimo Patri in Chriſto ac Domino, Domino Joanni, *Divina Providentia Sacro-ſanctæ Romanæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummo Pontificei, Filii ſui humiles & devoti*, Duncanus *Comes de* Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi *Comes* Moraviæ, *Dominus* Manniæ, *&* Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius *de* Dumbar *Comes* Marchiæ, Maliſius *Comes de* Strathern, Malcolmus *Comes de* Levenox, Willielmus *Comes de* Roſs, Magnus *Comes de* Cathaniæ *&* Orcadiæ, *&* Willielmus *Comes de* Sutherlandiæ, Walterus *Seneſcallus* Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules *Buttellarius* Scotiæ, Jacobus *Dominus de* Douglas, Rogerus *de* Moubray, David *Dominus de* Brechine, David *de* Grahame, Ingelarmus *de* Umfravile, Joannes *de* Monteith, *Cuſtos Comitatus de* Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbertus de Haia, *Conſtabularius* Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, *Mariſcallus* Scotiæ, Henricus de Sanctoclaro, Joannes de Grahame, David de Lindſey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de

Grahame, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weyms, Willielmus *de* Monte-fixo, Fergusius *de* Ardrosan, Eustachius *de* Maxwel, Willielmus *de* Ramsay, Willielmus *de* Montalto, Alanus *de* Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbell, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chen, Alexander *de* Seton, Andreæ *de* Lescelyne, & Alexander *de* Straton, *cæterique Barones & Liberetenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni* Scotiæ, *omnimodum Reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime Pater & Domine, & ex antiquorum Gestis & Libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras Nationes egregias, nostra sciz.* Scotorum *Natio, multis Præconiis fuerit insignata: Quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tirenum & Columnas Herculis transiens, & in Hispania inter ferociſſimos, per multa temporum Curricula, residens a nullis quantumcunque Barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; indeque veniens, post mille & ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in Occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, & Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienses, Danos, & Anglos sæpius in impugnata fuerit, multis sibi Victoriis, & Laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas ut priscorum testantur historiæ semper tenuit. In quorum Regno, centum & tresdecem Reges de ipsorum Regali prosapia, nulla alienigena interveniente regnaverunt. Quorum Nobilitates & merita, licet ex aliis non elarerent, satis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem & resurrectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis Terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam Fidem Sanctissimam convocavit: Nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta Fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum, quamvis Ordine secundum vel tertium, sanctum* Andreum *meritissimum beati* Petri *Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi Patres & Predecessores vestri solicita mente pensantes ipsum Regnum & Populum, ut beati* Petti *Germani peculium, multis favoribus & privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque Gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libra hactenus deguit & quieta; donec ille Princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum* Edwardus, *Pater istius qui nunc est, Regnum nostrum Acephalum, Populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec Bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici & confœderati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit: Cujus Injurias, Cædes & violentias, Predationes, Incendia, Prelatorum Incarcerationes, Monasteriorum Combustiones, Religiosorum Spoliationes, & Occisiones alia quoque Enormia, quæ indicto populo exerrcuit, nulli parcens Ætati aut Sexui, Religioni aut Ordini nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem Experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera me detur & sanat, Liberati sumus per serenissimum Principem, Regem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum* Robertum, *qui pro Populo & Hæreditati suis, de Manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter* Maccabæus, *aut* Josue *Laboris & Tædia, Inedias & Pericula, læto sustinuit animo: Quem etiam Divina Dispositio, & juxta Leges & Consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris Successio, & debitus nostrorum Consensus & Assensus, nostrum fecerunt Principem atque Regem. Cui tanquam illi per quem salus in Populo facta est pro nostra Libertate tuenda, tam Jure quam Meritis tenemur, & volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, Regi* Anglorum *aut* Anglicis *nos, aut Regnum nostrum volens subjicere tanquam inimicum nostrum & sui nostrique Juris Subversorem statim expellere niteremur; & alium Regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficiet, faciemus: Quia quamdiu in Centum*

tum vivi remanſerint, nunquam Anglorum *dominio aliquatenus volumus ſubjugari. Non enim propter Gloriam, Divitias aut Honores pugnamus, ſed propter Libertatem ſolummodo, quam nemo bonus niſi ſimul cum vita amittit. Hinc eſt, Reverende Pater ac Domine, quod Sanctitate veſtram cum omni Præcum inſtantia, Genu flexis Cordibus exoramus; Quatenus ſincero corde, menteque pia recenſentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſic pondus & pondus nec diſtinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & auguſtias nobis & Eccleſiæ Dei illatis ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes; Regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet, cum olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere Regibus, monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultraquam habitatio non eſt, nihilque niſi noſtrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro noſtra procuranda quiete quicquid poſſumus, ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Chriſtianorum culpis exigentibus, in Chriſtianos fævientem aſpicitis, & Chriſtianorum terminos Arctari Indies: Quare ne quid veſtræ Sanctitatis memoriæ deroget, & ſi quod abſit, Eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur Eccleſia aut Scandalum vos videritis, Exortere igitur Chriſtianos principes, qui, non caſum ut caſum ponentes, ſe fingunt in ſubſidium Terræ ſanctæ, propter generas quas habent cum proximis ire non poſſe. Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas propior & reſiſtentia debilior æſtimantur. Sic quam læto corde dictus Dominus Rex noſter, & nos, ſi Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret ſatis novit: Quod Chriſti Vicario totique Chriſtianitati oſtendimus & teſtamur. Quibus ſi Sanctitas veſtra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula fidem ſinceram non adhibat, aut ipſis in noſtram confuſionem favere non deſinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia; & cætera quæ ſequentur incommoda; quæ ipſi in nobis & nos in ipſis fecerimus; vobis ab Altiſſimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo ſumus & erimus in hiſque tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipſius Vicario in omnibus complacere; ipſique tanquam ſummo Regi & Judici cauſam noſtram tuendans committimus cogitatum noſtrum jactantes in ipſo; ſperanteſque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet & ad nihilum rediget hoſtes noſtros. Serenitatem & Sanctitatem veſtram conſervet Altiſſimus Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monaſterium de* Aberbrothock *in* Scotia, *ſexto die* Aprilis, *Anno Gratiæ milleſimo trecenteſimo viceſimo, Anno vero Regni Regis noſtri ſupradicti, quintodecimo.*

The following is a Tranſlation of the foregoing Letter.

TO our moſt holy Father in Chriſt, and our Lord *John*, by the Divine Providence, chief Biſhop of the moſt holy Roman and Univerſal Church, your humble and devoted Sons, *Duncan* Earl of *Fyfe*, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, Lord *Mannia* and *Annandale*, *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, *Maliſius* Earl of *Strathern*, *Malcolm* Earl of *Lenox*, *William* Earl of *Roſs*, *Magnus* Earl of *Caithneſs* and *Orkney*, *William* Earl of *Sutherland*, *Walter Steward* of *Scotland*, *William de Soules*, Buttelarius of *Scotland*, *James* Lord *Douglas*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *David* Lord *Brechin*, *David de Grahame*, *Ingelramus de Umfravil* *John de Monteith*, Warden of the County of *Monteith*, *Alexander Frazer*, *Gilbert de Hay*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, *Robert de Keith*, Mariſchal of *Scotland*,

Scotland, *Henry de Sancto Claro*, *John de Graham*, *David de Lindsay*, *William Oliphant*, *Patrick de Graham*, *John de Fenton*, *William de Abernethie*, *David de Weyms*, *William de Montefixo*, *Fergus de Ardrosan*, *Eustachius de Maxwel*, *William de Ramsay*, *William de Mounte-alto*, *Allan de Murray*, *Donald Campbel*, *John Camburr*, *Reginald le Cheene*, *Alexander de Seton*, *Andrew de Lescelyne* and *Alexander Straton*, and the rest of the Barons and Freeholders, and whole Community, or Commons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, send all manner of filial Reverence, with devout Kisses of your blessed and happy Feet.

Most holy Father and Lord, we know and gather from ancient Acts and Records, that in every famous Nation, this of *Scotland* hath been celebrated with many Praises: This Nation having come from *Scythia* the greater, through the *Tuscan Sea*, and by *Hercules*'s Pillars, and having for many Ages taken its Residence in *Spain*, in the Midst of a most fierce People, could never be brought in Subjection by any People, how barbarous soever: And having removed from these Parts, above twelve hundred Years after the coming of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, did, by many Victories and much Toil, obtain these Parts in the West, which they still possess, having expelled the *Britons*, and intirely rooted out the *Picts*, notwithstanding of the frequent Assaults and Invasions they met with from the *Norwegians*, *Danes*, and *English*; and these Parts and Possessions they have always retained, free from all Manner of Servitude and Subjection, as ancient Historians do witness.

This Kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted Succession of one hundred and thirteen Kings, all of our own Native and Royal Stock, without the intervening of any Stranger.

The true Nobility and Merits of those Princes and People are very remarkable, from this one Consideration (though there were no other Evidence for it) that the King of Kings, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, after his Passion and Resurrection, honoured them as it were the first (though living in the utmost Ends of the Earth) with a Call to his most holy Faith: Neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian Faith, by any other Instrument than his own first Apostle (though in Order the second or third) St. *Andrew*, the most worthy Brother of the blessed *Peter*, whom he would always have to be over us, as our Patron or Protector.

Upon the weighty Consideration of these Things, our most holy Father, your Predecessors, did, with many great and singular Favours and Privileges, fence and secure this Kingdom and People, as being the peculiar Charge and Care of the Brother of St. *Peter*; so that our Nation hath hitherto lived in Freedom and Quietness, under their Protection, till the magnificent King *Edward*, Father to the present King of *England*, did, under the Colour of Friendship, and Alliance or Confederacy, with innumerable Oppressions infest us, who minded no Fraud or Deceit, at a time when we were without a King or Head, and when the People were unacquainted with Wars and Invasions. It is impossible for any whose own Experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand, the Injuries, Blood, and Violence, the Depredations and Fire, the Imprisonments of Prelates, the Burning, Slaughter and Robberies committed upon holy Persons and religious Houses, and a vast Multitude of other

other Barbarities which that King execute on this People, without ſparing of any Sex or Age, Religion or Order of Men whatſoever.

But at length it pleaſed God, who only can heal after Wounds, to reſtore us to Liberty from theſe innumerable Calamities, by our moſt ſerene Prince, King and Lord *Robert*, who, for the delivering of his People, and his own rightful Inheritance, from the Enemy's Hand, did like another *Joſhua* or *Maccabeus*, moſt chearfully undergo all Manner of Toil, Fatigue, Hardſhip, and Hazard. The Divine Providence, the Right of Succeſſion by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom (which we will defend till Death) and the due and lawful Conſent and Aſſent of all the People, made him our King and Prince. To him we are obliged, and reſolved to adhere in all Things, both upon the Account of his Right and his own Merit, as being the Perſon who hath reſtored the People's Safety, in Defence of their Liberties. But after all, if this Prince ſhall leave theſe Principles he hath ſo nobly purſued, and conſent that we, or our Kingdom, be ſubjected to the King or People of *England*, we will immediately endeavour to expel him as our Enemy, and as the Subverter both of his own and our Rights, and will make another King, who will defend our Liberties: For ſo long as there ſhall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never ſubject ourſelves to the Dominion of the *Engliſh*. For it is not Glory, it is not Riches, neither is it Honour, but it is Liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honeſt Man will loſe but with his Life.

For theſe Reaſons, moſt Reverend Father and Lord, we do with moſt earneſt Prayers, from our bended Knees and Hearts, beg and intreat your Holineſs, that you may be pleaſed with a ſincere and cordial Piety to conſider, that with him, whoſe Vicar on Earth you are, there is no Reſpect nor Diſtinction of *Jew* nor *Greek*, *Scots* nor *Engliſh*; and that with a tender and fatherly Eye you may look upon the Calamities and Straits brought upon us and the Church of God by the *Engliſh*, and that you may admoniſh and exhort the King of *England* (who may well reſt ſatisfied with his own Poſſeſſions, ſince that Kingdom, of old, uſed to be ſufficient for ſeven or moe Kings) to ſuffer us to live at Peace in that narrow Spot of *Scotland*, beyond which we have no Habitation, ſince we deſire nothing but our own; and we on our Part, as far as we are able, with reſpect to our own Condition, ſhall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our Quiet.

It is your Concernment, moſt holy Father, to interpoſe in this, when you ſee how far the Violence and Barbarity of the Pagans is let looſe againſt Chriſtendom, for puniſhing of the Sins of the Chriſtians, and how much they daily encroach upon the Chriſtian Territories. And it is your Intereſt to notice, that there be no Ground given for reflecting on your Memory, if you ſhould ſuffer any Part of the Church to come under a Scandal or Eclipſe (which we pray God may prevent) during your Time.

Let it therefore pleaſe your Holineſs to exhort the Chriſtian Princes, not to make the Wars betwixt them and their Neighbours a Pretext for not going to the Relief of the *Holy Land*, ſince that is not the true Cauſe of the Impediment: The truer Ground of it is, that they have a much nearer Proſpect of Advantage, and far leſs Oppoſition, in the ſubduing of their weaker Neighbours.

And

And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much Chearfulneſs, both our King and we would go thither, if the King of *England* would leave us in Peace; and we do hereby teſtify and declare it to the Vicar of *Chriſt*, and to all Chriſtendom.

But, if your Holineſs ſhall be too credulous of the *Engliſh* Miſrepreſentations, and not give firm Credit to what we have ſaid, nor deſiſt to favour the *Engliſh* to our Deſtruction, we muſt believe that the Moſt High will lay to your Charge, all the Blood, Loſs of Souls, and other Calamities that ſhall follow on either hand, betwixt us and them.

Your Holineſs, in granting our juſt Deſires, will oblige us in every Caſe, where our Duty ſhall require it, to endeavour your Satisfaction, as becomes the obedient Sons of the Vicar of *Chriſt*.

We commit the Defence of our Cauſe to him who is the Sovereign King and Judge; we caſt the Burthen of our Cares upon him, and hope for ſuch an Iſſue as may give Strength and Courage to us, and bring our Enemies to nothing. The Moſt High God long preſerve your Serenity and Holineſs to his holy Church.

Given at the Monaſtery of *Aberbrothock* in *Scotland*, the ſixth Day of *April*, in the Year of Grace 1320, and of our ſaid King's Reign the fifteenth Year.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.